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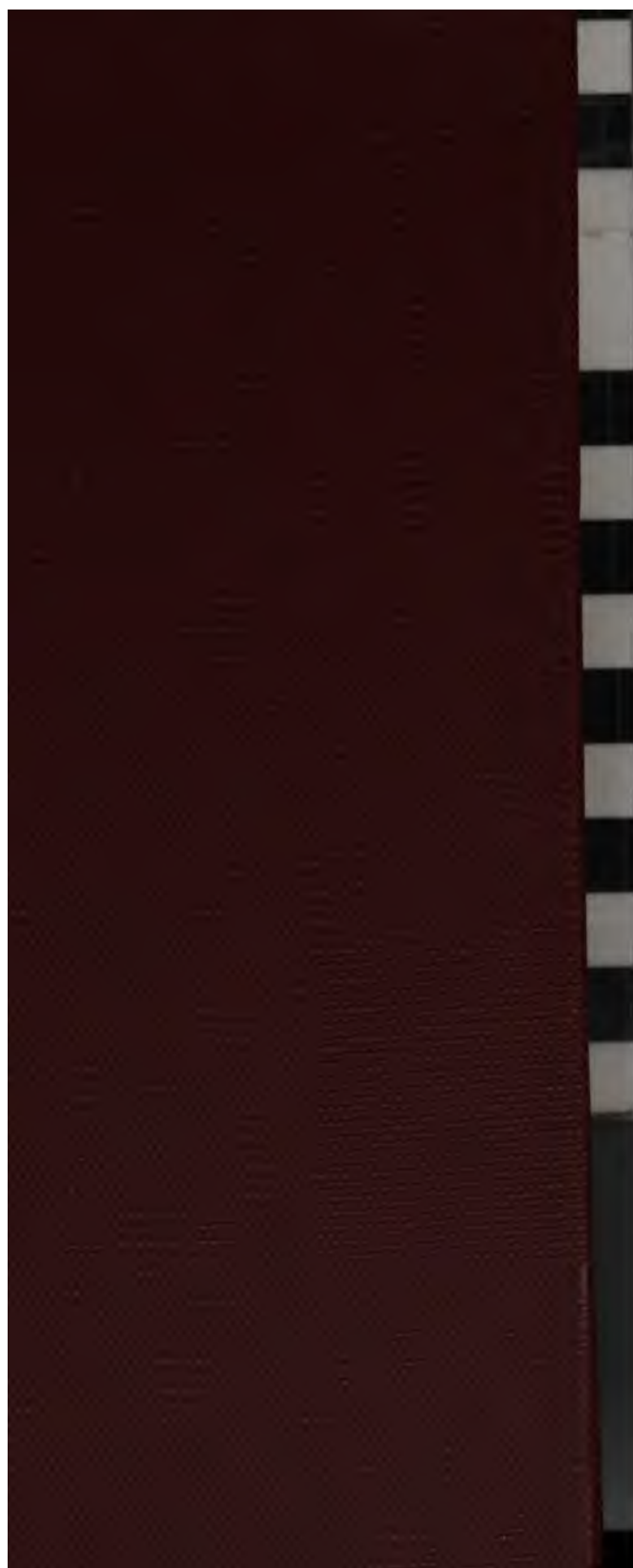
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THE JOURNAL  
OF  
THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.



THE  
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# CONTENTS OF VOL. XVIII.

[NEW SERIES.]

## ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

	PAGE
Navigation in the Indian Ocean. By the JOSEPH EDKINS, D.D., Peking, Honorary er of the Royal Asiatic Society .....	1
e and the Country of the Khomair, with a n North African Marbles; being the Report cent Tour, addressed to H.M. Secretary of By Consul-General R. L. PLAYFAIR. unicated by R. N. CUST, Hon. Secretary, he consent of the Author) .....	28
shmen and their Language. By G. BERTIN, ..S. ....	51
tions at Cairo and the Burju-z Zafar. By C. KAY, M.R.A.S. ....	82
s from the Arabic. The Lament of Maisun, douin wife of Muâwiya. By H. W. FREE- M.A., M.R.A.S., late M.P., Commander of ler of the Crown of Siam .....	89
ry of Caves on the Murghab. By Captains assoë and the Hon. M. G. TALBOT, R.E. otes by WILLIAM SIMPSON, R.I., F.R.G.S., assoc. R.I.B.A. ( <i>Forwarded through the</i> <i>W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary R.A.S.</i> )....	92

	PAGE
ART. VII.—The Alchemist. A Persian Play. Translated by GUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S. ....	103
ART. VIII.—On Buddhism in its Relation to Brāhmanism. By Prof. Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, C.I.E., D.C.L., M.R.A.S. ....	127
ART. IX.—The Stories of Jīmūtavāhana, and of Hariśarman. Translated by the Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, M.R.A.S. ....	157
ART. X.—The Geographical Distribution of the Modern Túrki Languages. By M. A. MORRISON, Esq., Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in South Russia. (Communicated by R. N. CUST, Hon. Secretary R.A.S., with a Note, Table of Authori- ties, and a Language-Map.) ....	177
ART. XI.—A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature : Rizá Kulí Khán and his Works. By SIDNEY CHURCHILL, M.R.A.S. ....	196
ART. XII.—Some Bhoj'pūri Folk-Songs. Edited and trans- lated by G. A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service ....	207
ART. XIII.—Observations on the various Texts and Trans- lations of the so-called "Song of Meysūn"; an Inquiry into Meysūn's Claim to its Author- ship; and an Appendix on Arabic Translitera- tion and Pronunciation. By J. W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., Litt.D., C.M.G., etc., etc. ....	268
ART. XIV.—The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bámián. By Capt. the Hon. M. G. TALBOT, R.E. With Notes hereon, and on Sketches of Capt. P. J. MAITLAND, Intelligence Branch, Q.-M.-Gen. De- partment, by W. SIMPSON, Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A.; and an additional Note of Capt. MAITLAND's own. (Communicated through the President of the Royal Asiatic Society.) ....	323

# CONTENTS.

vii

	PAGE
<p>erian Language and its Affinities. By FRITZ HOMMEL, of Munich. (Communi- Dr. ROST, Hon. Member R.A.S.) . . . . .</p>	351
<p>uddhist Symbolism. By ROBERT SEWELL, ivil Service, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S. With y Sir G. BIRDWOOD . . . . .</p>	364
<p>re-Akkadian Semites. By G. BERTIN, . . . . .</p>	409
<p>Arrangement of the Hymns of the Adi By FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S. . . . .</p>	437
<p>ER</p>	
<p>of Mahomet . . . . .</p>	463
<p>mist . . . . .</p>	464
<p>-Tatár and Finn-Ugric Controversy . . . . .</p>	465
<p>st Sculptures in China. By R. K. M.R.A.S., Professor of Chinese at ollege, London . . . . .</p>	469
<p>esque of Sultan Nasir Mohammed ebn in the Citadel of Cairo. By Major C. ON, R.E. (Communicated by H. C. KAY, ) . . . . .</p>	477
<p>anguages of Melanesia. By Professor N DER GABELENTZ, of the University of (Prepared at the request of, and com- d by Dr. R. N. CUST, Honorary Secretary, ote.) . . . . .</p>	484
<p>on the History of the Banu 'Okayl. By KAY, M.R.A.S. . . . .</p>	491



	PAGE
ART. XXIII.—Foreign Words in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, D.D. (Communicated by the Hon. Secretary R.A.S.) .....	527

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER

1. Reports of Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, Session 1885-86 .....	543
2. Proceedings of Asiatic or Oriental Societies .....	544
3. Correspondence, "Pre-Akkadian Writing," by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie .....	548
4. Obituary Notices .....	549
5. Excerpta Orientalia .....	550

INDEX .....	571
-------------	-----

Proceedings of the Sixty-Third Anniversary Meeting of the Society, held on the 17th of May, 1886.....	I-CLXIX
--	---------

---

LIST OF MEMBERS .....	i-xx
-----------------------	------

# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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*Navigation in the Indian Ocean.* By the  
EDKINS, D.D., Peking, Honorary Member  
of the Asiatic Society.

MR. EDKINS has drawn attention to the mention  
in early inscriptions, and the connection  
of ancient vessels with those of Ethiopia. The  
fact that at a very remote period voyaged to  
India for gold and other articles to use in the  
face of the demand of markets.<sup>1</sup> The Euphrates'  
ancient quays at which the primitive navi-  
gators unloaded their vessels. They proceeded  
thence into the ocean, and there they were  
guided by the stars and by the heavenly bodies. These  
navigations continued from the time when Ur was  
founded, down to the period of the Persian  
Empire, when it began to decline. During all this  
time, the navigators of the Indian Ocean,  
whether Arabian, Phœnician, or Egyptian, were  
guided by the monsoons, along the African and  
Asian coasts, conveying knowledge from one country

and the Greeks planted mercantile settle-  
ments where they traded in the Mediterranean,  
and have done the same in a thousand ports  
along the islands and countries east of  
Europe, which we now know to have taken place from the

<sup>1</sup> Monarchies, vol. i. pp. 101, 102. He cites Sir Henry  
Rawlinson's *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXVII. p. 185.

time of the Caliphs downwards on the south coast of Asia in connection with Arabian trade would, for the same reasons, take place in the times of the more ancient traders before the Christian era. The mercantile colonists would take wives in the cities where they settled. The new generation that grew up would speak the language of the new country as well as that which was the mother-tongue of the trading colonists, and the way would in consequence be open for free communication of ideas. New facts and notions could, for example, be conveyed from Phœnicia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, to India, Ceylon, and the islands and regions east of India. To give an example of this, it is found recorded in an old Chinese book on botany, written by a prefect of Canton in the fourth century, that several plants, such as Jessamine and Henna, were then growing at Canton, having been brought there by traders coming from Arabia and the Roman empire. The well-known "Moli hwa," a species of jessamine, now used for scenting tea and snuff, is among these exotic plants. In the same book sugar is spoken of as a product of Cochin China known at Canton. It has now become a staple product of the provinces of Canton and Fukien. The Henna flower is now commonly used in North China for dyeing the finger-nails red. This custom is a favourite one among women. The plant was conveyed on merchant vessels fourteen hundred years ago by foreigners called Hu, here meaning Arabs, as is most probable. It is said to have been taken to Canton from the Roman empire Ta Tsin. Egypt, where it is indigenous, then belonged to that empire. The Chinese were able to obtain not only an African plant at that time, but to learn also the empire to which the country where the plant grew belonged, and this knowledge they could acquire because there was resident then in Canton a trading colony of Arabs. This was in the pagan times, before the age of Mahommed. The members of this colony, always spoken of by the Chinese simply as Hu or foreigners, would maintain Sabeian worship, and they would be able to teach something of what the Arabs then

ay, but with it would be included the old ship.

ing farther, let me mention here that the f Canton included among them at the end ry the uncle of Mahommed. Hearing of his ss as a prophet, he returned to Arabia. dead. He asked what message his nephew

The reply was "None." "Then," said rn to China. If the prophet had wished he would have intimated his desire." He ina and died in Canton. He was buried constructed during his lifetime, and still ter on in the Tang dynasty the Arabs in ery numerous and dangerous. They are e narratives in Arabic compiled by two vellers and translated by Renaudot, in be China and other countries visited by century.

mercantile settlements in seaport towns winding coast-line of Southern Asia, from hat knowledge of various kinds could be unicated from one country to another. n at any time, from the beginning of in the third millennium before Christ, the Euphrates, down to modern days. est way to account for the diffusion of and institutions and the common beliefs ons. We speak of oriental magnificence, oriental hospitality, oriental imagination, The reason why the word Oriental serves 'ersia, and Arabia alike, is partly because rays maintained between these countries ned a considerable identity in customs, religion.

of the art of writing into India needs the agency of just such mercantile settle- east of India as would necessarily exist ie of Solomon. The discussion of the

origin of the Indian alphabet occupied two sittings of the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in 1883, and was conducted throughout with great vigour and unflagging interest. The hypothesis which met with most acceptance was the Phœnician hypothesis. The Phœnician alphabet, as developed in South Arabia and preserved in the Himyaritic inscriptions, gave origin in the east to the Indian alphabet and in the west to the Ethiopic. The two most distant dependencies of the Persian empire came to have each an alphabet thus derived. This view seems to be more or less supported by Professor Weber, Dr. Bühler, the Rev. Isaac Taylor, and the late Professor Lenormant, as well as by Mr. Cust, who so ably introduced the subject to the Congress. On the mode of introduction of the Semitic alphabet Mr. Cust said, "Unquestionably the continuous existence of a commerce between Yemen and South India can be asserted from a very remote period, quite sufficient to meet all requirements." The Vattelutu alphabet, which has influenced the Tamil, was certainly, the same writer adds, like the Semitic alphabet in several points. The Phœnician hypothesis, as now maintained, singles out the sixth century before Christ as the period when the Indian writing was first used extensively.

But if the alphabetic writing then commonly used in Western Asia was introduced through the agency of mercantile colonies at places on the Indian coast as early as 600 years before Christ, may we not expect that other arts then existing and acquisitions in knowledge of various kinds would enter India in the same manner? The changes which took place in Hindu philosophy and those ideas of an extended kind on the outer world, on cosmogony, and on the future life, which began to appear in India after the Vedic period, may have been caused by the same maritime intercourse with Western Asia and Egypt. In China, from about the sixth century before Christ, somewhat similar changes occurred in cosmogony, in philosophy, and in cosmography, and the hypothesis of mercantile settlements in Cochin China would be very convenient as an aid to show

of foreign knowledge were likely to have  
 in as the result of the ocean traffic which  
 the Indian seas. Surely, while Chinese  
 ing slowly through its successive revolu-  
 and national life, it was not unaffected by

Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit  
 act of an abrupt change in Hindu literature  
 of the Vedas and that of the Brahmanas  
 pointed out. He says, "There is through-  
 as such a complete misunderstanding of the  
 of the Vedic hymns, that we can hardly  
 such an estrangement could have taken  
 had been at some time or other a sudden  
 in the chain of tradition." In the days  
 weakness which then overtook the Hindu  
 author shows how, for example, the pro-  
 Vedas became at a later period a god, and

New gods were invented in profusion,  
 these new mythological personages over-  
 replanted the deities of the Vedic age.  
 gories were invented, and in the Buddhist  
 Puranas, an entirely new mode of de-  
 id is adopted, in which the ocean plays  
 is part. In the Vishnu Purana it is said  
 Being placed the earth on the summit  
 here it floats like a mighty vessel, and  
 the surface does not sink beneath the  
 Puranas represent Mount Meru as in the  
 h, around which lies Jambudwipa, and the  
 ported by some animal."<sup>2</sup> This animal is  
 a monster. Otherwise a tortoise is repre-  
 senting the earth. A circular wall of rock  
 the world. Within it are seven other con-  
 circles. Between each circle is a sea.  
 swim in these seas. Into this new  
 Vishnu Purana in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism.

system of the world the sun, moon, and stars, together with the zodiac and the twenty-seven lunar mansions, made an entrance, and later the Ptolemaic system. All these ideas are very much of a foreign character, and while they may have reached India by land, it would seem that they were more likely to arrive by sea, because the mercantile colonies in the seaport towns of the Indian coast would furnish facilities for the ready transference of thought from foreign languages into the current speech of India.

The time when Babylonian astronomy, and cosmogony with the idea of vast seas, a central mountain, and a rocky limit to the earth, could be introduced to India by sea was possibly not earlier than B.C. 800, for that is the time when Professor Max Müller supposes the Rig Veda to have been completed. But the date when this new accession of knowledge of cosmogony from Babylon and of the metempsychosis from Egypt would not be later than the time of Buddha, for this great teacher found all India believing in the metempsychosis, which is not a Vedic doctrine: the focus of this foreign influence upon India was therefore in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries. Late in the seventh century Babylon was powerful under Nabopolassar—and Necho, whose ships circumnavigated Africa, was reigning in Egypt. The maritime prosperity of Babylon would be at its height at that time, and the Persian conquest by Cyrus of that city B.C. 538 would not diminish mercantile activity. In the sixth and seventh centuries Indian trade could not be other than highly flourishing. Babylonians, Arabs, and Phœnicians would be found residing on the Indian coast, when some political revolution brought the Sanskrit or Pali-speaking population of the north into that part of India. The same sort of agency which introduced the art of writing would also introduce the metempsychosis of Egypt, with the astronomy, the zodiac, and the cosmogony of Babylon. Probably it was not from one country only that India received these accessions of knowledge, for the Arabs believe in a vast rocky circle bounding the world, and forming

of the ocean, as the Buddhists do, and they fond of the sea. The Hindus may have notion from them.

of these foreign influences was a complete Hindu thought. The new heaven worked through the mass of Hindu society. The natural Vedas was exchanged for an extravagant a vastly extended universe. Native thinkers w bases in constructing their systems. Philomore refined, and the universe better understood. Babylonian division of time into weeks, and observing the heavenly bodies, came into India. The reason why just about this time lu systems of philosophy sprang into life was ulus to the native intellect was imparted by introduced just then along the coast from less degree by the passes of the north-west. India became specially receptive of new when they were introduced would naturally Aryan population conquered the whole sea-ceeded to speak of China.

possible that the art of writing may have ted to China from Mesopotamia about B.C. ne ocean route which afterwards gave to igari alphabet. But when ocean navigation na, alphabets were unknown, and therefore s ideographic and phonetic only.

hat took place in China long afterwards, in , in literature and philosophy are also better s hypothesis than by any other. Trading ndian Ocean, we must suppose, through the the early dynasties, from the time of the ti and of Yan and Shun, who were con-urly so, with the King Uruk of the Cunei-

In their time the dominion of the Chinese the south far enough to admit of inter-n China and Burma, and by this southern mical knowledge then acquired by the



Chinese would most easily arrive. In the twelfth century B.C. there was, as tradition shows, a large accession of new knowledge by this route. This was when Chow Kung was Prime Minister, and its effects are found in his writings and the institutions with which his name is associated. In the sixth century a distinct and remarkable change took place in Chinese literature.

To show the nature of this change in Chinese literature, I shall take some examples from Tso, the historian, and Lie tsze, the Tauist philosopher, the one illustrating the subject of astrology, and the other that of cosmography. Tso c'hieu ming, in his history, when he comes to the year B.C. 549, mentions that Jupiter, the "year star," as he is called, ought to have been in Sagittarius, and Capricornus R.A. 280° to 300°, or, as it is called, Sing ki, but had irregularly advanced to Aquarius or Hiuén Hiau. This is the first sign of the zodiac of twelve, and belongs to the month December. It is a bad omen that Jupiter should during this year enter the sign in which he should be next year. At the time there was no ice, the dark principle *yin* not being able to overcome the bright principle *yang* (warmth). It is the snake mounting the dragon. The dragon is the star group of the kingdoms Sung and Cheng. These two States, therefore, will suffer from famine. In explanation, it is said that the snake rules winter, and that Jupiter represents wood, which is symbolized by the blue dragon. When Jupiter wanders from his place into the winter region, the spring dragon is subject to the control of the winter snake. Further, the central star of winter is called Hui, "empty." Hiau also means "waste." The countries affected, therefore, must suffer from emptiness and waste. There will certainly be famine.

There is a passage occurring under the year 564 which speaks of the people of the Sung country learning by the stars to foresee what heavenly retribution for crimes would happen (Legge's C'hun T'sien, p. 439). The official director of fire, as folklore tells us, being meritorious, was sacrificed to, along with a star. Antares was the star chosen.

tern quarter of the zodiac. But he was also the willow,  $\delta$  Hydrae. In the third month  $\delta$  culminates at evening, and is then seen in the people were ordered to begin to kindle fires to it. In the third month of autumn (Sü) "star of great fire," disappears in the sun's glare. The people are then ordered to cease to kindle fires. The red bird is the group called the "willow," Antares. The name of the officer worshipped in the reign of Yau. He lived in Shang c'hieu. He was the son of the Emperor Kau sin. He is here mentioned in order that he might there be a demonstration of which Antares is the largest star. In the star and sacrificing to it, the people were strictly to the appointed times for lighting fires in this way that Antares became the star of the east in the east part of the province of Honan. He was taken to perform these sacrifices in the reign of his successors, and this worship of Antares came to be the duty of the city called Shang c'hieu, and is a large group of facts and observances which form a part of the memory of the Shang dynasty. What the Chinese historian's further remark that the Chinese had learned to look upon fire as the probable cause of the calamity into which they fell. From this circumstance the Chinese said that they knew that the calamity of the reign of Yau, or must be regarded as divinely sent. When we come to the year 540, we learn from the Chinese further particulars respecting Ot pak. (They see, p. 580.) The marquis who ruled Tsing i) was ill, and consulted the diviners, who, one of the tortoise in divination, learned that he was possessed by two spirits named Shī c'hen and Tsze c'han, supposed to have entered the sick nobleman near him. But the diviners did not know where they were. Tsze c'han said that the Emperor was in the mountains, Ot pak and Shī chen. The brothers, however, the Emperor Yau sent Ot pak to live

in Shang c'hieu, there to preside over the worship of the star Ch'en (Ta hwo) or Antares. Thus this star became the patron star of the Shang people. At the same time Shī chen was removed to Ta hia to preside over the star Shen, the "belt of Orion." This place was Tsin yang, now embraced in Tai yuen fu, capital of the province of Shansi: eventually in the Cheu dynasty this star Shen became the recognized patron of Tsin.

Dr. Gustave Schlegel, in his *Uranographie Chinoise*, rightly regarded these stories as fables. They are introduced into the history through the love of the author for folklore. This folklore is for research very valuable, as helping us to trace out the history of astrology. The worship of stars by particular cities was in full use at least five centuries and a half before Christ. At that time the legends were so well established in popular faith that they may well have been some centuries old. These instances show what stories of an astrological nature prevailed at that time in regard to some cities in Honan and Shansi. Similar legends would exist in other cities. The following particulars refer to T'ai t'ai, the other spirit supposed to have caused an illness to the nobleman above mentioned.

T'ai t'ai and Yun ke were the sons of Hiuen ming shī, director of water, who was descended from Shau hau, an ancient emperor. T'ai t'ai cleared the channel of the Fen river, which flows through Shansi into the Yellow River and also deepened the Tau river. In consequence he was made by the Emperor Chwen hū superintending baron to the Fen chwen region. Sacrifices were offered to him by the four states, Chen, Sz, Ju, Hwang, all ruled by his descendants till they were absorbed by Tsin. T'ai t'ai continued to be god of the Fen river in the Tsin state.

The origin of the legends must be sought in the notion of local star-worship. This would come in possibly in the eleventh century, or earlier. It might also with more probability have been later. The worship was to be performed by some member of the baronial family, usually the baron. There was a selection made of some ancestor to be worshipped

---

one would serve the purpose who had had suggested suitability for this honour. But was legendary, and not historical; there is Book of Odes, the Book of History, or the legends. This circumstance favours their date of the sixth and seventh centuries. They would then be a century or two before the time of Tso c'hieu ming.

the origin of the zodiacal sign Shī'chen, our Cancer and Leo, it is perhaps derived from a foreign source, either by transfer or by translation. The words mean "real legend has been invented to provide the ship with a fitting personality.

assigned to the imperial state Cheu was the middle of summer. It was called "the red bird," and it embraces the space from the willow, to 16° of Chang, both of these signs of twenty-eight. The reason that this sign was chosen to represent the Cheu state is said to have been that when Wu Wang set out to conquer the Shang dynasty, Jupiter

The time was in the calendar of Shang the seventh month, that day being the 25th, day cycle. In the calendar of Hia this was the eighth month. At that time Jupiter was in the sign of Fang. At the same time the moon was in the sign of Kiang. More exactly, the moon was on the sign of Fang. The sun was in the sign Si mu ninth from Kiang leu (Aries), and in the same way. Si mu extends from 10° of the day cycle. On the day Wu tsze the sun was in the sign of Ki. The conjunction of the sun and moon was about one degree in advance of the handle of the tail of the Great Bear. Mercury was in the sign of Hia). The book Kwo yü, from which this was written by Tso kien ming. The Wei chau was compiled in the time

of the Three Kingdoms, about A.D. 270. Text and comment have both been used in the statement now given of the place of the sun, moon, Mercury, and Jupiter on the day when Wu Wang (B.C. 1120) started on his expedition to conquer the Shang dynasty. Professor Russell, of Peking, kindly undertook to calculate with these data, and found that no such relative position of these four bodies was possible at the time stated.

This account of the astrological position of the Cheu kingdom in the constellation Hydra below Cancer and Leo is evidently post-dated, and must be referred to the eighth, seventh, or sixth century before Christ. The reasons for this opinion are various. The division of the empire among the 28 constellations is duodecimal and remarkably regular. It is as follows, as arranged by late writers and inserted in the work Tien Yuen li li:—

1 Kio Kang	Cheng	Central Honan.
2 Ti, Fang, Sin	Sung	Eastern Honan.
3 Wei, Ki	Yeu, Yen	(Fu kien, kiang si) Chili.
4 Teu, Nieu	Wu	Kiang su, Che kiang.
5 Nü, Hū, Wei	Tsi	North Shantung.
6 Shi Pi	Wei	South Chili.
7 Kwei Low	Lu	South Shantung.
8 Wei, Mau, Pi	Chau	Western Chili.
9 Tsui, Shen	Tsin	Shansi.
10 Tsing, Kwei	Ts'in	Shensi, Kansu.
11 Lieu, Sing, Chang	Cheu	Western Honan, Hupei, South Shensi.
12 Yi Chen	Ch'u	Hunan, Si chwen, Kwangsi.

The states Cheng (1) and Ts'in (10) are included. The first barons of these two states only received full investiture in the years B.C. 806 and B.C. 769 respectively. They are not separable from the others, for without them four of the twenty-eight constellations would be left without a special kingdom to shine upon and to be worshipped by. In the work Si ku tsuiuen shu of last century, when the genuineness

as a work of B.C. 1100 is discussed, the names of these two states is mentioned as of that work at least was written long after the same argument goes to show in regard to the local astrology of the feudal states that commenced after the dates B.C. 805 and B.C. 769. The classics were all anonymous, so also was, it is said, the *Cheu li*, for it does not state who was its author at the time it was written. The words which mention the twenty-eight constellations to the local states are few. "The officer known as the *Chang* rules the stars in heaven, and takes note of the stars with those of the sun, moon, and planets, in order to see what changes will take place on earth, whether they will be fortunate or unlucky. As the provinces correspond with certain stars, the provinces are so subdivided that each feudal state has one or more constellations which control it, and by which to be seen its good and ill fortune. By means of the *Jupiter* moving through the twelve years of good and ill fortune of the empire may be determined. The remaining duties of the astrologer are connected with observing the winds and other natural phenomena in order to foreknow good and evil, such being the form assumed by Chinese astrology. In the *Cheu li*, a fair judgment of the period produced may be easily reached. The first of the *Cheng* state was *Yeu*, brother of *Cheu* received, B.C. 806, a part of the *Cheu* patriarchy, the modern Honan. Since the first two of the zodiac of twenty-eight were assigned, it is supposed that it was in his time that the distribution of the twenty-eight constellations to the local states was made. This is not essential, it may be said, for the stars are on the east of *Cheu*, and it may be that these constellations were assigned to

English Cyclopædia under the word *Clepsydra*.

those states. But if this principle of regarding Cheu as the starting-point for orientation suits in some instances, it fails in most cases, and it is probably better to seek another cause, such as the actual place of Jupiter when the allocation was made in each case. There is no reason to doubt, then, that the Cheu li being a manual of official duty, if the duties were at any time increased, there would be an addition made to the book. In Cheu Kung's time there may have been an elementary astrology. I plead only for the developed astrology of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries, that there was an addition made to the text of the portion which defines the duty of the official astrologer in regard to the local distribution of stars.

The native critics of modern times have shown great want of confidence in the genuineness of the Cheu li. In the Sung dynasty this book was ascribed to Lieu hin of the first century B.C. and A.D. Mau si ho attacked this view, and ascribed the book to the Contending States period, or the fourth century B.C. Supposing this date to be correct, there is still more reason for not placing the astrology of the feudal states before the time which, as above shown, the facts seem to require. The clepsydra is not mentioned in any of the classics except this. But we know from Greek sources that the clepsydra was a Babylonian instrument, and was originated by the Babylonians. At least Sextus Empiricus ascribes it to them,<sup>1</sup> and states that they used an instrument of this kind in astrological calculations, and by means of it during the diurnal revolution of a star divided the zodiac into twelve equal parts. The officer who had this instrument in charge is called the carrier of the clepsydra. From this it would seem that the instrument was not like those at present in use at the Peking Observatory, which are bronze vessels of great weight, arranged in successive steps as on a staircase. It was of a size and weight suitable for being lifted by an officer. It is mentioned in the Shwo wen as being made of bronze. Curiously enough it is alluded to

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written Professor Russell has found that in B.C. 806, Jupiter was in the required constellations Kio and K'ang.

ance to the Odes supposed to have been  
Hia in the fifth century before Christ.

think this preface reads like a Han  
1. Whatever be the age of the Cheu li,  
to the Odes, the astrological passages in  
d in the Kwo yü help us to place the wide  
ial astrology in China not later than the  
re Christ. With this should also be placed  
of the clepsydra, because such an instru-  
tremely useful when every feudal capital  
had its astrological department, and the  
arance of stars and planets had to be care-

rance of the clepsydra in China seems to  
bylonians had communicated this instru-  
ore the Greeks had it. It is mentioned in  
l Aristotle among Greek writers, but  
eir time. We may do well to remember  
ma o'hien in connection with the official  
ays, "When the empire ceased to be well-  
rect succession of new moons was not  
feudal barons. After the emperors Yeu  
a.c. 770 and 827 respectively), the influence  
sty fell away, the officers ceased to take  
es, nor did the emperor announce the new  
nd pupils of the official astronomers and  
came scattered, either in different parts  
g barbarian races. The ceremonies per-  
ke of good and ill luck were in conse-  
ected, and not offered in complete form."  
he historian's chapter on the calendar.  
ed students of astronomy would settle in  
importance, and be active in introducing  
, or new instruments brought to China  
ries by sea or by land, and this would be  
ry before Christ, and subsequently. The  
say that there was an entire cessation of  
t the court of Cheu. He simply mourns



over the decline of activity and efficiency as shown by mistakes in the calendar, and by the dispersion of official schools of instruction. South China would attract some of these wanderers, and some would reach places on the sea. We can judge of what the condition of South China then was by the poetry of Chu yuen.<sup>1</sup> The country was inhabited by a people inclined to mystic Taoism and polytheistic legend, into which the personages of Chinese primitive history were boldly introduced, mixed with many foreign-looking novelties of marine myth and semi-divine hero. This vast region was known as the Chu country. It thrived by trade in its own produce and the commercial transmission of foreign articles. Astrology, the dial and the clepsydra, would come by the trade routes which lay through South China from Cochin Chinese ports, where, at that time, by the regular development of ocean trade, there would be merchants of western origin residing, who would speak local languages as well as some one of the languages of Western Asia. In this way the system of judicial astrology with the Babylonian cosmography might quite readily be introduced to the knowledge of the Chinese about B.C. 500 and later.

My argument requires me now to proceed to the question of the extended knowledge of the Chinese of the earth generally in the Chow dynasty, and to point out how it becomes a necessity to account for it by supposing an early enlarged commerce in the Indian Ocean reaching all the way to Cochin China before as well as after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. First there are some very interesting relics of a trigonometrical kind in an old Chinese book of the Chow dynasty. This book speaks of the earth's surface being round, and makes use of the sun-dial to measure the earth by taking as values the height of a gnomon, the length of its shadow, and the sun's altitude. They understood the properties of the right-angled triangle, and attempted by the use of the gnomon to measure the earth in a rough way. Mr. Wylie

<sup>1</sup> A part of it has been translated by the Marquis d'Hervy de St.-Denis.

Notes on Chinese Literature, p. 86), "The [?] is the only ancient work we have on the astronomy." By this name is meant that [?] verse which represents the heavens as an earth as a bowl turned over and lying at [?] there were two forms of the umbrella theory. [?] earth as a flat and square plain, the other [?] as having an immense convex but still [?] his last is the view of the Chow pi swan in question, and it is also described in the [?] nomy<sup>1</sup> as given in the Tsin history. The umbrella astronomy is invalidated by [?] un- [?] ions. "A gnomon<sup>2</sup> of eight feet at the [?] shadow of one foot six inches. Go south [?] is one foot five inches. Go north 1000 *li*, [?] foot seven inches. The shadow lengthens [?] uth. Wait till the shadow is six feet and [?] bamboo with the bore an inch in diameter [?] p. Seize the image and carefully look at [?] t covering the sun, there is seen the sun's [?] the opening. Hence, with eight feet [?] sh aperture you have from the gnomon to [?] in a distance of 60,000 *li*, and there will [?] m this point upward to the sun there are [?] reasoning the points of interest are that [?] he length of the shadow varies with the [?] y going far enough south the shadow [?] g. Also, the foundation of trigonometry [?] e of the gnomon. This circumstance [?] to believe that European trigonometry [?] , and was taken to the west by the [?] the ancient mathematical schools, of [?] s as having been scattered to various [?] hth century. The names used are *ku* [?] ht staff, gnomon, thigh bone, *pi* (pik),

written, or rather compiled, about A.D. 630.  
[?]ow, Lo yang, lat. 34° 43', long. 112° 28'.

thigh bone, and *keu* (kuk), that part of a mason's rule which projects at a right-angle from the stem. But here *keu* means the shadow of the gnomon. These names have continued in use from the Chow dynasty downwards, and we may rely on them as ancient. The Chinese critics say of the book *Chow pi swan king* that while the first catalogue which mentions it is that of the Sui History, A.D. 600, yet it must on various grounds be regarded as a genuine relic of the Chow dynasty. Judging by the materials, style of thought, and statements of the book, they are probably right. But if so, we have a distinct relic of old Babylonian science worked up by Chinese mathematicians of the Chow dynasty. The Babylonian elements are the following:—

1. The dial was used for distinguishing latitudes by the length of the shadow.

2. The clepsydra was used for marking time.

3. The length of the shadow, the gnomon and a point taken on the earth known with more or less certainty, were supposed to give as a fourth proportional the height of the sun or of heaven.

4. The squares of the shadow and gnomon were known to be equal to the square on the hypotenuse, or the line joining their extremities.

These being fairly deserving of the epithet Babylonian, it is a point of interest that we are able to assign them with much probability to a date a little before B.C. 806 as the period of their introduction into China. We know from the Old Testament that the sun dial of Ahaz was taken to Jerusalem about B.C. 740. The Jews learned it with foreign religious observances forbidden to them by their law. The Chinese learned it with astrology and star-worship. Much depended on the place of Jupiter when stars were to be selected for a feudal barony. Whatever constellation happened to be the place of Jupiter in any year when the investiture of a baron took place might become the patron constellation of his barony. Now it appears that Kio and Kang, the first of the zodiac of twenty-eight, were assigned to Cheng, in Honan, and the investiture of the first baron

year B.C. 806. I asked Professor Russell to inform me where Jupiter was B.C. 806, and found that he was in Kio and Kio. Since, therefore, the first two constellations have been assigned to Cheng before that time, it is likely that it was at the same time that the territorial distribution of the constellations was carried out to something like the present. Some years must have passed away before the system of astrology, a foreign belief, could become prevalent in the country. Hence it may be concluded that astrology grew into prevalence in the ninth century.

In his translation of the Chow li, published in 1891, he expressed himself in his criticism on its genuineness of Han and Sung dynasty authors. He follows the view, who decides for the Chow li on the authority of Chow Kung, its immense multiplicity of duties being caused by the inheritance in the additional system of the Hia and Shang. His view was in tone and principle a Sung dynasty great example of that school. Biot, a critic and by tendency and inclination an opponent of this case stopped short with Ma twan-loo to consider the views of later Chinese writers. His picture of the Chinese ancient world, though successful in placing it in full detail, is not complete. But he has not done all that was necessary. Ma twan-loo's views respecting it are worth considering. He condemns those Sung writers who ascribe the end of the first Han period, and rightly so. If the author might wish to flatter Wang Mang, the author of the Chow li, he would not have done this to carry out that end. It is too late. Ma twan-loo thinks it was a book of the third century, that is, of the third or fourth century.

before Christ, or perhaps somewhat earlier. There is much to be said for this view, seeing that Confucius, Mencius, and other authors do not quote this book, as they would have done if it were a classic in their times. But for my own part I feel more confidence in the criticism of the eighteenth century,<sup>1</sup> which makes the Chow li neither a Han book nor a book of the Chan kwo times, but a book of the early Chow period, partly written by Chow kung, but added to subsequently. The reason why neither Confucius, Mencius, nor, immediately after them, Tso kieu ming, quote passages from it, may be that it was an official book not published. It belonged to a government office in Lo yang, while these three authors lived in the Loo kingdom, three hundred miles to the east. All the Chinese classics are the work of officers, excepting such of the poems as were collected by a commission, and such portions as came from the hand of Confucius. This book belongs to the Western Chow, but was preserved in the eastern capital of that time, viz. Lo yang. We know it was this city, because Chinese old writers,<sup>2</sup> in commenting on the use of the gnomon mentioned in chapter 42nd of the Chow li, say that in Lo yang, at the summer solstice, the shadow was one foot five inches in length, which is the length of the gnomon given in the text. To this Chen kang cheng adds that in winter the shadow was thirteen feet in length. The foot of the Chow dynasty was about eight English inches in length.<sup>3</sup> We translate Chih by foot, but, in fact, it is a span, and it was probably so in Babylonia also. On the hypothesis that the dial went from Babylon to China about the ninth century before Christ, we have in the Chinese ancient foot measure a possible value for the Babylonian foot and for the height of the gnomon they commonly used. Beside this we have also a possible origin of trigonometry. This science is said to have begun with the building of altars, but it may have begun in the use of

<sup>1</sup> *Si ku tsien shu*, xix. pp. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 31, 36.

<sup>2</sup> Found in Kia kung yen's comment, and in that of Cheng.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Kin shi so*, "Chain of metal and stone inscriptions," the Chow foot is eight English inches, the Han foot is 9·8 inches, the Tsin 9·125, the Sung 10·625. Foot of A.D. 76 is 9·125 inches.

us early employed as a measurer in  
dow. The phrase used of the dial in  
re the earth," is very suggestive. It  
plication that the Greek sciences of  
metry both began with the dial and  
of the Babylonians was practical. A  
ided the Greeks when they put aside  
and framed out of Babylonian and  
nces. What the Chinese received in  
l was the Babylonian nucleus from  
red much, one point after another, of  
nce. The Chinese do not know that  
is Babylonian, nor that the dial and  
y and metrology, are also Babylonian,  
ey ascribe the origin of these things  
ages. But for us the knowledge of  
with the systematic interpretation of  
inese before the conquest of Babylon  
the proof that distant navigation in  
prosecuted extensively in the reign of  
efore that, during the long subjection  
for it is only by this supposition that  
or the facts.

aphical ideas of the Chinese and their  
aphy begin, properly speaking, with  
he was before his time a system of the  
he had ideas, of course, about the  
of a general kind, as shown in the  
ar Seas." But it is for the first time  
aphy finds a voice. We cannot place  
outer world which occur in the Er ya  
e modern critical school find that  
t older than the Han dynasty. It  
the age of Cheng kang cheng, i.e.

universe blooms into its full extra-  
ter. It takes the form of a legend,  
in. The world is supported by the

four feet of an immense monster, called Ngok.<sup>1</sup> A legendary emperor or empress, named Nuko, cut off the feet of the monster to put them to this use. This was after he or she had already prepared stones of five colours to fill up defects in heaven and earth. In a subsequent struggle between two emperors the pillars of heaven were broken and the four cardinal points of the earth sundered. This caused the heavens to fall on the north-west, and consequently the sun, moon, and stars move to that point. The earth also became defective on the south-east, and that is the reason why the rivers all flow to that part of the world.<sup>2</sup> East of the Gulf of Pechili is an immense abyss (Pacific Ocean). This bottomless sea is the home to which all waters flow. In this ocean are five islands, known by names such as Bom lai, all inhabited by immortal beings. These islands moved with the tide. This was a matter of grief to the immortals. They petitioned God (Ti) to relieve them, and he in anger caused the islands to float in the first place to the extreme west. Then under the guidance of Gugom, god of the north, a great Ngok lifted them by fifteen movements of the head upon his back. The five islands were afterwards borne by monsters of the same kind to the Lompak country. Two of them were liberated from these animals, floated to the north pole, and sank in the great sea there. Lie tsze speaks of giants many hundred feet high. East of China, at a distance of 400,000 miles, there is a nation of dwarfs called Tsok nok. They are a foot high. In the north are people about seven feet high. On the south of China is a country called Mim lim, and here five hundred years makes a spring and five hundred years an autumn. In the north is a sea called Mim hai. It is heaven's lake. The bird Bom found there has wings which look as wide as the clouds, and a fish called Kon is also found there which is several thousand miles long.

In the idea of an ocean round the world, and monstrous creatures inhabiting it belonging to either the fish or the

<sup>1</sup> Some Chinese words are here mentioned, with the pronounciation given to them by the ancient Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the prevailing direction of all Chinese rivers.

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Chinese writers of the third and fourth century Christ enter on a region entirely new to their country. This is also true of the legends which represent ancient personages of Chinese origin as a god and half man. A favourite mode of representing ancient emperors Fu hi and Shen nung was to give them a human face, a cow's head, and a dragon's body. New ideas which entered the country at this time were added to old tradition, so as to make new legends. The Chinese did not get their new information in a clear and accurate shape. It reached them in fragments, legends, and half-explained doctrines. They attributed them to persons with whose names they were familiar, and every fragment of primitive Chinese legend was embellished with new circumstances. Chinese literature was realistic, and legend and fiction were mingled together. Lie tsze and Lie kieu ming and Lie tsze set the example to be followed with pleasure. Chinese style became a free and untrammelled fusion of creative imagination. What was old was made up in new habiliments, and the world was made to conform to the help of fancy. Scraps of knowledge were brought from other lands far away and made to fit in which was built up a fairy structure, a new spirit of the age, and has produced a new literature for the country ever since a permanent

It was thus looked on as a cosmos, made up of things at a distance and sober facts nearer at hand. It was known as Shan hai king, Book of the Mountains and Seas, an embodied sketch of this universe, half history and half legend. It was intended as a classic of Chinese literature. It became so, if by that name be meant a book of legend and mythology, as well as of the history of China and the great outer world, as it was written a century before Christ. In the description of the Kunlun mountain, which corresponds to the Kunlun of the East, it is said that this celebrated mountain was the lower residence. The local deity



who rules it is Lokgno (also called in Chwang tsü Kingo), who has a tiger body with nine tails, a human face, and tiger claws. He presides over the nine districts of the nine cities of heaven, and over the times of the gardens of God. There is a beast who is like a ram having four horns. His name is Dulu, and he eats human flesh. The Yellow river flows from this mountain, first north-east and then south. The Red river flows from it to the south-east, and enters the Bamten river.<sup>1</sup> The Yang river flows from it to the south-west, and enters the Tudu river. The Black river flows from it to the west, and enters Tayü. Beyond it on the west, at a distance of about a thousand li, is the Jade-stone mountain, where the Queen of the West resides. She is called Si wang mu. She has a human appearance, but a panther's tail, and a tiger's teeth. Her hair is spread to the wind, and she wears jade ornaments.

The 6th, 7th, and 8th chapters of this book describe countries beyond the sea. In speaking, at the commencement, of southern regions, the book says they are ruled by the Tai sui, "great year god." By this is meant the god of each year in the cycle of sixty. The god that rules each year varies in turn till each of the sixty has presided in his place. I place in a note the ten names of these gods for the decimal cycle, kia, yi, ping, ting, wu, ki, keng, sin, jen, kwei.<sup>2</sup> At the end of the account of ocean kingdoms in the south, it is said that the god of fire ruling the south is named Tokyom. He has the body of a quadruped, with the face of a man, and he rides two dragons. In the same way, at the end of the account of western countries, it is added, the god of the west, Nok shu, has in his left ear a snake.

<sup>1</sup> Bamten looks like "Brahma heaven." Ten is *tien* 'heaven.' Perhaps this is the Brahmaputra. The commentator Kwo pu, of the fourth century after Christ, says, however, that Bamten is the name of a mountain.

<sup>2</sup> In the Er ya we find the ten names (as anciently pronounced) are the following. Otbom, Tanmom, Nudo, Gomgu, Tuyom, Duvi, Domtom, Dumkom, Genik, Toyom. The twelve names of the duodecimal cycle, Tsi, c'heu yin, etc., in the Er ya, are Shap de kak (which is stated in the Shi ki to be Jupiter), Tanot, Tipzu, Dai kam lak, Duntsom, Kappap, 'untan, Tsakgak, Ommu, Daionkin, Kuntun, Tak punnak. The place of Jupiter is in the third hour of the horizon, or 60 degrees from the north towards the east. Tanot is 90 degrees, and the rest in order.

agons. The commentator of A.D. 300 adds a god of metal, and that he had a human face, white hair, and a javelin in his hand. Of the North Sea divinities, this book speaks of a horse, and named Dodu. Another is like a dragon with teeth like a saw. This beast feeds on humans. The god of the north properly so named Lugom, and has a man's face, a bird's head, one eye, and a black snake also under each eye. This deity is also the god of water.

Kumom, a divinity who rules the element of fire, has a bird's body, and a human face. He is supported on two dragons.

Many ancient Chinese personages are introduced. We will mention what is said near the end of the book.

In the south-west is the Pa country (in

Fu hi had a son Hien niau, a grandson

Cheng li's son was Heu chau. Heu chau

was of the Pa people. Here we see plainly

that what was invented to gratify the people of the north

to provide them with an object of worship. It is supposed that the stories of a local kind with

Shen hai king is crowded are invented by the Chinese. We have been collected by him from various

beginning of the 16th chapter, for instance, the Hwai nan tsze in the second century

before Lie tsze in the fourth. In the kingdom of dwarfs is mentioned in the

old Tsiau nau. The dwarfs are, says Kwo, of the height given in the Shi ki B.C. 100.

These people are one foot and a half high, and their country is 400,000 Chinese miles

from the Chinese of the Chow dynasty mani-

festations in their hands, to make new connected

understood by estimating passages such as the Shen hai king. There is a nation called

the same, explains Kwo p'u, fish bodies and

human faces. The grandson of the fiery emperor (Shen nung), named Ling k'i, was the father of the Hu people, who are able to ascend to heaven and descend from heaven to earth.

The idea of the soul ascending to heaven after death is old Chinese, applicable to the case of wise kings. The wise king, Wen wang, is said to have ascended to heaven after death. But this notion of the body ascending is a Tauist one, which appears to me to have been imported from abroad. Then when the idea was received and thought about, the Chinese of those times connected it with primitive Chinese traditions and emperors. Such stories obtain currency by passing from one person and locality to another. Reflecting persons have nothing to do with the process. It is the work of the unreflecting, and of those who gladly aid in the circulation of legends.

The commentary of Kwo p'u on the Shan hai king proves that this author had before him pictures illustrating the book. The expressions he uses when describing divinities and monsters of various kinds shows that this was the case. He speaks of what was on the right and left of the personage he is describing, in just such a way as he would do if he were looking at a picture. From this circumstance the modern critical school of China has decided that this author, writing about A.D. 300, used an illustrated edition of the Shan hai king when writing his comment. Fortunately it has ever since been the fashion, both in the days of manuscript and in printed editions, from the tenth century onward, to publish illustrations with the books, so that in modern editions we probably have pictures not very unlike those on which Kwo p'u looked while writing.

The process of legend making in the Chow dynasty thus appears to have included four elements. Foreign pictures and images; foreign names, incidents, beliefs, and statements; Chinese primitive traditions and personages; Chow dynasty inventions and combinations. These four elements seem to be woven together inseparably in the legends of the Chow dynasty. Thus when the Yellow Emperor is said to have

1, we have a Chow dynasty combination of the emperor with a newly-introduced idea of foreign countries. So in the Bamboo Annals, referring to the Hsiao Shing States, it is said that in the 59th year of the Yellow Emperor, ambassadors came from a "perforated chest" nation, and from the Hsiao Shing. This is a Chow addition to the old Yellow Emperor, which had no such details. The Kin shi so that in certain sepulchral reliefs, dating from the Han dynasty, ambassadors were sculptured on the walls as bearers are seen carrying an ambassador of a foreign nation, and the carrying pole is inserted in his chest. They are also mentioned in Legge, Prolegomena, vol. iii. p. 109). It is a criticism of the ancient books of the Chinese to mix carefully between a book like the Shu Ching, which has a historical appearance, and a work such as the Chu Tzu Tzu, which is crowded with myths in the early centuries, does not come down to us with the marks of historical authenticity.

For Babylonian influence on China in the past we rest mainly on the evidence from the Chinese, astronomical instruments, metrology, the legends of monsters and impossible things, and from India quite as well. But astrology and the science of scientific astronomy could come from

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ART. II.—*La Calle and the Country of the Khomair, with a Note on North African Marbles ; being the Report of a recent Tour, addressed to H.M. Secretary of State. By Consul-General R. L. PLAYFAIR.*

Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary, with consent of the Author.

*Algiers, April 28th, 1884.*

My tour really commenced at La Calle. I proceeded thither by the ordinary land route, and arrived at Bône just in time to catch the Tunis steamer, which left on the 6th April. It was perfectly calm when the vessel left, but after we had been an hour at sea the sirocco, which had been blowing, was suddenly succeeded by a strong north-west gale, and when we arrived off the port, two hours later, we had the greatest difficulty in landing.

This district is of great historical interest, as it was here that the French first established themselves in North Africa. In 1520 certain merchants of Havre settled at Cape Negro for the purpose of trading with the Arabs and fishing for coral. These were followed, a few years later, by others from Marseilles, who, in 1524, founded the establishment known as the Bastion de France. Owing, however, to its exposed situation, and to the extreme insalubrity of the climate, caused by the emanations from the lake in its immediate vicinity, the Compagnie d'Afrique transferred its establishment to La Calle in 1677.

On the occasion of my visit an English steamer, "The Black Sea," arrived there to load with mineral, and the master very obligingly offered to take me in her to visit the site of the old French factory. It is about thirteen kilom. to the west, on a small rocky promontory, forming a creek, entirely exposed to the north-west winds. This is not the

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a detailed account of its history and of the the French had to undergo, from persecution of the Arabs and of the Turks at Algiers, its and the ravages of pestilence. The a good state of preservation, and I was the accuracy of the description of the e Dan in 1634. All the buildings mentioned identified. It then contained 400 men, and at the cost of the Company, and he t ordinairement un trafic avantageux et ntité de corail, de blé, de cire, de cuirs, es, que les Maures et les Arabes voisins y très bon prix, et que l'on transporte peu

requently attacked and destroyed by the was granted by the Dey to England, but to any good account, and on the termination of the war with France it again reverted to the latter. Finally destroyed by the Algerines, and in 1836, when it was re-occupied by and Captain Berthier de Savigny, who the condition in which it had been last were still about forty houses capable of y that of the Governor, now occupied by périeur.

little oblong basin, open to the west, more than 120 yards wide at the entrance, long. On the north side is the rocky shore where the old town of La Calle stands; on the south on which the modern city has sprung only accessible for vessels of the smallest size as it is high it is impossible even for these

has been suggested for the creation of a port at Admiral Mouchez was decided on contemplated the creation of a great port at Bou-Lif, to the west of the town, 100 hectares; but after nearly 500,000 fr.

had been expended without any appreciable results, it was abandoned. It is now intended to close up the present entrance to the small port, and excavate another to the east, which will not be exposed to the prevailing bad weather. This will be convenient for the coral boats, but it will not permit a steamer to enter.

On the occasion of my visit six years ago I found the place in a high state of prosperity. Very extensive establishments had been created for salting sardines, and the coral fishery was in full activity. It still has a most prosperous appearance, and, what is rare in Algeria, an over-teeming population; but the sardines seem to have deserted the coast, the salting-houses are closed, the coral banks near the shore have been exhausted, and boats have to go much further off and to much deeper water. Their number also has greatly decreased; there used to be as many as 230 boats engaged in the coral fishery, and nearly as many catching sardines; now the total number does not exceed sixty.

This falling-off is no doubt due in a great measure to natural causes which no one can control, such as the discovery of rich coral banks on the coast of Sicily; but partly also to the inexplicable policy now in favour in Algeria, which discourages anything like foreign enterprise, and would almost seem framed with the object of getting rid of foreigners altogether from the Colony. Italian boats pay, in virtue of a special Convention, only 400 fr. a year as licence duty; all other nationalities pay 800 fr.; French boats are entirely exempted. The consequence is that all foreign boats are driven out of the trade. This one can understand, but it is hardly conceivable why almost every foreigner by nationality, though born in the Colony, on conviction of the most trivial offence, in addition to the punishment due for it, is sentenced to expulsion. Such cases are constantly brought to the notice of every foreign Consul.

There are three lakes of considerable size in the neighbourhood of La Calle. That furthest to the west is the Guerah-el-Melah, or, as it used to be called, l'Etang du Bastion. It has an area of 867 hectares and a depth of from

There is still a narrow communication to sea, but in former times this was sufficient for coral boats to enter and use it as a harbour during bad weather. The neighbourhood is unhealthy.

is the Guerah Obeira, containing a superabundance of fish; the water is sweet, but dirty, and the soil is marshy, with a good deal of aquatic vegetation. Rice is produced, which renders even the climate of La Calle feverish.

is Guerah-el-Hout, or Lake Tonga, which is the largest in the country.

A road for Tabarca on the 8th April, by the new carriage-road, parallel to the coast, has been engineered, but the surface has not yet been completed. In some places it has been covered with stones, in others the earth has been worn into ruts, and in others been washed away by torrents; still it can be travelled without much difficulty in about nine days.

At La Calle the coast runs east-north-east to the lake of Tonga (Lake of Fish). This is an immense lake, which in summer, though a lake in winter; it is not so deep, and its influence is felt as far as La Calle. The drainage of the marsh would cost too much money, and has never been formed to carry it out. The channel between it and the sea is called the Oued el-Hout, a small creek much frequented by coral boats. English steamers take in their cargoes at La Calle, and a hill called Kef Chetob by the Arabs, and Kef Chetob by the Europeans; from its isolation and height it is a very remarkable feature in the landscape.

are the mines of Kef Om-et-Teboul, which yield tiferous and auriferous lead and zinc. The number of tons of lead shipped to Swansea. The number of tons of zinc laden with it during the past three years.



years is as follows :—In 1881, twelve vessels of 12,096 tons ; in 1882, sixteen vessels of 15,436 tons ; in 1883, twenty vessels of 26,367 tons.

The quantity of mineral actually extracted at the present time is not more than 12,000 tons per annum, but there are large reserves, and an immense mass of ore which was formerly thrown aside as useless, but which, owing to the advancement in metallurgy, can now be utilized. The firm which has contracted for this mineral is Messrs. Charles H. Thompson and Co., of London and Swansea. Their steamers are sent to the mouth of the Messida to take in cargo there.

The road up to the mines is good, and beyond it, passing by El Aioun, and crossing the frontier at the Col de Babouch, is an excellent carriage-road leading to Ain Draham. I kept along the lower route, through a wild and mountainous region intersected by deep ravines, and covered with dense brushwood of lentisk, tree heath, cistus, etc., with here and there patches of forest containing oak of various species and maritime pine.

The road crosses the frontier at some distance from the sea, passing over the high range of hills which terminates in Cape Roux. The cape itself is composed of steeply scarped rocks of a red colour ; in former times it was crowned by another establishment belonging to the *Compagnie d'Afrique*, and we can still see a cutting from the summit to the sea, a sort of slide, down which the corn purchased from the Arabs used to be sent to the ships which were ready to load with it beneath.

Shortly after this the road approaches the sea ; the coast-line is beautifully indented, and there are charming views of land and water at every turn, till at last the Island of Tabarca and the military position on the mainland, high above the town, come in view.

I have given the history of this interesting place elsewhere ; I may, however, be allowed to give a very brief recapitulation of it. It was at one time a Roman Colony. After the expedition of Charles V. to Tunis in 1535, the right of fishing for coral here was conceded to the Spaniards,

ntly made over to the Lomellini family  
ge for the celebrated corsair Dragut, who  
by Andrea Doria. In 1741 it was cap-  
ns; part of the inhabitants effected their  
of San Pietro in Sardinia, others peopled  
the Island of Tabarca, near Alicante, on  
and the remainder were carried off and

this place six years ago it was almost  
traveller could not venture far from the  
considerable precautions. Now it is as  
of Algeria; a village has sprung up,  
l and some stone houses; most of the  
are wooden sheds.

all shops, taverns, and restaurants, built  
e garrison, which till within the last few  
400 men. It has now been reduced to  
s, commanded by a sub-lieutenant, and  
withdrawn. It is ludicrous to see a  
y shops as customers; there would have  
dus but for the strong hope of Tabarca  
ace of considerable importance, when the  
are commenced.

is covered with Roman and mediæval  
which crowns the western side of the  
rles V., is most picturesque, resembling  
castles on the Rhine. It is built on  
ning directly from the sea, and from a  
as if it might almost be habitable. On  
about twenty old rusty guns, part of its  
t contained numerous brass and bronze  
ve long since passed into the melting-

re many Roman buildings; one appears  
or public bath; it is called "Keskes"  
contains several large vaulted halls, in  
There is a ruined chapel and fortified  
ôtel, with a necropolis attached, prob-

ably Genoese, as the graves are piled in tiers, one above the other, separated only by flat stones or terra-cotta slabs, somewhat in the manner adopted in Italy and Spain at the present day.

On the hill above is the Bordj Djidid, or "New Fort," built by the Tunisians a great many years ago. Around it have been erected temporary barracks and other subsidiary buildings, sufficient for a large garrison. This fort it is which was bombarded when the place was taken by the French, but it never was in a position to offer even a show of resistance.

Close to the island may still be seen the hull of the "Auvergne," a large four-masted steamer belonging to the Talabot Company, which was driven ashore in 1878. The wreck was pillaged by the Khomair, and though none of the crew were actually killed, some of them were grossly ill-treated; and this, it may be recollected, was one of the indictments against them, which ended in the occupation of their country and of the whole Regency by the French.

About 10 kilom. to the east, at a place called Ras-er-Rajel (Mun's Head), in the territory of the Oulad Yehia, and again nearly east of Cape Negro, 35 kilom. distant, there exist large and valuable deposits of iron and copper ore, which were pointed out to me during my former visit. These have been granted by the Government of Tunis to the powerful Company which already owns the mines of Mokta-el-Hadid, near Bône, and those of Beni Saf, near Oran. They are about to commence work very shortly; they will lay down a line of railway to the mines, and will make a harbour by blocking up the shallow channel between the southern end of the island and the shore, thus forming a port which will be open only to the north-east, and which will be sheltered from the prevailing north-west winds by the island itself. It will be necessary to dig a new channel for the river which flows into the site of the new harbour, at least during the winter months, for in summer it does not reach the sea at all, thus creating a marsh which is a perfect hot-bed of malarious fever.

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he property in the neighbourhood, now eylick, has been granted to the Company, and itself, a great part of which will be supply materials for the harbour works. Concession are very advantageous to the side a payment to the State of 5 per cent.

In addition to the land conceded, they considerable amount from the Arabs at a including half the present village; so there is becoming nearly as complete autocrats as Beni Saf. Even the fort on the main- up to them, and the garrison will be . They talk of restoring the old castle residence. I fear there is little chance of ical monument being properly preserved the hands of a private and irresponsible

of Tunis the country of the Khomair was e, and little or nothing was known of its ; manners were reported to be almost rritory was inaccessible to any force the ast them, no one dared to approach their a expedition did enter, the soldiers were the Khomair themselves dispersed into pursuit was impossible. Their numbers hough much exaggerated; and, having y preferred independence and poverty to ettled life under Turkish government.

much pressed by want, they had only ources by incursions on either side, and rminately both the subjects of the Bey French rule in Algeria.

ut in between the two countries, they their independence, a thorn, no doubt, ut one which was willingly endured by es till the moment should come when ould give the necessary excuse for an an territories. How the "invention"

of the Khomair actually did lead to the French Protectorate of Tunis is a matter of public notoriety.

Having procured horses at Tabarca, I started for Ain Draham, the military post in the heart of their country, on the 9th April. There is a good road in process of construction, but it is not yet nearly finished, and it must be a long time ere it will be practicable for wheeled conveyances; but it is an excellent bridle-path, even in the worst places, and for picturesque beauty, the country which it traverses can hardly be surpassed. It ascends the broad valley of the Oued-el-Kebir, opposite the Island of Tabarca, running nearly due south. The ground, wherever possible, is richly cultivated, and will no doubt one day be opened out to European colonization. At present, like all plains in North Africa, when undrained and insufficiently cultivated, that is, cultivated only in the rudimentary manner known to the Arabs, it is very unhealthy, but in due time that will be remedied; no places could have been worse, or are now better, than many parts of the Metidja, near Algiers.

All over the country there are the ruins of Roman farms or fortified posts; for the most part they are mere heaps of stone, but of large blocks finely cut. One of these, about 5 kilom. from Tabarca, is, however, of a more important character; part of the walls and one arched gateway are still standing; it is close to the river, and is called by the Arabs Kasr Zeitoun ("Palace of the Olive Tree"), from a group of gigantic olive trees which grow around it and in its deserted chambers.

At 17 kilom. from Tabarca is the Oued Kerma, a beautiful clear stream, so called from a large fig tree growing near it; a road bifurcating to the north-east leads to the "Camp du Génie," now unoccupied. Beyond, the scenery becomes wilder and more beautiful, consisting of great stretches of oak forest, interspersed with glades of cleared and cultivated land. Not an armed Khomiri was to be seen; the men were all engaged in ploughing the land for next autumn's crop, while the women were clearing the weeds from among the growing corn. All seemed to have a kindly word or a

as we passed, and I saw none of the black  
 that I had noticed on my former journey.  
 The people, however, was lean and miser-  
 covered with disgusting rags, and their  
 most squalid description, hardly comparable  
 in use among such barbarians as the  
 S.

the Col de Babouch, the junction of this  
 leading up from Kef Om-et-Teboul. Here  
 , and an agent of the Tunisian Financial  
 there was a camp of soldiers engaged  
 after road. Beyond this we passed for a  
 rough a forest of the most splendid cork  
 seen ; I noticed the same beautiful effect  
 which had so much struck me before ; the  
 the branches were covered with a thick  
 which grew polypodium and other varieties  
 and, Ain Draham came suddenly in sight,  
 on a bleak hill-side, its regular houses  
 with red tiled roofs forming by no means  
 with the beauty of the landscape through-  
 passed. The view from it, however, is  
 the whole length of the valley through-  
 ed, and seaward the Galita Islands, not  
 , appear as if they were only a few miles

situated at a distance of 31 kilom. due  
 and at 41 kilom. from La Calle, by the  
 g Om-et-Teboul, El Aioun, and the Col  
 800 metres above the sea, and is well  
 from the "Spring of Money," whence  
 and other fountains. Until very lately  
 3000 men, commanded by a General of  
 ily a Colonel's command ; there are still  
 t a further reduction is contemplated,  
 e numerous auberge and store keepers  
 , and who can have no possible occupa-  
 ying the troops and feeding the officers.

There is a fairly good hôtel, with an ornamental iron balcony, the rails of which form the words "Hôtel des Pacificateurs"; the landlady evidently thinks that the French army is maintained expressly for her advantage, and is indignant at the place being left with an insufficient garrison.

There is no attempt at defence here; no redoubt, entrenchment, or even the simplest walled inclosure. The barracks of the troops and the huts of the settlers cover a considerable area of ground, and although the Khomair have been disarmed, no one really supposes them to be destitute of weapons. Insurrections have occurred in Algeria under more unlikely circumstances, and it is not impossible that some day a rising of this warlike tribe may temporarily endanger the French supremacy, or at least lead to the massacre of many women and children, who would find a safe refuge within a fortified position, if even one of the most rudimentary description.

It is impossible not to be struck by the extraordinary results which have followed the French Protectorate in this once inaccessible region. Admirable roads have been made, or are in process of construction, northwards to the sea at Tabarca, north-west to Algeria at La Calle, southward to the railway which traverses the valley of the Medjerda, and another has been traced to run eastward to Beja. With all these "pacificateurs" no serious fears need ever be entertained for the permanent security of the country.

On the 10th April I left Ain Draham in a carriage which I had sent up from La Calle: the first part of the road lies through splendid oak forests, but as it descends, these gradually become replaced by brushwood, and finally by open, undulating ground, more or less cultivated.

At Fedj-el-Meridj, 5 kilom. from Ain Draham, is a little grassy meadow, nestled amongst wooded hills. This evidently was a Roman post, as in the centre of it is a mound of stones, the best of which have been taken away for the construction of the road. One miliary column has, however, been spared; it bears the names of Constantine and Licinius, thus fixing the date prior to the defeat of the latter in A.D. 323.

number XVIII, probably eighteen miles

tion to Souk-el-Arba is at Fernana (20  
e derives its name from an immense cork  
e within several miles. It is on the  
homair country, and used to be the ex-  
h the Bey's camp was permitted to come  
it for the collection of taxes. Here the  
it, and hand over such sums as they felt  
If the Tunisian soldiery advanced a step  
were paid with powder and lead, and these  
er dared to follow their assailants within  
mountains and forests.

ation of Ain Draham, a strong column  
many months, and it has left a memorial  
testimony to the unhealthy nature of the  
d crowded cemetery.

before reaching Souk-el-Arba, a cross-  
one quite practicable for carriages,  
left and leads to the important Roman  
ia. It was raining heavily during the  
and I was unable to make as careful an  
as I could have desired. I regretted this  
re rarely visited, and no description of  
en published.

doubt, derived its name from having been  
e of the Numidian kings, and it subse-  
*rum oppidum* under the Romans. It is  
erary of Antoninus as one of the stations  
Hippo to Carthage, and again in the

Its position was no doubt determined  
copious spring of sweet water, which,  
ackish rivers, was a priceless treasure.  
foot of Djebel-el-Arabia, one of the  
the north side of the valley of the

n area of many acres; they consist of  
igs and numberless smaller vaulted



edifices now buried in the soil, generally above the spring of the arches. In the centre, to the north, is the spring, which rose in a large semicircular nymphæum of cut stone, from which leaden pipes issued for the distribution of the water in various directions. Immediately in front of it was an archway built of large blocks of very compact and finely-cut limestone. This was destroyed in the most barbarous manner to supply building material for the railway; the *débris* even now remaining on the spot gives it the appearance of a disused quarry.

The spring has now been inclosed within a *château d'eau*, and is conducted in iron pipes for the supply of Souk-el-Arba, which, until the last few days, has been supplied with water from Tunis by train. The surplus suffices to fill the nymphæum, and to form a marsh further down, full of eels and barbel of great size. Only a small spot on the border of this reservoir has been cleared to its original level; here a fine mosaic pavement has been discovered, and, to judge by the remains lying round about, this must have been a beautiful spot, decorated probably by temples and colonnades, somewhat like the well-known example at Zaghouan.

Lower down the valley, almost due south of the spring, are the ruins of the thermæ. Like all the other buildings here, this has been overthrown by an earthquake. Huge masses of masonry lie around, disjointed and overthrown, in a manner that could not have been effected by any other agency. One high arch still remains entire, which helped to sustain the roof of the central hall. The subsidiary buildings are buried in *débris* nearly to the crown of their vaults. I have no doubt that these chambers will be found almost entire, and probably containing valuable works of art. It would be a great boon to archæology if this building could be cleared out; in the meantime the earth and ruins which encumber it insure its preservation from the fate which has befallen the triumphal arch before mentioned. It is satisfactory to add that since a military camp has been formed at Souk-el-Arba, stringent orders have been given to respect all the ruins.

ing and the baths, but a little to the east, much buried in earth. One can descend to the corridors, and form a good idea of building. The masonry is all of the finest auditorium is entirely filled up, but one ring the spring of an arch, exists on the ma.

At a distance further east is the amphitheatre, ruined, and apparently of an earlier epoch. It is of less regular rubble, with only cut stone. It commanded, like all similar buildings, the country round.

Other edifices, more or less entire, some has all its chambers and vaulted roofs in ruin, and was used as a residence by the Romans on the waterworks. There is also a series of contiguous cisterns of great size, too high to be reached by the spring; probably they were for the collection of rain-water, which the Romans were more accustomed to use for drinking

From the Medjerda is a distance of 7 kilom. to Souk-el-Arba (Market of Wednesday), 100 miles and 34 kilom. from Ghardimaou, where the present terminus. An entrenched camp exists, in subordination to the Commandant at Raham. It is the nearest point of departure (100 kilom.), to which place a mail-carriage service here is a tolerably good inn close to the

the journey homewards on the 11th, but not a day than Chemtou, as I was anxious to see the ruins and Roman remains at that place. The railway station of Oued Meliz (Mehliz), near Souk-el-Arba.

At Colonia is mentioned in the itineraries, one of the stations on the road from Carthage to Carthage, but beyond this little is

known of its history, and no modern description of the ruins has been published; until the railway opened out the basin of the Medjerda, this part of the country was difficult of access and remote from the usual routes of travellers.

Come to a spot where one of the numerous streams called Oued-el-Melah, or Salt River, flows into the Medjerda, are situated a line of small hills, covering an area of about 90 hectares, the highest point of which is 260 metres above the sea-level. They are composed almost entirely of marble of various kinds, but principally of giallo antico, rose-coloured marble, and a fine brownish breccia. There can be no doubt that these quarries were extensively worked by the Romans; large excavations made by them exist in various places, and numerous inscriptions have been found on blocks of marble which had been extracted but not carried away. I subjoin one out of many, without even attempting to make a guess at its meaning:

IMP . ANTONINI . AVG . PII : D  
N . . . . . OHAGRIPR  
CAILICANOFIVEIPPECOS

I was extremely glad to have had the opportunity of visiting this quarry, as it was the only one in North Africa that I had not yet seen. In the hope that a few remarks on the subject of Numidian marbles may prove of use to those interested in the marble trade, I attach a separate Memorandum on the subject.

The plain on both sides of the hills is covered with extensive Roman remains. The city must have been a very considerable one, larger and more important than its neighbour, Bulla Regia; the latter was probably a Royal residence, and inhabited by people unconnected with commerce; this one was a centre of trade, owing its existence probably to its rich marble quarries. There can be no doubt as to its name. *Semita* and *Semitus* are found in several inscriptions both on tombstones and military columns; one of the former bears the truncated effigy of a man standing between two columns, and underneath is the following inscription:

L . SILICVS OPIA  
 TVS . VIX . AN . L.  
 INITERCE PIVS  
 INITINERE  
 HVIC . VETERANI  
 MORANTES  
 SEMITV . DE  
 O . FECERVI.

r, much defaced, but having the name of  
 ible, are placed in the Director's garden.  
 ies which I observed are interesting; one  
 phy of Tabarca almost as used at the  
 ad of Tabraca, as in the Itinerary of

### TABERCA

#### II

the name of a road which must have  
 which I cannot trace in any of the

### VIA VSOTHA

#### III

ent ruin in the landscape is that of a  
 h commenced about 7 kilom. distant  
 ie west, crossed the Oued-el-Achar by a  
 und entered a series of seven vaulted  
 m. from the works. Thence it passed,  
 and partly on a long line of arches,  
 lelah by a bridge, now fallen, till it  
 rmæ in the middle of the city.

s aqueduct is not of a particularly good  
 of the pillars are of large blocks of cut  
 y above them is of a common rubble,  
 he arches are of small hammer-dressed  
 ere a section of the aqueduct may be  
 one; these mark a reconstruction at a  
 the original work. In one pillar I

observed four tombstones, some of them turned upside down ; another pier had one such tombstone, and probably there were many more used, the inscriptions on which were turned inward. The necropolis was in the hills about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilom. from the marble works, and, as there are very few stones now existing there, it is probable that the greater part of them were used for public works. It is worthy of remark that, while in the necropolis there are stones both of Pagan and Christian times, those which I have seen utilized as before described are entirely of the former period.

I subjoin two inscriptions taken at random ; the first has on the upper part the figures of two persons holding each other by the hand, and apparently making offerings on altars with the other hands ; below it is the following :

M. VETVRIVS .	AVRELIA
M. FIL . QVIR .	SEX . FIL
PRIMVS	ZABVLIA
PIVS . VIXIT .	PIA . VIXIT .
ANNIS . . . .	ANNIS . . . .
H. S. E.	H. S. E.
VETVRII . PRIMVS . ET . HONO	
RATVS . PARENTIBVS .	
OPTIMUS . FECERVNT.	

The other is :

AMEN  
CVRIA  
IAP SX  
CAVIT  
MERN . O . P . P .  
CVRIA . CAELEST  
MESVIFVMPSVA  
EIXVVIAS SEC  
AFRICA F PVCANTUR

Close to the end of the aqueduct are the remains of the thermæ, a large building, but of poor construction ; the

visible, is exceedingly rude, the tesserae early 2 inches long by 1 broad. Further ; the scena has entirely disappeared, but perfect. The diameter is 36 metres ; it cunei by four vaulted passages, beneath opening outwards ; under each cuneus is arment opening inwards. The whole en surrounded by a colonnade. The close to the Medjerda, with a fine view There is also an amphitheatre at some but it is in a very dilapidated condition, e been a fine building. There are many e or less ruined, one of which appears to

ture of the place is undoubtedly the the Medjerda ; it is a work of great ern side is nearly complete, but the rest encumbering the bed of the river, as if d about by some great convulsion of ent that it is almost impossible to make

to have crossed the river at an obtuse am on the northern side, there are a luices, with grooves for gates, as if it arrage for the irrigation of the plains. r has been worn away far below its the foundations of the piers are high y exposed. The bridge bears evident rebuilt, which, indeed, we know, from e been the case in the reign of Trajan. masonry is of rubble, almost entirely n the quarries, faced with immense me of which are tombstones. Indeed, of the city there is no appearance of hand having been used in blocks for ly it was too valuable, and was all ne of the tombstones used in the re-idge is 1 m. 60 c. long, 50 c. high,

and 35 c. thick; it has two figures in round-headed niches in the middle, and the following inscription :

Q. VOLCHAN . . . .	D. M. S.
PATRIS . VXOR	GARGILIA . BVR
PIA . VIXIT . ANN. CII	TINA . Q. VOLCHAN
H. S. E.	VARI . FIL . VXOR .
	PIA . VIX . ANN. XXXIII

Another stone is turned upwards, and has one side of the inscription broken off :

M·AELIO . AV . . .  
 RELIO . VERO .  
 CAESARICOS II  
 IMP. CAESARIS  
 T . . . . N . HADRIA  
 NI . ANTONI . . . .  
 AVC . . . . . FIL  
 D.D. P.P.

The record of the reconstruction of the bridge is contained on another stone, now lying in a field on the right bank of the river; an attempt was made to carry it off, but owing to its great size and weight this happily failed. It seems to have been broken down the middle; the height is 1 m. 57 c., the length of the lower side 1 m. 65 c., and of the upper one 1 m. 4 c. The letters are of unequal size, varying from 6 to 30 centim. in height. The whole inscription was contained within a raised moulding :

. . [IMP. . C.]AESAR . DIVI  
 . . [NERV]AE . F. . NERVA  
 . . . [TR]AINVS . OPTIMVS  
 . . . GERM. DACIC. PONT  
 . . . TRIB. POT. XVI. IMP. VI  
 . . . COS. VI. P.P.  
 . . . NOVA . A. FVNDAMENTIS  
 . . . . . ORVM . ET  
 PF . . . . . A . . . . . SVA  
 . . . . . Æ . FECIT.

met an officer of the Bureau Arabe, who in consequence of the late rains, the road to Souk Ahras would probably be. His diligence on the previous day had broken down. The camels and mules had to remain twenty-four hours. As the weather had cleared up, he anticipated the river would be fordable; but he advised me to pass till twenty-four hours had elapsed. I followed his advice, and I returned on the line to Beja (more correctly El Badja).

I was at this place on a former occasion, and I was afforded an opportunity of seeing the effect of the rain on it. The town is one of the oldest in the country. I think it was one of the dirtiest. The streets are covered with liquid manure, and the condition of the roads is such that I could not stay long enough in it to collect any Latin inscriptions which it contained. I met the only European whom I had seen in the country, an employé in the Telegraphe. His arrival upon my arrival was quite an event in his country. A number of carriages brings visitors from the capital at a distance of 12 kilom. Italian and French officers are common; a Captain of the 1st Regiment of the Dar-el-Bey, where I was entertained by the Tunisian Governor. The old city has been almost entirely pulled down and replaced, if not picturesque, French barracks. Only a few remains, formerly the prison, now a barracks. The troops are still in the camp. I think they will soon be removed to the capital, a more pleasant and a healthier situation. The general appearance of cleanliness, and the absence of filth, which formerly struck me as so original purity.

The Chief of the Bureau Arabe, is an Arab, and has collected many interesting Greek, and Numidian; and he has a collection of coins, which shows how much the level



of the town has been raised by the ruins of successive ages.

At the Bab-es-Souk, or market gate, something like the spring of an arch was observed quite on the ground level. He excavated round the gate outside, and he has discovered the old Roman entrance. It was a double gate; one half is still perfectly entire. The present entrance is built on the ruins of the other half, the ground level being now as high as the spring of the old arch.

I slept at Ghardimaou, the extremity of the railway at present, the same night, and on the following day I proceeded to Souk Ahras; the road, if I may be allowed the expression, follows the line of railway, crossing the Medjerda twenty-three times. It is hardly practicable in fine weather, and quite impossible to travel over after rains; but the line of rail will be entirely finished and open by October next.

Thence I returned to Algiers by land.

*Note on the Marbles of Algeria and Tunis.*

Four years ago I made a Report<sup>1</sup> on the quarries of Numidian marbles recently discovered near Kleber, in the Province of Oran, in which I stated that nowhere had I seen marbles of greater beauty or variety, and that the quantity was practically inexhaustible.

Immediately after my visit I conceived the idea, which I have since successfully carried out, of decorating the English church here with this precious material. Every one who has seen the work will admit that I have not exaggerated its beauty, and regrets have constantly been expressed that the quarries should remain unworked. The proprietor, Signor Delmonte, did not care to undertake the work himself; he preferred to sell the whole mountain to a Company; but as he has failed in this, he and his sons have determined to open out the quarries on their own account, and to offer the marble for sale, ready for shipment at Oran, for 400 fr. per cubic metre. The commonest white marble is worth

<sup>1</sup> Consular Report, 1881, part i. p. 55.

ould be considered cheap in London or the sum he demands for it. Steamers n for the United Kingdom laden with ers would gladly take this marble, as . a ton.

ll connected with the marble trade will is information. Specimens may be seen l Department of the British Museum n. The visitor will at once be struck ty of these marbles, when he sees them ers from various parts of the world.

### *Marbles of Chemtou.*

the quarries of Kleber are those of to a Belgian Company from Liège. out 3 kilom. from the station of Oued railway from Tunis to Algeria.

s of considerable importance have been d the operation of extracting and ex- now being actively carried on. These y the Romans, and an important city, ag up in the vicinity, the ruins of which

eties of marble found here are :

' a very fine quality.

marble, of a duller colour than that of

used of small pebbles of white, yellow, ; in a chocolate-coloured cement, quite n the Kleber quarries.

' kilom. in length, has been laid down, t the main line, and by this means the from Tunis, and delivered in France 1000 fr. per cubic metre. When the Tunisian and Algerian Railways is xt, it is probable that this marble will shipped at Bône or some other port in

*Marbles of Filfila.*

About 25 kilom. from the harbour of Philippeville is Djebel Filfila, where are the marble quarries belonging to M. Lesueur. They contain marble of various qualities, the most common being pure white, some of it adapted for statuary purposes. There is also a good deep black, a fine description of pale blue or dove colour, a small quantity of coralline rose, and a bluish crystalline stone, more nearly resembling granite than marble. True granite actually does exist, but it would not repay the cost of working it.

The coping of the quays in the new harbour of Philippeville is of large blocks of white marble from these quarries. Specimens of all the other kinds may be seen in M. Lesueur's works, behind the railway terminus at Philippeville.

*Quarries of Chennouah.*

In addition to these, there exist in the Province of Algiers, between Tipasa and ChercHELL, the quarries of Chennouah, yielding a breccia, but so inferior to that of M. Delmonte or of the Belgian Company, as to be practically worthless. Specimens may be seen in the pillars which decorate the façade of the Banque de l'Algérie at Algiers.

*Algerian Onyx.*

And, lastly, there is the so-called Algerian onyx, an alabaster found near Tlemçen. It is very beautiful, and is found over a considerable extent of country, in thin layers, deposited by the action of water, and not in masses large enough to make it suitable for architectural purposes.

The proprietors only allow a small quantity to be extracted annually, so as to maintain a fictitious value for it.

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[The *Di* for *j*, and other continental modes of transcribing Arabic letters, have been retained as in the manuscript, and in accordance with the local nomenclature.]

*Bushmen and their Language.* By G.  
MARTIN, Esq., M.R.A.S.

on of the Bushmen tribes.

Physical characteristics, moral characteristics, artistic

dialects.

Pronouns, demonstratives. Verbs, tenses, negative  
as. Numerals. Nouns and adjectives, formation of  
segment. Substantive verb, auxiliary, article. Order  
on of words.

man's language. Interchange of clicks and letters.

Bushmen.

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the first on African questions read before  
society, I should have to apologize for  
our learned Honorary Secretary, Mr.  
,<sup>1</sup> there is no African Society, and the  
r has liberally opened its door to those  
mation about the mysterious continent.  
has attracted so much attention that the  
g has been true to its scientific mission,  
ontain already several most important  
ing quarter of the globe.

the subject I wish to treat, I feel that  
s explaining how I came to study the  
n the African continent. The close  
nitic tongues with many of the lan-  
ers the study of the latter a necessity  
shes not to limit himself to the narrow  
re is no issue. However, the study of  
and populations is unfortunately one

of those in which it is hardly possible to confine one's self to a small group; if the student wish to grasp more than one language, he soon finds that he must examine the languages of the whole continent. Two years ago, when I first turned my attention to these languages, I found myself little by little obliged to enlarge the field of my study, till I arrived at the fascinating subject of the Bushmen and their language. In this paper, however, I propose to examine the Bushmen only, and no other of all the populations of Africa.

The difficulties met with in such a study are numerous indeed, and the greatest is certainly the scanty material extant on the subject, and also the difficulty to assign such and such data to the real Bushmen. For a long time the Bushmen have been assimilated to or confounded with the Hottentots; it is only lately that more scientific travellers have carefully noticed every particularity and separated the Bushmen from the Hottentots. The difference, however, is so great between these two populations, as will be seen further on, that to place them in the same group is the same as stating that all men are of the same genus, and therefore destroying all classifications. What has also much contributed to obscure all about the Bushmen is their strange language, the acquirement of which is so difficult that it was for a long time thought impossible. The travellers coming in contact with the real Bushman could only obtain particulars at second hand, and often from those Bushmen who had, by intercourse with the Dutch, acquired a small knowledge of this European language, and had partly lost their peculiarities.

The Bushmen now hardly form a race, much less a nation; they are divided into a multitude of small tribes, scattered and isolated all over Southern Africa, having, to avoid persecution, slavery or extermination, taken refuge in the deserts, or in the rugged mountains. In every locality, though they keep remarkably to themselves, they are inevitably brought more or less in contact with other populations, and owing to occasional, not frequent intermarriages—perhaps also to the admission into their community of some few runaway slaves—

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1 general intercourse, have partly modified  
ities and partly acquired those of their  
rusing the relations of the travellers about  
annot help noticing how different are their  
hey saw different tribes, and each of these  
1 their isolation and through intercourse  
s new characteristics, two facts, which  
narkable degree this isolation, are that  
y numbering fifty, have acquired such  
ities that they cannot understand each  
unt only a few miles, and that they have  
ional name; they are known to us by the  
to them by their neighbours, or by names  
Boers gave them the name of *Bosjesman*,  
ashman: the Hottentots call them *Saan*;<sup>1</sup>  
*roa*;<sup>2</sup> the Kafirs, *Abatwa*, etc. The only  
be doubtfully considered as national is  
plied to one special tribe.

i (if we adopt the name) or Bushman  
sked.

e variations above mentioned, the answer  
, affirmative. Leaving aside for the  
ge, the Bushman represents anthropo-  
ranch among the African races. He is  
gro, and from the Bantu, and also from  
h having with the latter several charac-

The distinction is so evident that it is  
ellers; even those travellers who have  
rather given to them the same name,  
nction between the Hottentot and the  
he varies according to the localities, he  
rtain permanent characteristics; these  
struck the traveller, are those of the race.

common *saan* or *sān*.

of *roa*. There is a Bantu population of the same

man'; other etymologies have however been given,  
s word designates the '*tablier égyptien*,' adopted as  
ibits the most marked characteristic.

The Bushman<sup>1</sup> is of short stature, his size increases only where his appearance shows a mixture of Bantu blood.

His skin is light brown, coppery or even light yellow, and unless through strong and evident mixture with Bantu, never black. Besides, a new-born Bushman baby is not black as a new-born Bantu baby, but red, which, however, is also the case for the new-born Negro baby.

The hair is one of the most persistent racial characteristics, and in the case of the Bushman it is well marked; it is developed in tufts, as that of the Tasmanian, and has an oval transversal cut. The hair is nearly absent on the face and body.

The skull is well defined, it is round and small, the temples are wide, the eyes far from one another and slightly oblique, the cheek-bones prominent, the nose varies much, but is generally large and flat.

The body in general is well proportioned, the shoulders are broad, the arms and legs well developed, with remarkably small feet and hands.

There is a peculiarity which requires special notice. It is the enormous development of the buttocks, which gives the Hottentot his ridiculous appearance. This peculiarity, which is also given to the Bushman, does not, however, appear to be racial, as it is noticed with certainty only on those inhabiting in the vicinity of the Hottentots. The silence of travellers on the point when describing the Bushmen of other localities appears to be most significant; if all the Bushmen had everywhere this remarkable peculiarity, it would have certainly struck the observers. It is therefore probable that it appears only where the Bushmen are crossed with Hottentots.

<sup>1</sup> For the anthropological questions I follow principally Dr. Fritsch, who has published a valuable paper on the Bushman in the Transactions of the German Ethnographical Society, 1879, p. 320. See also H. H. Johnston in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vol. xiii. p. 452; Sir Bartle Frere, same publication, vol. xi. p. 327; E. Holub, in the same publication, vol. x. p. 6, and in his work, 'Seven Years in South Africa.' Waitz, in his *Introduction to Anthropology*, has gathered an enormous quantity of facts reported by travellers, but unfortunately the Hottentot and the Bushman are often confounded, so that it is difficult to draw conclusions from them.

ty found among the Bushwomen and, among the female Hottentots, appears to be as is called in French *le tablier égyptien*. This ornament seems to be essentially Bushman, not specimens only due to intermixture. The Bushman, as noticed by Fritsch, places it on his chest; they are not like badly-cut ivory, as is the case with the Hottentots, but regular, and of a mother-of-pearl ap-

pearance. The Bushman appears to be, when unadorned, of small stature and brachycephalic proportions.

To more clearly the ethnographic difference between the neighbouring races, we must bear in mind the characteristics of the latter. The Bantu is tall, of a sooty-black colour, and dolicocephalic. On the other side, is also tall, but of a colour more like the Bushman, and the skull is never so round, but more elongated behind and narrow in front. His features, under the influence of the prognathism, it is never very different from the Bushman, the Hottentot, nor the Negro. This prognathism is essentially the characteristic of

the Negro's moral characteristics, which are now being studied by anthropologists. The Bushman is not so. He was made out by the earliest travellers, as being tribes which despise and oppress him. He is for freedom, he acknowledges no slaves. It is this love of independence which makes him prefer the wandering life of a hunter to that of a peaceful agriculturist or shepherd, as the Negro does. He has reduced his wants to their minimum; he builds a hut, but prefers for abode the caves in the rocks; in other localities he

is not so. This characteristic, according to some, is that the Hottentot, while the Bushman is free from it. (Waitz, *English edition*, 1863, p. 103.)



forms a kind of nest in the bush—hence his name of Bushman—or digs with his nails subterranean caves, from which he has received the name of Earthman. His garment consists only of a small skin. His weapons are still the spear, arrow, and bow, in their most rudimentary form. The spear is a mere branch of tree, to which is tied a piece of bone or flint; the arrow is only a reed treated in the same way. Sometimes, as often happens among savages on the border of civilized lands, an old piece of glass or iron, or a nail, is utilized as point of arrow. The arrow and spear-heads are always poisoned, to render mortal the slight wounds they inflict. He gathers no flocks, which would impede his movements, and only accepts the help of dogs as wild as himself. The Bushmen have, however, one implement—a rounded stone, perforated in the middle, in which is inserted a piece of wood; with this instrument, which carries us back to the first age of man, they dig up a few edible roots growing wild in the desert. To produce fire, he still retains the primitive system of rubbing two pieces of wood—another prehistoric revival.

Though the Bushman has many superstitions, he has no religion, and really no idea of a divinity, unless he has acquired it from missionaries or from neighbouring tribes, and even in those cases it is evident that the Bushman repeats what he has been told without understanding it himself. But in spite of this lack of religion, he is, morally, far superior to the Bantu and the Hottentot, never being uselessly cruel, and being kind and helpful to his fellow-tribesmen. Cattle-stealing is in their eyes only a form of hunting. The Bushman is grateful and devoted to those who treat him kindly. The travellers narrate several cases of Bushmen who have shown the utmost devotion to their masters when these knew how to treat them. The Bushman has a great talent of imitation. It is related of a Bushman employed by a Boer as servant, that he used to imitate in a striking manner every one in the farm and those who visited it, though he always refused to caricature his master, who was kind to him. This talent of imitation is well illustrated by the

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left by the Bushmen on the walls of the rocks; these drawings are done with reeds, and the carving only with a flint. The representations show many degrees of artistic skill, and a striking and realistic likeness is often achieved. It is hard to say whether or can there be any doubt of the truth of these pictures. Many pictures come closely to life, the Hottentot with his large feet and the dark Bantu, are unmistakeably real. It is indeed a strange spectacle to see these drawings made with a reed or carving with a piece of wood.

The Hottentot, and even the Bantu, produce the worst of these drawings, but the Bantu, having attained a higher degree of civilization, has also a musical instrument, no doubt which still illustrates again this strange art with artistic taste.

Up to now I have said nothing about the Bushmen, having purposely reserved this part of my subject, to which these drawings are an introduction.

But language offers the greatest difficulties, the scarcity of documents to be found is a great hindrance. When reading in Bleek's report that his four volumes of 7200 manuscript half-finished manuscript Dictionary contains a great deal of material, one must be pained to know that such a treasure must be pained to know that such a treasure buried in Sir G. Grey's library in Cape Town. The great philologist was waiting to publish the material that he had gathered, but before his object death took him away. If his end was so close, he would have made use of these materials, for one page of an English translation would have done

fac-similes of the paintings, and was struck by their beauty. See, "Notes on a collection of fac-simile of Bushman Art," *Anthr. Inst.*, vol. xii. p. 464; and E. Holub, *ibid.* vol. ii. p. 438.

more for science than his learned report. But as all these texts are beyond our reach, we must make the best of the scanty materials at our disposal, hoping that one day a scholar will find his way to the treasure accumulated by Bleek, and expose it to the learned world.

Our data are therefore now only the vocabulary and a few sentences given by Arbousset and Daumas in their travels,<sup>1</sup> the vocabulary and a few sentences given by Lichtenstein in his travels,<sup>2</sup> the few observations published by Bleek,<sup>3</sup> a very small vocabulary published by Dr. Hahn,<sup>4</sup> and republished by Dr. F. Müller,<sup>5</sup> with another vocabulary obtained from Bleek.<sup>6</sup> The only connected text besides the above-mentioned sentences is a so-called prayer given by Arbousset and Daumas.

What has prevented more information from being obtained about the language of the Bushmen is no doubt the difficulty for Europeans to acquire it; the abundance of gutturals, the nasalized and uncertain vowels, and above all the strange sounds called clicks, are so foreign to our ears that the first travellers and missionaries did not even attempt to master it, and summarily dismissed all inquiries, saying that the Bushmen must be taught another language to be civilized and Christianized.<sup>7</sup> One, indeed, is struck when reading their relations, how they abstained from giving a single word of Bushman, though when speaking of other populations they mix in their narrative as many African words as they can. This difficulty of non-Bushmen to acquire the language of the

<sup>1</sup> T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap*, Paris, 1842.

<sup>2</sup> Lichtenstein, *Travel in Southern Africa*. English translation, London, 1812, vol. ii. app. ii. The same author says that he has published his "Abhandlung über Sprachen der Südäfricanischen wilden Völkerstämme in Bertuchs und Vaters ethnographisch-linguistischen Archiv." But I was not able to obtain this publication anywhere.

<sup>3</sup> In the collective work *The Cape and its People*.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Ethnologie zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1870.

<sup>5</sup> *Grundriss der Sprache, Wissenschaft*, vol. i. part ii. pp. 25-27.

<sup>6</sup> In his *Catalogue of Sir G. Grey's Library* Bleek gives only bibliographic notes, but he distinguishes the Bushman's language from the Hottentot, and notes the existence of two dialects at least.

<sup>7</sup> The same was said of the Hottentots and of the inhabitants of Terra-del-Fuego, but since then the Bible has been translated and these people converted without losing their language.

the most disastrous effect on the tongue. In intercourse the Bushmen had to use the little by little adopted foreign words more or less disfigured, and some tribes their native idiom; on the Boer frontier of Pigeon-Dutch, on the Kafir frontier and so on, etc. Even in the most isolated tribes the language is pure. The Hottentots being in contact with the Bushmen were mostly and the words introduced from this quarter induced several philologists to consider the two populations as from the same stock, before he had collected the Bushmen. As mentioned, stated that the relation between the San as he calls it, and Hottentot is the same in Latin and English, and Dr. T. Hahn, who assured us in 1881 "that there is not much to be gained in proving that the language of the Hottentots is the same as that of the Khoikhoi (Hottentot) and that English does to the Sanskrit."<sup>1</sup> We cannot see the possibility of such a demonstration, and it is impossible to prove the position of English. We had no knowledge of the connecting links between Gothic, Latin, Lithuanian, etc. We cannot make these statements of Bleek and Dr. Hahn express a wish to carry to the mind of the reader. In the subject, opinions the scientific method which appears impossible. The small amount of will, it is hoped, dissipate what is left of a scientific prejudice, propagated by the utterance of a great philologist's utterance.

Remember that in consequence of their greater tendency to isolate themselves, the population is broken into innumerable small tribes, and fifty souls developing innumerable languages. The words of the same meaning

in the different dialects have often no more connection with one another. For instance, for the word 'mother' we have *ngo* (*no*) in *Se-roa*, *χoa* in the *Khuai* or *Bushman* of *Lichtenstein*, and *tau* in the *Khuai* of *Bleek* given by *Dr. F. Müller*. The *Se-roa* language of the *Ba-roa* is the one given by *Arbousset* and *Daumas*, and called by *Bleek* *cis-gariepian* dialect or *Bumantsu*; the *Khuai* is the language of the *Bushmen* living in the neighbourhood of the *Koranna-Hottentots*, and given by *Lichtenstein*. The vocabulary collected by *Bleek*, and published by *Dr. F. Müller*, belongs also to the *Khuai* dialect, as also the few words given by *Dr. Hahn*.

I will now proceed to give a grammatical sketch so far as the materials at my disposal permit, and will in the transcription follow the *Lepsius* system as closely as possible.

## VOWELS.

<i>a</i>	nasalised	<i>ã</i> , <i>ẽ</i> , etc.
<i>e</i> <i>o</i>		
<i>i</i> <i>ü</i> <i>u</i>	diphthongs	<i>au</i> , <i>ai</i> , <i>ao</i> , etc.

## CONSONANTS.

	EXPLOSIVES.			FRICATIVES.			ANTICIPATED.
	<i>Strong.</i>	<i>Weak.</i>	<i>Nasal.</i>	<i>Strong.</i>	<i>Weak.</i>	<i>Half-Vowels.</i>	
Faucals					<i>h</i>		
Gutturals	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>χ</i>			( <i>ʔ</i> )
Dentals	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>y</i>	<i>r</i> ( <i>l</i> )
Labials	( <i>p</i> )	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>			<i>w</i>	

## CLICKS.

Cerebral	!	Palatal	;
Dental		Lateral or faucal	
Guttural	]	Labial	[]
Spiro-dental	7	Linguo-palatal	□
Undefined x			

ll a more or less obscure sound, and a general tendency to nasalization. Though other vowels, it is probable that some text as pure are really ö, ü, ë, etc., as the transcription of certain words in Mas, and in Lichtenstein; in Bleek's I found ē, e, etc.

its, the striking feature is the scarcity of the nearly exclusive use of explosives, and of the fricatives, the strong one, *k*, being the only one in nine-tenths of the words.

*h* occurs only in a few words; the use of *g* found only in one word of the Se-roa dialect, 'fire,' and may have been intended for *h* in the Khuai dialect [ *hoki* 'wood;'] the word for 'son' *pχün*, where *p* also occurs. Dr. F. Müller gives beside the *h* represented by *r* surmounted with a hook; found in Lepsius's Alphabet, it may be what Bleek, in his report, represents by a small *l*, which no doubt indicates the difference between *r* and *l*, as the *r* of the Akka language. *h* only in Arbousset's vocabulary, and *r*.<sup>1</sup>

Aspirated labial *ph* (= *p'* of Lepsius) in Mas and Arbousset the aspirated lingual *tl* standing really for *χ'* or *lχ* in *tlauke*. Unaspirated consonants seem to be the natural development of the unaspirated with the weak aspirate *k'* of Lepsius in *khū* 'face,' here primitively the guttural and the labial separated by a vowel, as in *|kha* for

requent with the vowels is rare with

sonants in the numerous words unknown to us.

the consonants, but in several cases *nt* and *nd* seem to be a nasalization of primitive *t* and *d*.

The palatization of consonants is not rare, but, except in a few cases, it seems to be the natural product of the coming in contact of the consonant with the semi-vowel *y*: *!ädys* 'white.' It is possible, however, that the palatized *s'* found in Hottentot exists also in Bushman. In the fables, the Ichneumon, when speaking, changes the clicks into palatized sibilants and dentals, as the Tortoise changes them into labials.

As we should expect it from the small number of consonants, the clicks play an important part in the Bushman language, where they have been, indeed, developed to the number of nine. The great importance of these curious sounds, very insufficiently described in Lepsius's Alphabet, makes it advisable to give here a description of them.

The special and essential character of the clicks is that they are formed, not by expiration, but by drawing in the breath; they form, really, a pure vibration, necessarily followed by a stop before the speaker can pronounce the letter uttered in the usual way with the breath. The clicks are, besides, always placed before the initial letter; when a word contains a click in the middle, it must be a compound, so *tan tʰjih* 'warm' written for *tā;i* by Lichtenstein and given by Dr. F. Müller under the forms of *ta'i* or *|a,i*, is certainly a compound of the word for 'fire' *tʰjih* for *ʃi* in Lichtenstein and *|i* in Müller, and also the word for 'child' given by Lichtenstein *|ka'koān* compound of *|koān* 'a youth,' in the Se-roa *|koān*, is 'man.'

The cerebral click ! (confounded by Lichtenstein with the palatal ;) is sounded by curling the tip of the tongue and pressing it against the middle of the roof of the palate and withdrawing it suddenly and forcibly by suction.

The palatal click ; (*tʰ* in Lichtenstein and *‡* of Bleek) is formed like the last, but pressing the tongue against the termination of the palate at the gums.

The dental click | (*tʰ* of Lichtenstein) is formed by pressing the tip of the tongue against the front teeth and withdrawing as for the others.

er, faucal click || (*t*<sup>2</sup> of Lichtenstein) is the tongue against the faucal point of the tongue, doing the tongue practically covers the mouth, as noticed by Tindal in his Nama language is withdrawn as usual by suction. The click is by pressing the tongue against the alveolar, but among the Bushmen it is faucal.<sup>1</sup>

ɿ (confounded by Lichtenstein with the preceding, but by placing the point of the palate. Confounded with the dental by Lichtenstein, and to Bleek, and ɔ of Bleek's report) is made by the tongue quickly, like that of a

ɿ, noticed by Wuras and known only to Bleek, is sounded by drawing in the mouth slightly apart. No doubt it has the simple aspirate *h* or the guttural transcription, or has been neglected altogether precedes a consonant, as in the two cases, it may perhaps represent this click. ɿ is only used in fables by the Jackal who says that it "bears to the ordinary in sound similar to that which the cerebral." Though we have no other names so improbable that the Bushmen click specially for the Jackal, that it is that it actually exists in the language; and in the transcription with the

× is, according to Bleek, "a most" which in the fables takes the place when the Moon, the Hare, or the Antelope he makes no attempt to describe it.

advisable to have two different signs, in order to



If it existed in the language, as is probable, it has been confounded in the transcription with the others.

As can be seen from the above description, the clicks have all a certain relation to one another, and in a measure to the consonants. Following the order adopted by Lepsius, we have: faucal, guttural, cerebral, palatal, dental, labial; the spiro-dental corresponds to the aspirate *h*, and the linguo-palatal is a kind of *r*-click or *l*-click.

As for the philological position of the clicks, it is most probable that Edwin Norris was right when he suggested that they play the same part as the tones in Chinese. It has been objected that Hottentot, which has clicks, has tones also; but the clicks are probably of Bushman origin, and have been no doubt adopted by the Hottentots in their contact with the Bushmen, as these curious sounds are strangely contagious; the Shuana, the Kafirs, the Zulus, and many other people, even the Boers, have adopted some. The existence of the clicks is not besides incompatible with that of the tones in the same language, as the former seems to indicate a modification of the beginning, and the latter of the end of the words. However, the existence of tones in the language of the Bushman is even doubtful, as Bleek and others do not mention them. As illustration of clicks taking the place of dropped letters, or compensating for their loss, may be quoted: Se-roa *kā* 'hand,' Khuai |*ā* or |*ō*.

As for the question whether the clicks are anterior to the consonants, or the consonants to the clicks, it cannot be answered for the present on account of the few specimens at our disposal.

There is one more observation to be made before leaving the alphabet. As already noticed, the vowels are more or less obscure, but in many cases the vowel must have been so weak that it has been neglected altogether in the transcription; though vowels must be inserted to make the pronunciation possible, as in the name for 'tortoise' *ṭχrōi*, and with the prefixes *n*- and *mm*- before a click, or a consonant, unless we admit vocalized consonants, as in some languages of Asia.

r, the reader might be reminded that disposal are only three vocabularies two dialects. In Arbousset's dialect, are not represented at all; in this Lichtenstein's dialect, the Khuai, the is very defective, and often we cannot meant. As far as possible, in this is restored according to the Lepsius

language there are no gender, two e pronouns.

ional and possessive pronouns are ex-  
efixes or suffixes.

i, en, in, ē, ā Plur. 1st pers. i, si si.  
2nd „ u-u, u.  
ha 3rd „ (wanting)

st pers. we have also sing. i, plur. se

mal pronouns are formed with the  
the word for 'man' |koan.

ff.'

melf.'

the prefix is in for the 1st pers.

ouns are expressed by the shorter

rother.'

ves are :

inng by Lichtenstein).

e. 'the thing of thee.'

The pronouns in the accusative governed by verbs are expressed by the shortest forms suffixed to the verb :

*aké* (for *aké-e*) 'give me.'

*hullantana-e* (Se-roa) 'thou like me not.'

Dr. F. Müller gives also for the 1st person object. :

*|kifen* 'kill me,' from *|ki* 'to kill,'

where the presence of the *t* between the verb and the suffix is not explained.

*|kina* 'kill thee.'

*|kha* (for *|ki-ha*) 'kill him.'

The demonstrative is *hwa* in Khuai and *ke* in Se-roa, but there are other forms, as will be seen :

*hwa|koan* 'this man.'

*ki ke* 'this fire.'

*Verbs.*—The verbal forms are necessarily very few in the sentences which compose all our texts, and those found are unexplainable, often on account of no other passage containing the same words.

The imperative contains the root :

*|na* 'see !' *|wa* 'drink !'

The most usual form is composed by prefixing the pronoun to the root :

*ih-jainti* 'I come.'

*a-tai* 'thou callest.'

The other persons are not found in our Khuai sentences. In the Se-roa dialect we find :

*i-taña* 'I like.'

*i-kega* 'I say.'

{ *si-taña* 'we like.'  
  { *se-tañ*    "   "

The form *n-tagagisa* in the Se-roa sentence,

*kūe n-tagagisa* 'I have walked a long time,'

is difficult to explain.

When the subject is expressed emphatically, the verb is used without the prefixes :

*mm |koan |keūna* 'I myself am thirsty.'

dialect this form with the pronominal  
used for the past and future as well as  
context or an adverb indicates the tense

it. 'thou again comest,' i.e. 'thou wilt  
,

, perhaps through Kafir influence, seems  
kind of future by means of the verb  
wish for,' used as auxiliary :

] *koĩnta*, lit. 'I wish I go asleep,' i.e. 'I  
sleep.'

I will speak.'

*kō* 'we will sing a song.'

ing does not, however, necessarily imply  
when the wish is distinctly meant, the  
aid by the particle *ga* :

*a* 'we wish to walk.'

is always placed before the verb and  
prefix, when the latter is expressed :

*ikei* 'Myself have not.'

thou likest me not.'

ance in Se-roa :

nothing to eat,'

of a negative voice in this dialect.  
that in *-isa*, show that the same dialect  
ance has perhaps developed derivative

seems in the Khuai dialect to be ex-  
pressing in form placed at the beginning  
particle *ti*, *di* or *de* placed at the end,  
omitted :

*i-di* 'Where doest thou go?'

?

'Hast thou seen game?'

3. *axn̄* *niati-di* 'Whence comest thou?'  
what come?
4. *axn̄* *aa tai-de* 'How doest thou call thyself?'  
what thou call?
5. *axa* *keūn̄* 'Art thou thirsty?'  
what thirst
6. *axā* *ini* 'Doest thou know him?'  
what know
7. *tire* *χasiñ* *!na* 'Where hast thou seen it?'  
place (?) what see.

It would be imprudent to draw conclusions and set up rules from these seven examples. However, we can see from the last three that the final particle was not always necessary. The *n̄* in *axn̄* in Nos. 3 and 4 may express a kind of instrumental, in No. 3 it would be 'by what' (place), and in No. 4 'by what' (name). The final *-siñ* in No. 2 may express remoteness. In No. 4 the pronoun expressed *aa* is no doubt the accusative regimen of the verb, and in No. 6, *axā* is perhaps for *axa ha* 'what him;' if so, in interrogative sentences a pronoun regimen would precede the verb. The word *tire*, which in No. 7 seems to take the place of the initial vowel *a* of the interrogative, is not found otherwise, so its real strength cannot be detected.

*Numerals.*—Bushmen not possessing anything do not want any numerals. When they wish to express a number, they merely raise as many fingers. In the Khuai dialect we have only *!oi* 'one,' *!u* 'two,' for 'three' *!oaya* 'many' is used. The Se-roa dialect appears to be better off, and the numerals go up to 'four,' and, as in the Polynesian languages, the numeral is always preceded by a word:

one	<i>te a !noa.</i>
two	<i>te !nu.</i>
three	<i>te !nuene.</i>
four	<i>te nkeo.</i>
many	<i>te a gabe.</i>

The word *te* is not found in any other sentence or expres-

know its meaning, but it may perhaps in Khuai is |ā; if the supposition is be 'finger is one,' *a* being the Se-roa be.' 'Many' *te a gabe* might be 'the t this is a mere supposition, as *gabe* also expressions.

es.—The adjectives do not form a special nouns placed in apposition, we therefore

there is no gender in the words: beings then expressed by different words:

1 apply to both sexes the distinction is 'male' or 'female':

doubt the same as ʔēi 'people,' and *aiti* *aiti* 'a female.'<sup>1</sup> The click is dropped, two words form a compound so homographs considered to form only one word, being admitted in the middle must be

umas's vocabulary is so defectively that to make out the real words meant in

n.'

ness.'

'lion's male' and 'lion's female.' 'Lion' according to Bleek, and ʔkân according to *koen* seems to be the Se-roa form, the the transcribers. *ka* is the mark of therefore 'male' and *nte* 'female,' re-

*!kui goui*, 'woman' *!kui |ayi*, which seem to be human being,' and an adjective.

lated to *ʔei* and *|aiti*, as *aih* and *aiti* of the Khuai expressions. In the Se-roa vocabulary we find also :

*kuane ka oga* 'bull.

*ka oga* 'cow'—

which must be incorrect : *kuane* may be however the Se-roa word for 'cattle' or 'ox' in general, without reference to the gender, as we have in Khuai *|kau* for 'buffalo' : *kuane ka oga* would be then 'buffalo's male'—the second expression *ka oga* for 'cow' must be a mistranscription. The two following expressions in Se-roa

*klir-ea* 'springbock,'

*koli-nte* 'blessbock,'

give us the form without the particle : *ea*=the Khuai *aih* 'male' and *nte*=*aiti* 'female.'

It must be mentioned that Bleek said in his report that the Bushman's language distinguished perhaps at one time the genders, as the Hottentot : this is suggested to him by the fact that in the fables certain animals are made to marry others, and he supposes that, as in French, certain genders are specially applied to certain animals and used as common, as in the words *girafe*, *hyène*, *lièvre*, etc., which are always the same one gender, even when spoken of male or female. In French, as in Bushman, one must, to express the sex, say, *le male de la girafe*, *le male de la hyène*, etc. This supposition of Bleek<sup>1</sup> has been adopted by Dr. Hahn and Dr. F. Müller, who suppose Khuai to be a decayed Hottentot dialect. We must remember, however, that in Hottentot the genders are not what they are in the classic tongues. The masculine, feminine, and common gender are always carefully distinguished, and do not answer to our masculine, feminine, and neuter ; we do not find masculine applied to female, as in the French *virago*, or neuter to female as in the German *Weib*, or feminine to neuter as in the English *ship*. In the Bushman's language it seems to me that there never was any gender, but that, as in Turk and Akkadian, when it was

<sup>1</sup> Second report, "A Short Account of Bushman Folklore, Cape Town, 1875."

it, this was done by means of the ; if there is a tendency at all to no doubt due to a long intercourse with the sex-denoting Hottentot, but as far as documents we possess, this supposed

plural is, by its irregularity, one of the features of the Khuai dialect. The reduplicated, and with monosyllabics ending

plur. *tutu*.

„ ||*nōa*||*nōa*.

„ |*kē*|*kē*.

„ |*ka*|*ka*.

vowel has become shortened.

when in a consonant, or is of more than one syllable alone is repeated :

plur. |*nī*|*nīn*.

„ ||*nū*||*nūntu*.

„ |*nū*|*num*.

the plural with the suffix *en*, dropping

plur. |*anken*.

„ |*kaχen*.

the suffix *en* added after the reduplication :

the plural *tsa tsaxen* (by the side of *tsaxen*).

the plural is preceded by other letters : <sup>1</sup>

plur. *kokoboken*.

„ |*ko*|*koaken*.

„ |*ku*|*kugyen*.

„ |*ko*|*koa-ken*.

the suffix *en* before the suffix may be a remnant of the suffix *en* may be a decayed form meaning 'many,' the plural *kokobo-k-en* would be literally 'boy boy's'



In some words there seems to be a change of vocalization with a partial reduplication :

<i>kuka</i> 'shoe.'	plur.    <i>ku</i>    <i>ku</i> .
<i>kun</i> 'wing.'	„    <i>kokun</i> .
<i>koïn</i> 'dog.'	„   <i>künkün</i> .

Finally some words are quite altered :

ǀ <i>uiya</i> 'great,' or 'big.'	plur. ǀ <i>uita</i> .
<i>eri</i> 'little,' or 'small.'	„   <i>ên</i> .

As far as we can judge from the Se-roa vocabulary, similar formations were in force in this dialect; we find :

<i>koatu</i> 'bottom.'	plur. <i>kokoatu</i> .
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Of the following reduplicated plurals the singular is not given :

<i>xuxubi</i> 'white ants.'
<i>koankoan</i> 'stars.'

In some cases the Se-roa seems to form the plural by a prefix, no doubt through Kafir influence :

<i>tsago</i> 'eye.'	plur. <i>n-tsago</i> .
<i>nûtu</i> 'ear.'	„ <i>e-nûtu</i> .
<i>kui</i> 'feather,' or 'bird.'	„ <i>i-kui</i> .

The plural prefix seems also to have been used with the reduplication :

<i>nomaten</i> 'knee.'	plur. <i>i-nonomaten</i> .
------------------------	----------------------------

The genitive is generally expressed by simple apposition, the possessor standing first :

<i>kā</i> ǀ <i>kui</i> 'the lion's tail.'
<i>toi</i> ǀ <i>kui</i> 'the ostrich's tail.'
! <i>koa tsaxu</i> 'the water's eye,' i.e. 'the spring.'

The particles *ka*, *ga*, *ya* or *a* placed after the possessor mark the emphatic genitive :

<i>kā ga ān</i> 'the flesh of the lion.'
<i>sa ga ān</i> 'the flesh of the eland.'
<i>aa ka</i>    <i>soin</i> 'the thing of thee.'
<i>kam ka</i> ǀ <i>kui</i> 'the man of the Kam,' i.e. 'the Hottentot.'

ot found by itself.<sup>1</sup>

select the order is reversed, the possessor  
agent :

eye of millet,' *i.e.* 'grain of millet.'

place of the feet,' *i.e.* 'the door.'

is preserved with the particle, but not

the lion's male.'

the place of the cow.'

single really nouns placed in apposition,  
qualify :

young,' *i.e.* 'child.'

, ' *i.e.* 'bull.'

order is observed :

good.'

big,' *i.e.* 'rock.'

er small.'

' is often understood :

this man is good,' or 'this good man,'

myself [I am] a whiteman.'

to be' is expressed by *gan* for 'is,' and  
adjective agreeing in number with the

' the sea-cow is big.'

*an eri* 'my sister one is small.'

*in ||u;uita* 'the sea-cows are big.'

*in ||u ēn* 'my two sisters are small.'

but one *inūi e joaya* is 'sea-cow the  
m of the verb 'to be,' which seems to  
a kind of article.

even that it means 'land,' or 'soil': the Hottentot  
the Bushmen looked on him as the man of the soil.

In Se-roa the verb 'to be' is *a*, and is invariable.

*waatla a koan* 'the arrow is touching.'

*ka a ta* 'the locusts are good.'

The weaker form used as a kind of article is also *a*.

*wa a mneko* 'a thing the small,' i.e. 'a small thing.'

As just seen, the verb 'to be,' under the form of *a*, was in Se-roa used as a kind of auxiliary, and there seems a tendency in this dialect to treat all verbal roots as adjectives or participial forms, and to use them with this auxiliary:

*ka a se* 'the locusts are come or coming.'

*wa a, ka a se* 'rain already is come.'

The word *ka* is an adverb which indicates the past, as it is translated in the vocabulary by 'formerly' and 'since a long time.'

*Order of Sentence*.—The order of the word in the sentence is very capricious; however, the imperative is generally placed at the beginning:

*da tobékt* 'give me tobacco.'

In the other cases the verb or the adjective used as predicate is placed at the end, and the subject at the beginning, when emphatically expressed:

*wa kossi kañsi* 'thou wilt come again.'

*hou kotu an teleni* 'this man (is) not good.'

*ahukoissi a- gani* 'to-morrow thou comest.'

*wa in-aiate* 'there I come.'

In the Se-roa dialect the same order is generally observed, but there are some sentences where the verb is at the beginning, and it seems to be the rule for the auxiliary *tana*:

*sa ke ke* 'blow the fire.'

*ke ke* 'to kill a man.'

*wa ke kuita* 'filled fire all,' i.e. 'the fire is all filled (with smoke).'

*etan a- ke gu koba hu* 'we like our stomach filled [with] food.'

*ke ke ke* 'I speak the truth.'

ns.—It has been wrongly asserted that Bushman had no formatives; with the at our disposal it is difficult often to , but even in these few words the exis- is evident. We have already quoted *ta|i* 're,' where *ta* seems a formative prefix, the formative written *te* in *teteini* 'good,' we have no doubt a formative suffix, as *ki-ya* 'red,' *joaya* 'many,' *ju-i-ya* 'big'; last word the suffix *ya* is changed to *ta*; *ki* forms adjectives or appellatives: *a-ke* 'on,' *||kana-ki* 'bad.' Besides *ta* we have *ka* after the initial click: *|u-ka* 'dead,' the same formatives are found in Se-roa: *ka* form *ia*, and exclusively after a nasal, *ka* (cf. the Khuai *|koin*) 'dog,' *keun-ia* 'a's egg,' *sebe-ke* 'iron.' This same dialect has a formative suffix *se*:<sup>1</sup> *kebe-se* 'fine,' *ka* sometimes is used as a formative *ka*; the double use of a formative as evident, for *ta*, as seen above, in *ta-|i* and going through the vocabularies we find *ka* used by other suffixes and prefixes, but *ka* is used with safety and certainty in the knowledge of the language.

*Bushman's Language*.—These few notes must, to show the great importance of *ka* from a philological point of view, and the man who could devote himself to it. *ka* and gave to this study, entirely and last years of his laborious life.

*ka* acts are so innumerable that the individual in its peculiarities. Bleek, in it dialectal differences are noticed in whom he gathered the tales now in

*ka* to form diminutives: *gnu* 'a gnu,' *ngai* 'the

Cape Town ; and, as we have already noticed, the few words we possess differ between themselves, even when collected in the same localities from two different persons. This very fact makes this language precious for the philologist, as he could notice in a small area wonderful changes, and, taking into account all the surrounding influences, detect the real and genuine national words ; we can already, with the little we possess, notice curious changes. The clicks, for instance, are not immutable, but vary as much as the other elements of the language. The palatal ; and the cerebral ! are easily interchanged, and might be considered as developments of the same original, or one as the offshoot of the other : the same may be said of the faucal (lateral) and the guttural. We notice, also, changes between clicks and consonants, as the already-quoted |a for ta. Bleek, in his report, notices that in the tales collected by him the tortoise changes clicks in labials, the ichneumon uses instead palatals, the jackal replaces the labial click [ by the linguo-palatal [ , and the moon, the hare, and the anteater, use " a most unpronounceable click." Even in the two vocabularies we possess, changes of clicks are noticeable, tsün 'thing,' given by Dr. Hahn, is ||soin in Lichtenstein, and tsaxe 'eye,' becomes |sagu ; for 'wood' Bleek gives [ hoki, Dr. Hahn ihoggen, and Lichtenstein |hauki, etc.<sup>1</sup> The consonantal changes are not less numerous and interesting. Bleek says that in the fables the blue crane adds 'tt to the end of the first syllable of almost every word.' For 'nose' Bleek gives tu, Dr. Hahn and Lichtenstein |nudu, and Arbousset nüen ; for 'lion' Bleek gives ||kã, Lichtenstein |kãh, and Arbousset koeh. Sometimes words entirely different have been adopted : for 'arrow' Bleek gives !kara, Lichtenstein |noa, and Arbousset tloatloa. As for the peculiar changes which Bleek notices in the Bushman's fables collected by him, they may be compared to the peculiar accent attributed to countrymen and foreigners, or the representation in writing of lisping and

<sup>1</sup> From the words for 'one' and 'two' !oi and !u in Khuai and noa and nu in Se-roa, it would seem that the click ! changes regularly in gutturo-nasal n from one dialect to the other.

Atly, in the idea of the Bushmen, the spoke, had each a peculiar accent. The dialects' languages or dialects would be very interesting to the philologist.

*Notes.*—As before stated, the connected texts are unfortunately very few, and consist only in those collected by Lichtenstein in the Khwai dialect, and a dialect published by Arbousset and called prayer of four sentences, and one . This is nothing compared to the collected by Bleek of fables, tales, histories, mythological stories, genealogies, etc., all collected and translated. This collection forms a volume of 3600 pages, in two columns. These are uniformly filled with Bushman literature, and the translation of the native pieces in English, also, in Dutch, and, in the case of the transcription is also given in ordinary English. These are, besides, entered in several

the catalogue given by Bleek will give a full collection. He divides the literature into

classes, legends, and poetry. I. The tales which hold the first place in this class contain many episodes; II. The stories of the moon and sun (No. 15-21); III. Stories of the earth (No. 22-26); IV. Animals' fables, the most interesting literature (No. 27-35); V. Legends of the people anterior to the Bushman (No. 36-41); VI. Poetry, consisting of songs, and poems (No. 42-62). VII. Animals and their uses (No. 63-86); VIII. Hunting and personal. VII. Animals and their uses with them and hunting (No. 63-86); VIII. Hunting, containing adventures and accipiters (No. 87-96); IX. Customs and interesting as illustrating the mode of life (No. 67-112); X. Genealogies,

words, sentences (No. 113-125). The last section contains lists of names of animals and insects, extensive vocabularies, and sentences in several dialects.

From this short summary we readily understand the importance of the collection, and must regret that nothing of it has been yet published. Just before his death, Bleek intended to appeal to the European learned world for support to enable him to pursue his researches and publish their result. The appeal was made in the name of his widow by his sister-in-law, Miss Lucy Lloyd, under the date of 18th of September, 1875, but does not appear to have met with any response.

It must be mentioned that doubts have been raised as to the genuineness of the tales recited by the Bushmen to Bleek. Even were these warranted, the circumstance would not take away the philological importance of the texts: but they really seem to have little foundation, as we can hardly believe that the Bushmen would have invented the stories with the curious animals' clicks, and, the other populations not being able to pronounce them, it is not likely that the tales were theirs.

*Relationship of the Bushman.*—It may be asked, what is the Bushman, what is his position in regard to the other tribes and among the human family, and whether he is a last and isolated specimen of an extinct race? It has been asserted by some that the Bushmen were the result of a mixture of all the runaway slaves, and by others that they were the broken remnants of a degraded and decayed population. Against these two assumptions Dr. Fritsch protests rightly,<sup>1</sup> remarking that the Bushmen have none of the characters which would warrant such suppositions. He observes, with great acuteness, that the Bushmen love their avage life, and prefer it to the comfort of civilization; it is where they have accepted in a certain measure this civilization that they can be said to be decayed. At a period, very early it may be, the Bushmen have found a *modus vivendi*, and, being satisfied with it, neither tried nor

<sup>1</sup> In his excellent paper quoted above.

improve it. It is not the only example which, arrived at a certain degree of civilization, being quite satisfied with that stage as the best attainment. Unfortunately at which the Bushman chose to remain to enable him to resist the pressure of the area he covered formerly was much overlapped over regions now exclusively occupied by Bantu; how far it extended in the means of knowing, but we have some that the Bushman race occupied at one of the African continent.

strange to say, the Bushman offers all the Nigritos, especially of those of the he cranial similarity has already been noted, though he explains it by supposing that the Nigritos have been arrested in their development, and preserve an infantile character.

confined to the skull, but extends to the characteristics we have enumerated—colour of the skin, form of the hair, absence of hair on the limbs, smallness of the extremities, and so on.<sup>1</sup>

any population with which the Bushmen are compared. The central part of Africa is not yet able to answer this question with certainty, however, a race, now nearly extinct, which shows many of the same characteristics as the Bushman race of the first dynasties. Of course it is absurd to say that the Bushmen are the Egyptians, or that the Egyptians were the Bushmen. It can be safely said that both populations

*On the osteology and affinities of the natives of the continent of Africa.* f the Anthropol. Inst. vol. ix. p. 108; Presidential Address of A. Mann, same publication, vol. xii. p. 74 et seq. The names of Africa, however, give the name of Bushmen to the continent. Are they the same as our Bushmen? The utterances of Dr. Livingstone might, however,



came from the same primitive stock and have been modified by crossing with other races, and many other causes. The Bushmen, like the Egyptians, have an exclusive natural graphic power, and, as a special physical characteristic, the *tablier égyptien*. I, however, say that the Bushmen do *not* descend from the Egyptians, but only from the same race—a kind of Nigritoide population. The Bushmen certainly never knew anything of Egyptian civilization, though some might be tempted to say they did; it is probable that they separated when still in a savage state, or rather that at that early period a group, separated and mixed with another race, formed the Egyptian race. It is now admitted by many that the mixed races are those which show the greatest aptitudes. What makes the supposition of such relationship less improbable is that the primitive home of the Egyptians appears to have been at the south of the equator,<sup>1</sup> whence they gradually pushed northwards. The other tribes of this Nigritoide race remained probably in a state of barbarism, or adopted the lowest degree of community: they were pushed and pressed everywhere by all the populations of higher social organization, the ancestors of the Bushmen were thrown on the Hottentot population, whether or not this was indigenous or extraneous—in their tales the Bushmen always speak of a previous population inhabiting the country—and it is no doubt the inevitable infusion of Hottentot blood which has given them the few characteristics they have in common.

It may be said that in my statements there are many assumptions difficult to prove. I would, however, remark that they are rather inferences than conclusions, and that I have reached them through a long and slow process. Having no decided opinion, at first I examined carefully the opinions of every scholar, philologist, or traveller, and in many cases I stopped for awhile, accepting one of them, which I was nevertheless obliged to reject on further examination. Such may be

<sup>1</sup> This is the simplest explanation of the Egyptian tradition preserved in the classics, that, formerly, the sun used to rise at the right and set at the left; there are, besides, other evidences of the Austral origin of the Egyptians.

own conclusions, but if this paper has  
arouse the interest of scholars in  
terature, and to induce one philo-  
Cape library and give to the world  
fully collected by Bleek, I shall be

I only wish that circumstances  
Cape Town, examine the treasure  
continue the interesting study of  
nguage.

to note 5, page 59 antè. Since the  
the following note from our Hon.  
been communicated to me : "Dr. F.  
hat he has in the press a grammar  
ishman." I regret not to have had  
e, as the above-named gentleman  
data to work on, and a grammar  
uld not fail to add much to our  
any valuable observations.

ART. IV.—*Inscriptions at Cairo and the Burju-z Zafar.* By  
HENRY C. KAY, M.R.A.S.

A FORMER number of this Journal (Vol. XIX. Part 2) contained a short account of the three monumental gates of Cairo, the chief, indeed almost the only, remaining memorials of the celebrated Fatimite Khalifate of Egypt. It included a copy of the Cufic inscription sculptured on the frieze of the gate, known by the name of Bab en Naṣr, as far as I had then succeeded in reading it.

On a subsequent visit to Egypt, I applied to the local authorities for permission to put up a light scaffolding, admitting of a closer examination of the inscription. This was courteously granted, and enabled me to decipher the missing portions with which, until then, all my attempts had been completely baffled. Near inspection revealed the reason of the difficulty. The lettering was perfectly visible, but it was choked and disfigured by several layers of whitewash, applied at successive but unknown periods. There were traces to show that one of these layers had been a light sky-blue in colour, but the outer one had assumed a dark grey, so precisely the colour of the stone of which the gate is built, that seen from the ground below, its existence could hardly be suspected.

complete, and I think I may venture to the inscription :

بِعِزِّ اللَّهِ الْعَزِيزِ الْجَبَّارِ بِحَاطِ الْإِسْلَامِ مَنْشَأَ  
بَابِ الْعِزِّ وَالسُّورِ الْمُحِيطِ بِالْمَعْرِزَةِ الْقَاهِرَةِ الْمَوْلَانَا  
وَسَيِّدِنَا الْإِمَامِ الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ بِاللَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ  
وَعَلَى آبَائِهِ الْأَثَمَةِ الطَّاهِرِينَ وَأَبْنَائِهِ الْأَكْرَمِينَ السَّيْفِ  
الْإِسْلَامِ نَاصِرِ الْأَثَمَانِ كَافِلِ قَضَاةِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ  
أَبُو الْجَعْمِ بَدْرُ الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ عِصْدُ اللَّهِ بِقَائِهِ  
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَدَامَ قُدْرَتَهُ وَأَعْلَى كَمَالِهِ  
بِحَسَنِ تَدْبِيرِهِ الدَّوْلَةَ وَالْإِسْلَامَ (أَنَامُ or أَيَّامُ) الْعَالَمِ  
وَابْتِغَاءَ ثَوَابِ اللَّهِ وَرِضْوَانِهِ وَطَلَبَ فَتْحِ  
كُرْسِيِّ الْخِلَافَةِ وَازْدِلَافاً إِلَى اللَّهِ بِحِيَاظَةِ الدِّينِ  
مَحْرَمَ سَنَةِ ثَمَانِينَ وَأَرْبَعَمِائَةٍ

about with the glory of God, the most used for the defence of the walls, this gate (themselves) that encircle Al Kâhirah the (may God protect it), were erected by the and Master the Imam Al Mustanşir-billah, Divine glory be upon him, on his fathers his noble offspring), (by) the illustrious Armies, Sword of Islam, Defender of the judges of the Muslims, and Guide of the Abu-l Nijmi Badru-l Mustangiry. May Faith, and by prolonging his days, grant f the Faithful. May He perpetuate his l on high—he with whose righteous rule Empire and the age, whose justice encom- n—seeking the reward from God and His

approval, imploring His grace and bounty, and protection to the throne of the Khalifate, and turning with prayer unto God to surround him with His divine favour. He was authorized to erect this gate in Muharram of the year 480.

The inscription is interspersed, though very sparingly, with ornaments. The characters are beautifully formed, and its undoubted date adds to its caligraphic and artistic interest. Through the care of Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, a plaster cast of a portion is now in the South Kensington Museum.

On a visit, shortly afterwards, to the mosque and tomb of Sayyidah Nafisah, on the south of Cairo, I observed what seemed to be portions of a marble slab, with the remains of a Cufic inscription, which attracted my attention owing to their close resemblance to the inscription over Bab en Naṣr. The slab had been cut up into slips, which are imbedded in mortar in the walls of the vestibule, in various positions, and some upside down. A reference to Al Maḳrīzī's account of the mausoleum (vol. ii. p. 441) shows that in his days (A.D. 1359-1442) a marble slab existed over the gate with an inscription, of which he gives a full copy, and which is almost identically the same as that over Bab en Naṣr. Apart from some slight verbal variations, for which the copyists of Maḳrīzī's MS. are, it may be, chiefly responsible, the difference between the two is confined to the following points.

The inscription over the mausoleum, Maḳrīzī tells us, commenced with the Bismillah, and proceeded as follows :

نصر من الله وفتح قريب لعبد الله ووليّه معذّ أبى تميم الامام  
المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه و على اباائه  
الطاهرين النخ

Assistance (and victory) from God, and speedy conquest unto the favoured servant of God, Ma'add Abu Tamīm, the Imām al Mustanṣir-billah, Prince of the Faithful. Divine glory be upon him, upon his pure forefathers, etc.

o Badr al Jamâli, who is stated to have on of the gate, and the invocations that as on Bab en Naṣr; but after the words his words be raised on high," the inscriptionates as follows:

و شدّ عضده بولده الاجل الافضل سيف الا  
الانام ناصر الدين خليل امير المؤمنين زاد  
المومنين بطول بقاءه في شهر ربيع الآخر سنة  
بعمائه

his arm, through his most noble and illustre sword of the Imâm, the brightness of ated beings, the Defender of the Faith, the rince of the Faithful. May God add to his mfort to the true believers, by the prolonga- , restoration was ordered) in the month of ear 482.<sup>1</sup>

l in A.H. 487, aged about 80 years. He 1 Shahin Shah, surnamed *Al Afḍal*, to nd dignities, regal in all but the name. nated in A.H. 515. The gate of the tells us, was plated with iron. The as renovated, and the mihrâb decorated Chalifah Al Ḥafiz li din Illah in 532

the life of Sayyidah Nafisah is given e Slane's translation, vol. iii. p. 574). (A.D. 824), and she was buried in her structed by herself. She was in the , occupying herself in repeated recita- the Ḳur-ân. She was thus engaged he is said to have breathed her last

itles of Al Afḍal and his successors, Al Makrizi, . p. 48.

immediately after uttering the following verse: "Say, unto whom belongeth that which is in Heaven and upon Earth? Say, unto God. He hath prescribed unto himself the exercise of mercy" (S. vi. 12). The first mausoleum over her grave was built by 'Obayd Allah ibn es Sari, governor of Egypt from A.H. 206 to 211.

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Before concluding, I will allow myself to offer some brief remarks on that archæological puzzle, the Burju-z Zafar. The name is popularly applied to a line of ruined walls and bastions, on the eastern side of Cairo, at but a short distance from Bab en Naṣr, but it belongs more properly to the curiously-constructed tower at the north-east angle. The remains inclose a piece of ground which may at one time have formed part of the city, but which is now covered with heaps of rubbish, and presents a most desolate aspect.

The fortifications are well built, and the north-eastern tower in particular, with its domed octagonal hall, simple, but not altogether devoid of ornament, may at once be recognized as the work of an able and skilful architect. In style and appearance, but especially in its passages, it resembles Bab en Naṣr and its vaulted staircases. But the theory that both constructions owe their existence to the same builder, or at least to the same period, seems excluded by the distinct and sufficiently authenticated statement of Al Maḳrīzi and other historians, to the effect that the walls with which Badr al Jumālī encircled the city were of crude brick, whilst the abandoned line of works consist of solid stone masonry. On the other hand, they greatly differ in appearance from the stone walls known to have been built by Saladin. No inscriptions are to be found, excepting the single word الله, in a style of characters which affords no clue to a date. Nor do any local traditions throw any light upon the subject. But Al Maḳrīzi has the following passage (vol. i. p. 380), which must doubtless refer to these remains:

وكان يحيط بسور القاهرة خندق شرع فى  
الى المقس فى المحرم سنة ثمان وثمانين وخ  
الجهة الشرقيه خارج باب النصر الى باب الب  
هدت آثار الخندق باقيه ومن ورائه سور باب  
بالحجارة الا ان الخندق انطم وتهدمت ال  
ورائه وهذا السور هو الذى ذكره القاضى  
السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب فقال وا  
يستدير بالبلدين نطاقه ويمتد عليهما روا  
معصمها لترك بغير سوار ولا خصرها ليحل  
قد استقرت خواطر الناس وامنوا به من يد  
يقدم ولا يتوقف

were surrounded by a ditch. It was com-  
itûh, in the direction of Al Maqs, in Mu-  
d likewise on the eastern side, extending  
en Naşr to Bab al Barkiyah, and beyond  
maining traces of the ditch. Behind them  
ness and towers, built of stone. But the  
walls that were behind it are demolished.  
entioned by the Kâdi al Fâdil in the  
Sultân Şalâh ed dîn Yûsuf ibn Ayûb, in  
vs: And may God grant long life to our  
t the two cities may be inclosed in the  
wer, and that he may extend over them  
ion. For the wrists of no secluded beauty  
rt with bracelets, nor her waist to be un-  
ne. Now are the minds of the people at  
security against the hand of the plunderer  
om no scruples restrain.<sup>1</sup>

d Mişr are meant. The Kâdi, it must be observed,  
five of a double meaning. *Niṣāḥ* signifies a belt,



The latter passage must of course refer to the entire walls of the city. But Makrizi's remarks seem to indicate that he regarded the deserted portion as part of Saladin's work. The reason for their having been abandoned may perhaps be found in the fact that they are completely commanded by the high ground in front, which in one part advances so close to the line of works that it may almost be said to overhang them. But this, it is true, still leaves us to seek an explanation of how they ever came to be built in such a situation. A description of the Burju-z Zafar, with carefully executed plans, have been published by Professor Hayter Lewis, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, 1882.

The name, as popularly pronounced, Burju-z Zafar, برج الزفر, is correctly translated Tower of Filth, an extraordinary denomination, which it is hardly necessary to say cannot be the original one. Nor, it must be added, is there anything particularly appropriate in it. The place is remote from all habitation, and, in point of cleanliness, loses nothing by comparison with any other spot in or near Cairo. I think it exceedingly probable that we have to deal with a corruption of the word ظفر Zafar, triumph or victory, and that the correct rendering is برج الظفر the Tower of Victory. This is likewise the name of the Castle of the Pharos at Alexandria, built by Sultan Kait Bey (A.D. 1468-96), and Makrizi tells us (vol. i. p. 384) that one of the halls or pavilions of the Great Eastern Palace of Cairo, which stood at no great distance from the walls, bore the name of قصر الظفر, the Palace of Victory.

and also power or might. 'Aklah is applied to a woman kept in a state of seclusion, or to a jewel of great value; but the radical form 'Akl signifies a fortress or place of safety. Mi'pam signifies the wrist, and the verb 'apama means to protect or defend or to seek refuge, whilst 'Apimah, from the same root, is used to signify a city. Surâr, a bracelet, is, according to the author of the *Tûj al 'Arûs*, borrowed from the Persian *dastaurâr*, but as an Arabic word it is classed as belonging to the same root as sùr, plur. aswâr, the walls of a city.

*from the Arabic. The Lament of Maisun, wife of Mu'awiya.* By H. W. FREELAND, Esq., late M.P., Commander of the Order of Siam.

Khalif in succession after Muhammad, fourteen Khalifs of the family which reigned for a period of nearly a century over the destinies of the empire. His father, Abu-Sufian, was of the tribe of Umayyah, a tribe to which Muhammad also belonged, and his wife became followers of the new religion on the day as that on which the father of Muhammad previously commanded the forces of the old religion in adherence to the new religion. By Muhammad received a great accession of converts, induced, in consideration of its importance, by the three requests by which it was first was that Abu-Sufian might take the leadership of the Faithful against the Infidels. His son, who afterwards became Khalif, was the second, Secretary to the Prophet. The third, was that he should vouchsafe to marry the second daughter of the Prophet. The Prophet, however, who commander of these requests, refused to accede to the latter. Maisun, the Bedouin wife of the Prophet, daughter of Jandal, of the tribe of Kalb, was of no mean power, as the poem of the lament of Maisun, a paraphrase goes far to prove. The poem is given with some inaccuracy in Carlyle's edition of the poem, and in Adler's edition of the



PARAPHRASE.

*Maisun, the Bedouin wife of Mudwiya.*

the treacherous brightness  
 robes which grace the fair,  
 lack my young heart's lightness  
 rest of Camel's hair.  
 ich free winds are beating  
 he Desert's child  
 id kingly greeting—  
 my desert wild !  
 swift mule softly treading,  
 t hands his speed control,  
 h their lone way threading  
 ns through deserts roll.  
 en ease reclining  
 tten's sportive play,  
 le my young heart pining  
 sts and watch-dog's bay.  
 's banquet slender,  
 st which tents afford,  
 he courtly splendour  
 ich grace a monarch's board.  
 e voices pealing  
 ich sweep the desert round  
 Power their pride revealing  
 l's measur'd sound.  
 from kingly dwelling,  
 cold and pamper'd child,  
 ith freedom swelling,  
 t in deserts wild.

ms me that in the *Kamus*, published at Beyrout  
 Muhammadan and Christian scholars, and approved  
 t Cairo, the name of the father of Maisun is given  
 ch latter is the name given by some of the earlier  
 name given in Lane's Arabic Dictionary.

ART. VI.—*Discovery of Caves on the Murghab.* By Captains DE LAESSOE and the Hon. M. G. TALBOT, R.E. With Notes by WILLIAM SIMPSON, R.I., F.R.G.S., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A.

(Forwarded through the late Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, Secretary R.A.S.)

IN February last, Captain F. de Laessoe, who is attached as one of the Political Officers with the Afghan Boundary Commission, discovered an important group of caves at Penjeh, and sent me a plan of them, which is here given; and with it the following letter, which contains an account of the discovery.

*Penjeh, 27th February, 1885.*

My Dear Mr. Simpson,—

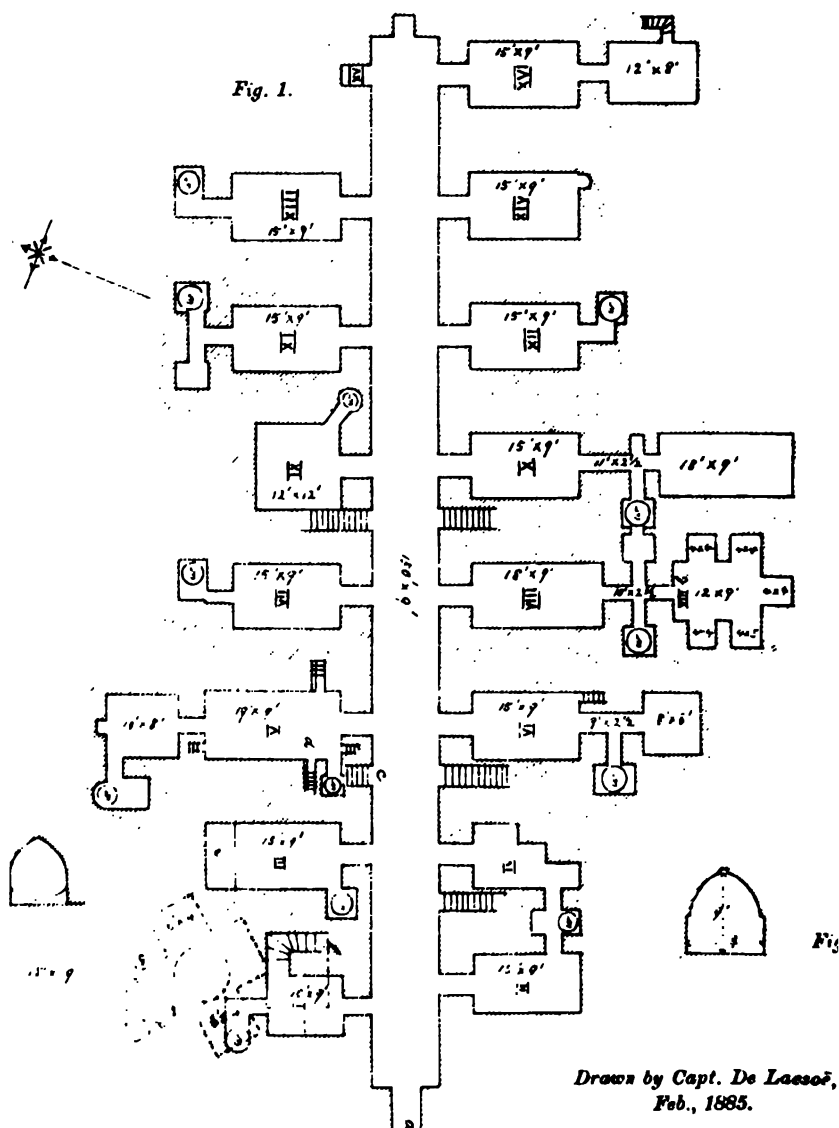
There are a large number of caves at Penjeh, but as a rule these caves consist of only one or two rooms, and it took a long time to discover and clear out the large group, of which I send you a rough plan.<sup>1</sup> I have no drawing materials here, and I must ask you to excuse the manner in which it is done.

On a high hill in the range on the right bank of the Murghab the sandstone comes to the surface, and the cave is cut out in this rock, which at the time of excavation must have presented on the outside an almost vertical scarp; at present the outer layer has crumbled away, and the cliff has become a steep sandy slope. The group consists of a central vaulted passage 150 feet long by 9 feet wide, and about

<sup>1</sup> This plan, although bearing a resemblance to the one which appeared in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, is not a copy, but is reproduced from a drawing by Captain de Laessoe, made when he first discovered the caves in February last, as the date of the letter to Mr. Simpson shows.



PLAN OF YAKI DESHIK CAVES, PENJDEH  
ON THE MURGHAB.



*Drawn by Capt. De Laesof,  
Feb., 1885.*

- Entrance. *b.*—Staircase leading to suit of upper rooms meant for habitation. The other staircases lead to store rooms. *c.*—Staircase leading to double upper store room, connected with room No. V by staircase marked *d.* Other store rooms have only one entrance.
- A shelf 4 feet high and 4 feet broad taking the whole width of the room.
- Wells 8-10 feet deep, about 2 feet in diameter.
- In upper chamber is a slanting well leading to corner of room I in lower story.
- In upper chamber, at this point the well opens, leading to room I in lower passage above entrance to well-room.
- A floor of the left-hand room, upper room, and about 7 feet above floor of the right-hand room, is a round vault. The other rooms have vaults 5 feet lower than central passage. Central room has 1 vault.

the pointed vault (see Pl. I. Fig. 1). about 4 feet long,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and 4 feet high. These lead to rooms on both sides. These are like the main passage, and are uniformly built. Walls and roofs are everywhere finely finished, but not polished, and with no trace of ornamentation is attempted in some of the vaults, the walls being divided into 4-6 squares, and is cut about an inch deeper than the squares. The rooms have been provided with doors; the holes for wooden pegs at the top of a cross stick at the top are clearly visible. A hole at the left side of each door is evidently for to put in his arm for the purpose of evidently shut from within with a key opening with a wooden key. This is seen in certain parts of Persia. Every room (except Nos. XIV. and XVI., which are vaulted) (see Pl. I. Fig. 1), is provided with a circular hole 4 feet in diameter and 8 to 10 feet high. They are quite empty, with the exception of a black dust (quite different from the black dirt, such as would have been left in for a long time filled with water from the river. One well was entirely filled with packed earth, evidently brought up on a wheelbarrow, but without resulting in any stairs. The staircases shown in the plan lead to the rooms and are roughly cut. In these rooms is a brown dust, evidently decayed vegetation, to indicate that they were store-rooms. No. VIIIb. has cells separated from the main passage by a border of rock, 1 foot high in the middle, and at the ends, something like Fig. 2 (See Pl.

ed, the vaults are all pointed (see except in a well-room, and an upper-chamber described afterwards). The beginning



and the top of all vaults are marked by straight lines 2 inches deep and the same in breadth.

The staircase *g* leads to a suite of those large upper rooms, which are all carefully excavated. The central room is in the form of a cross, the central room being flat and round, while the four aisles have pointed vaults (see Pl. I. Fig. 3). *a* is a round excavation, marking the keystone of the vault. The two rooms adjoining this central cruciform chamber (see general plan of caves) are on a lower level; the one on the north being 5 feet below. The communications to these rooms are by roughly cut round apertures, large enough only for a man to pass through, and they have evidently been much used, as the surface is quite smooth and polished.

I found a bag with one gold and about 100 silver coins, all from the eighth and ninth centuries; but this bag was found in the deposit very near the entrance, and before the floor of the vault had been come to. It seems to me clearly proved that the bag had been hidden there at a time when the caves had long been disused and the entrance already partly filled up. I suppose this money to have belonged to some inhabitant of a large ruined town situated below the hill with the caves. This town is about five miles long and one to two miles broad; it was brick built, and evidently abandoned in a hurry, as I find a quantity of copper utensils of all kinds, as well as a considerable number of copper coins, and at times gold and silver ones, wherever I dig. I hope a collection of these things will throw some light on the history of the town.

I shall be glad to answer questions, or to have any suggestions regarding future work. Yours sincerely,

F. DE LAESSEË.

my remarks on this very remarkable group by Captain de Laessoë, I shall give some caves in the same region. I accompanied last winter to the Afghan Frontier, and for ancient remains, particularly of any to the Buddhist period, but as mud or to have been at all times the principal that part of the world, nothing is left the site of old towns. Excavations into it be productive of results. Coins and the foundations of buildings—may all that may be expected. Owing to the sandstone rock, which is peculiar to the Heri Rud and the Murghab, we travelled where been excavated in it have, at least in the foundations of them, suffered much from decay. The caves which came under my notice was at the Heri Rud, opposite Dowlutabad, about ten miles to the south of Sarakhs. The scarp, about a quarter or half a mile long, the rising ground sinks finally down into the plain of Central Asia. There may be about a dozen caves; they are all on the same level, and are situated above the bank of the river. Being at Dowlutabad, I rode over, but found it impossible to go further, here is a mass of rock in front which has been a stair, and there might have been a communication to them from above, but all was blocked up, so that I was unable to make an entrance. I made a small opening in the rock, which, in addition, I took to be a window, giving a view of the plain to which would be from one of

I reached Bala Murghab that any other day we passed through Penjdeh in the morning, but had no chance at that time of examining the locality. It was not until that Captain de Laessoë was there for

some time, and, as he has a knowledge of the Turkoman language, he was able to talk to the people, and thus got on the trail of the important discovery he has made. At Bala Murghab, Captain the Hon. M. G. Talbot, R.E., who is on the Survey Department of the Afghan Boundary Commission, discovered a small group of two caves. These are in the low hills on the left bank of the river, and not above a mile from where our winter camp stood; the ascent in this case was so difficult that I deemed it wisest not to make the attempt. Captain Talbot managed to get up, and made a plan with measurements, and gave me a copy of it, which is here given (see Pl. II. Fig. 1). The two caves were on the same level, but the front had through the action of time crumbled away. Below them there had been another very small cave, a few feet only of it was remaining, which presented a pointed arch, similar to that given in the section of those above (see Pl. II. Fig. 2).

Just before leaving Bala Murghab we heard of another group of caves a few miles lower down on the left bank of the river, but we failed to visit them. I understand that they were in a very decayed state. Captain de Lassoë was told of some caves near Meruchak; and at Penjdeh the caves are numerous, he mentions a group called *Bêsh Deshik* (*Delik?*), which means 'Five Holes,' *Yaki Deshik*, the place he explored, meaning 'Two Holes.' He also heard of caves at a place called Gharebil, in the Chol or desert, about fifty miles to the east of Penjdeh. These statements will show that excavated caves are plentiful in the region. Our time was short, and the extent of our movements were very limited; had it been otherwise, I have little doubt, based on our slight experience, that a great many more would have been found. I have a strong presumption that many rock-cut caves exist, and if we had been able to extend our investigations among the higher slopes of the Koh-i-Baba range, there need be little doubt but many more would have been discovered. Our knowledge is all but limited to the magnificent city of caverns at Bamian, and although there is not likely to be another group like it, we may be certain that it is not the

# ES AT BALA MURGHAB,

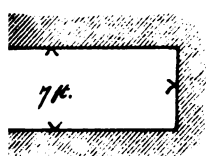


Fig. 2.

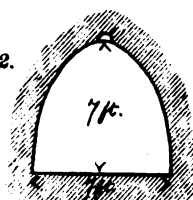


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



at intervals, three or four of them in the larger cave.

"Dev Kan," or Dug by the Spirits or Devs.

pt. The Hon. M. G. Talbot, E.



aves will be found when the country is explored. Ferrier mentions some caves he called Singlak, high up in the Koh-i-Baba, in the mountains of the Murghab. The following, I think, seems to confirm this; he says: "After leaving Balkh for seven days, on the mountains consist of villages closely built. In some of religious, and others who have retired. I next came to the city of Herat, the most inhabited city in Khorasan."—Ibn Khordadbeh's translation, p. 94. This journey from Balkh along the very district here referred to; the caves just possibly refer to the 'cells' of the monks; but the greater probability is that he would not be in such a decayed condition now. Mr. Finn told me he has heard of some caves, with pillars and inscriptions, within the Persian frontier—which he said he has promised to send me an account of. These statements contain all that I have been reading the rock-cut caves in the northern

in of these caves, I think there can be no doubt they are Buddhist. Hiouen-Tsang mentions about the places he passed through in India, and on his return, from which Buddhism had extended beyond the Hindu limits. At Balkh, which is not much to the east of the Murghab, he found about 13000 monks. Among the relics of the monks containing a tooth, a portion of hair, the nails, the robe, the staff, the broom, the men who, according to the legend, were sent from Buddha, when he was in the world, were at the same time instructed to erect stupas, and on their return to Balkh they erected, and Hiouen-Tsang states that the stupas were raised in honour of the Law

of Buddha. As we know that stupas were erected before the time of Buddha, those at Balkh could not have been the primitive models; but we may conclude from the legend the high probability that these monuments at Balkh were constructed in imitation of those in India. If the stupas were built in imitation of Indian ones, we have greater reason to believe that caves would be excavated under similar motives. As Balkh was thus evidently a great stronghold of the religion of Buddha, it gives us every reason to believe that Buddhism would not be confined to that town, but extended, at least, along the whole of what is now known as Afghan Turkestan. The Chinese pilgrim unfortunately did not pass along this country, so we are without information about it; he only states that there was a stupa 70 *li* to the west of Balkh. On his return journey he passed through Badakshan, and found convents in that direction. With such information before us, we may assume as all but certain that Buddhism existed westward along the northern slopes of the Koh-i-Baba range. This pilgrim states that there were convents and monks in Persia at the time of his journey—early part of the seventh century; but as the frontier of that country was not likely to be near the Heri Rud, this information does not help us much.

The Bamian caves are to my mind a very strong evidence that those on the Murghab belonged to the same faith. Large cities imply the existence of towns and villages; and the extensive group at Bamian, which we know were Buddhist, were not likely to be the only ones in that region.

I have here dwelt somewhat particularly on what may be called the circumstantial evidence regarding the character of the newly-discovered caves, because as yet our knowledge of them is too small to speak with certainty from the character of the caves themselves. No sculptures, nor paintings, have been found to help us as data; in the Bala Murghab caves there are a couple of representations scratched on the wall (see Pl. II. Figs. 3 and 4), but they seem to represent houses or buildings of some kind; the form and arrangement of the caves are somewhat different from

know to be Buddhist. A few years  
 er to the Royal Asiatic Society on the  
 Afghanistan ;<sup>1</sup> by means of the drawings  
 er it will be seen that the caves of the  
 vere most probably copied from the early  
 nd at Buddha Gaya. Among them was  
 it was an evident imitation of one of the  
 Western India. We are all familiar with  
 a child to copy a good drawing, and such  
 cave as a replica. It must have been  
 description given by some one who had  
 a, and very roughly done. The caves of  
 y may have been cut out under similar  
 know from Hiouen-Thsang was the case  
 Balkh. This supposition of copying and  
 ily explain the differences between the  
 aves and those of the Jellalabad valley,  
 their turn, having been copied from those  
 lalabad caves thus become an important  
 elping so far to explain the caves at  
 Murghab.

ves vary in arrangement and in size, and  
 simple arched recesses, averaging about  
 y 10 feet wide, and 12 feet in height.  
 uple of these caves are connected by a  
 ptain de Laessoë describes the principal  
 i Deshik group as 'vaulted,' most of them  
 and 9 feet wide ; some are 18 feet, and  
 g. 1, is 19 feet. These chambers I take to  
 the Jellalabad caves, the original type of  
 n the Barabar caves near Buddha Gaya.  
 ves were cut into a perpendicular scarp,  
 ont received the light ; the two caves at  
 to have been excavated according to  
 Deshik group appears to me to be an  
 y exceptional arrangement of caves I

1. Roy. As. Soc. Vol. XIV, Part 3



found in the Jellalabad valley. This was opposite the junction of the Surkhab with the Kabul river, which may be called the Pheel Khana caves; in Vol. XIV. Pl. 4 of the Journal of this Society a plan of them will be found. This particular group of caves, which form part of a larger group, are known at the present day as the 'Bazaar,' from a long connecting tunnel by which they are approached. The caves in this case had their fronts opening out through a high scarp overlooking the Kabul river, and the tunnel was cut through the rock behind, each cave having a doorway from it; but the tunnel here had another object to serve, which was the real motive of its construction. At the extremity of the caves is a large niche in the scarp overlooking the river, in which there was no doubt a gigantic Dhyana Buddha, it may have been about 30 feet high. The tunnel leads towards this niche, where by means of a terrace cut in the rock, of which slight vestiges only remain, worshippers could pass round to the statue and perform their devotions in front of it. As the Pheel Khana caves must have been a remarkable group, with a celebrity in the regions round; for I believe that in addition to the caves there were built viharas on the hills above them, as well as a number of large stupas—the ruined remains of a very fine one still exist—the fame of such a spot must have spread, and I take it that the Yaki Deshik group had, as a motive for its construction, to have an equally attractive spot on the Murghab. There is a niche at the end of the long gallery at Yaki Deshik, which would no doubt contain a figure of Buddha at one time. It must be understood that no assumption of certainty is entertained in what is here said, for until we receive details of other caves in the region, and more particularly of the Bamian caves, to give us a broader basis of knowledge, all speculation must be tentative.

It will be noticed that, although there would be a small amount of light towards the outward end of the long gallery of the Yaki Deshik group, the chambers leading from it would all be in complete darkness. This must have necessitated the constant use of lamps. Many of the cells of the

the western side of India are very dark, was some glimmer of light which could remember any evidence that the caves of them. In the Tibetan monasteries, which ik's cells have doors. The well in each or feature which is new. At Ajunta the ow valley with a stream of water; and I action of noticing a channel which brought me point higher up, so that it ran past of some of the caves. At Penjdeh the distance from the river, and hence the ans of keeping a supply of water, which urried up to them. The pointed form of as I can remember, not found in the or the Buddhist arch, as we know from in India, was a circular one. It may e west, but wherefrom is the difficulty. es of this kind in the past were seldom rudely done, such forms were generally ng that was known, and it is difficult to ted arch came eastward before the Arab ed Buddhism out of existence when it on given by Captain de Laessoë (see Pl. ne small bit of detail which, if correctly to prove the copying process which has t is the slight 'drip' at the spring of narked feature of the Jellalabad Caves, some of the oldest rock-cut caves of Laessoë says the caves were without Murghab were also without any indica-alabad caves were thickly coated, and ith figures and ornament.

at Bala Murghab are some rudely cut a strong likeness in size as well as in at will be found in the Jellalabad also a very curious connected passage res, which were described to me by ng so narrow that it was very difficult

to pass through. Captain de Lassoë describes the apertures of some upper chambers at Penjdeh as being similarly narrow and difficult of access. Security from attack in times of danger may have been the motive, otherwise it is difficult to explain for what object these passages were thus made.

The interest attaching to these caves results from their giving us the first knowledge we have received of monuments of Buddhism from a new region; and it is to be hoped that it will not be the last. Before leaving the Afghan frontier I talked to the officers of the Survey Department to keep a look out for caves and other remains, and I believe they will do their best to send accounts of anything they may chance to discover. When at Bala Murghab, being comparatively near to Bamian, I was anxious to visit that place. My plan was to go east to Balkh, and then pass on to India by Bamian. Sir Peter Lumsden, who knew my wishes in this matter, was desirous to assist, and most kindly consulted the Afghan authorities to give me permission, but unfortunately they were not favourable to the proposal, and reluctantly I had to abandon the idea. Whether they thought of danger to myself in such a journey, or had political motives in view, I cannot say; but I deeply regret their opposition to my plans. However, I trust that the time is not far distant when some one will be able to send us drawings of that wonderful spot, and its colossal figures and caves, which, we ought to expect, will throw considerable light on Buddhism as it existed in that part of the world.

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*Alchemist. A Persian Play.* Translated  
 BUY LE STRANGE, M.R.A.S.

#### PREFATORY NOTE.

One of a series of plays lithographed at  
 by Mirza Ja'afar, a native of Karâjeh-  
 his translation from an Azerbaijani-  
 written by Mirza Fath-'Ali, of Derbend,  
 at Tiflis in 1861. In conjunction with  
 a few years ago, I had occasion to edit,  
 , the first in order of these plays.<sup>1</sup>  
 ent edition in Persian of three more of  
 edies, and among them "The Alchemist,"  
 the auspices of two well-known French  
 ave, however, deemed it advisable not  
 tion, writing that "il nous a paru plus  
 ève à se passer d'un secours dont il  
 'abuser:" but it has occurred to me  
 versant with Persian may be pleased  
 or of these plays set before them in

iced in the introduction to the "Vazîr  
 here an abstract of the verbose  
 is given, appeared originally in the  
 known as *Azeri*, which is spoken in  
 and the North-Western provinces of

<sup>1</sup> Edited, with a translation, notes, and a vocabulary,  
 G. le Strange. London, 1882.

<sup>2</sup> Publiées avec un glossaire et des notes par C.  
 uyard. Paris, 1886.

Persia. The French Consul at Tabriz has recently been able to obtain some short biographical notes concerning both the original author and his Persian translator. These notes Monsieur Barbier de Meynard has inserted in his preface, and we take the liberty of transcribing them in this place.

Mirza Fath-'Ali, the author, appears by his name of "Akhund-zâdeh," to have been the son of a village Mullâ or *Domine*, of the Caspian province of Darbend. He enlisted in the Russian army of the Caucasus, and ultimately worked his way up to the rank of Captain; then settled at Tiflis, the capital of Russian Trans-Caucasia, where he gave himself up to the study of the sciences and arts of the West, recently introduced under the auspices of the Governor-General Waransoff. His imagination appears to have been especially struck by the theatrical representations inaugurated here in a Government building about the year 1850; and, in the hope of seeing his plays performed on these boards—a hope destined never to have been fulfilled—he wrote in succession six dramas, and a sort of historical dialogue: these, all in Azeri-Turkish.

At Tiflis he seems to have made the acquaintance of Mirza Ja'afar, a Persian, who had come thither a pilgrim on his way to Mekka. Mirza Ja'afar, however, had in Tiflis come across certain philosophic free-thinking Persians, who so indoctrinated him with their lax views as to make him give up all idea of continuing his pilgrimage to the Holy City. He joined their mystical society, and, settling in the Caucasus, ultimately obtained some post in the Russian Administration. Here he translated his friend's plays into Persian, and died in 1883, leaving behind him a fortune of ten thousand tomans (about £4000), which his relatives in Persia, hearing of, did not fail to journey to the Caucasus in order to claim. Of Mirza Fath-'Ali's death no notice is taken, and perchance the worthy Turkish dramatist is still living, and writing of his favourite maxim that *Castigat ridendo mores*. In any case it is to be regretted that his plays were never acted, for they are extremely humorous and not want-

The three which have recently appeared  
 ip of Messieurs Barbier de Meynard and  
 respectively *The Thief-Taker*, *The Attor-*  
*chemist*.

*ker* (Duzd-afkan) the scene is laid in the  
 as, where the Tartar peasantry (let the  
 nt do what it will) appear not yet to have  
 their old habits of brigandage. The  
 fall a German who is travelling with  
 amongst these people, who try to rob him  
 s in turn set upon by the bears, gives  
 al situations. Matters are ultimately set  
 pearance of the Russian official—the *Deus*  
 takes them all a touching speech on the  
 Muscovite civilization.

ives a humorous representation of what  
 oslem law-court, and in truth is but little  
 roguery of the lawyers, the ignorance of  
 renality of his apparitors, are all cleverly  
 the scenes are taken from the very life.

little need be said, as it follows here, and  
 to remark that alchemists and astrologers  
 mmon in Persia, for in that pleasant  
 be met with, at the present day, who  
 after the Philosopher's Stone, and those  
 st the largest sums are the least likely  
 to have lost their faith in the certain  
 baser metals into gold.

## THE HISTORY OF MULLÂ IBRÂHÎM KHALÎL, THE ALCHEMIST.

A PLAY FOUNDED ON FACTS,

SET FORTH AND CONCLUDED IN FOUR ACTS.

## DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

MULLÂ IBRÂHÎM KHALÎL, of Kaldak,<sup>1</sup> the Alchemist.

MULLÂ HAMÎD, of Sâmûk, his Assistant.

DARVÎSH 'ABBÂS, the Persian, his Servant.

HÂJÎ KARÎM, of Nakhû, the Goldsmith.

AGHÂ ZAMÂN, of Nakhû, the Doctor.

MULLÂ SALMÂN, the Son of Mullâ Jalîl, a learned man of Nakhû, of portly and imposing presence.

MASHADÎ JABBÂR, of Nakhû, the Merchant.

SAFAR BEG, of Nakhû, a Landed Proprietor.

SHAIKH SÂLIH, of Khâchmaz.<sup>2</sup>

HÂJÎ NÛRÎ, of Nakhû, a Poet.

ACT I.—*The Scene of the First Act is laid at the house of Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith, in the town of Nakhû, during the spring time of the year 1248.<sup>3</sup> Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith, has invited friends to his house to meet Shaikh Sâlih, of Khâchmaz, who has lately arrived in the town of Nakhû, and who has come at the Goldsmith's invitation. Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet, who has not been invited, by accident comes in also. The company are discovered seated, dressed in their every-day clothes. Shaikh Sâlih wears a turban, and holds in his hand a long chaplet of beads, which he twirls between his fingers. Hâjî Karîm is facing the company, and exposing the matter in hand.*

*Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith.* Do your worships know why I have invited you here?

*Mashadî Jabbâr, the Merchant.* No, not at all.

*Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith.* I have some fresh news to

<sup>1</sup> All these places are in the Caucasus Province. Kaldak is an Armenian village in the Karabagh Hills, near Erivân; Sâmûk is a town on the Kûr (Cyrus) River, not far from Ganja, or Elizabethpol; and Nakhû (or Nakhî) is the chief town of the district lying to the south-east of Tiflis.

<sup>2</sup> Khâchmaz is a village lying to the south-east of Nakhû. The title of Shaikh here implies that this personage was Chief of a Darvish College.

<sup>3</sup> A.D. 1832.

say that Mullâ Ibrâhîm, of Kaldak, who obtain his authorization, has returned and the Khâchmaz Hills, where he practises stance, he has prepared a substance which r, and when he puts a drachm of this into brass, it turns to pure silver.

*Doctor.* I too have heard of this.

*Goldsmith.* Shaikh Sâlih, with his own Armenians of Iklis<sup>1</sup> brought in twenty-five ght of copper coin, and received there for a Khalil fifty poods<sup>2</sup> of silver and carried is so, O Shaikh?

as truly, by the Kurân which I study! I wn eyes. And every one who brought alil his coin, received and carried off, n ingots of pure silver.

ndowner. Why should not we too then go

lthough I keep no actual cash, yet as I Rahîm, the Money Lender—if you are a for a year at 12 per cent. interest and urity—I can get from him both for you ch money as we like.

*the Merchant.* I myself, Mullâ, have l out in business, and it is very difficult nd so quickly. So, if it be possible, get one-weight of copper,—I have got two re in pledge for it.

another thousand stone, as well, for me. ge on my house.

*Doctor.* And another thousand for me; i shall be the pledge.

ndowner. And let him give me, too, a y village stand in pledge to him for it.

et [*suddenly pulling a paper out of his* ps, it's a fine subject, that of the Lezgî

<sup>1</sup>ge near Erivân.

<sup>2</sup>ssian "pood" 1 s about two stone.



Avârs, under the leadership of Khân Bûtâi, who came some sixty years back and raided Nakhû. I have set it to verse. Now listen while I read it; and you will note how eloquently and rhetorically I have turned it.

*Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor.* Fie! Hâjî Nûrî! Is this a fit time for declaiming poetry? We assemble to talk and take counsel, and then here comes a man who begins, 'I have put into verse the events of sixty years ago—how the Lezgîs came and how they went!' What interest has all this for us?

*Hâjî Nûrt, the Poet [cared].* How 'What interest has it for us?' You will see what misfortunes the Lezgîs at that time brought down on your ancestors' heads, and what inhumanities they perpetrated. And is the knowledge of past events of no interest to you?

*Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith [soothingly].* Now, Hâjî Nûrî, this is not exactly the time for reading poetry; another day, at your leisure, you can read it to us. At present, look here and tell us whether or no you think it advisable this going to Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl and this buying of silver. Does not your good sense approve of this business?

*Hâjî Nûrt, the Poet [sullenly].* Not at all.

*Mullâ Salmân.* And for what reason?

*Hâjî Nûrt, the Poet.* For this reason, that each one's profession must be for him his own Elixir, and his means of livelihood: so what need is there to go running after Alchemists? I have not seen Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, but I know by experience that he is just setting up a shop for befooling people. Even though he has been to Tiflis, as 'tis said, who is it that has given him permission to practise Alchemy? Who has seen his Alchemy? There can be no Elixir in this material world. But this Shaikh Sâlih, who comes from Khâchmaz, has bereft you of your wits to such a point that you believe his words, and so will not give credence to anything that I may say.

*Hâjî Karîm, the Goldsmith.* But there is proof that a great deal of Elixir exists in this material world, and so there is no need of discussing that matter. But just you prove in

's profession is to be his Elixir! Why  
nith, and I am unable to make sufficient  
ses!

*Poet.* Because you have lost credit with  
one will confide his business to you. In  
er gold or silver they brought to you to  
ments, you stole more than half of it, and  
with brass or copper, and so returned it to  
t, your tricks were exposed to the light of  
dy brings his business to you. Had you  
t would assuredly have been a rich man

*e Doctor.* Well, and why am I without

*Poet.* Because you have abandoned your  
and gone into a business that you know  
edicine was not *your* profession. Your  
nân, the Barber, by means of his hone and  
ed a reasonable fortune, which you have  
r man had, with immense pains, taught  
arber. But you were not content with  
after the fashion of the Tiflis barbers, to  
s a doctor. But after killing a whole  
en, people have got to understand your  
ep away from you. At present you are  
doctor. How often have I not advised  
ussian doctors, and learn from them the  
and leave off giving melon-water as the  
ou never will listen.

*logetically*]. They told me that the Rus-  
eb and sol<sup>2</sup> as the remedy for fever. I  
se who know the Russian language as to  
y, "salt." But can salt be the specific

*topping Aghâ Zamân's mouth*]. For

r "Bread and salt," presented by the host to the

Heaven's sake, don't talk, and make an exhibition of your folly. *That* salt is quite different from *this* salt. [*Turning to Hâjî Nûrî*] According to what you have been saying, Hâjî Nûrî, I at any rate ought to have become a Kârûn.<sup>1</sup> Now why is it that I only possess a mat and a water-jar?

*Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet.* That, too, has its reason. Just because your build would fit you so well to be a muleteer, it has, forsooth, got into your head that your father having been a Mullâ, therefore you must be a Mullâ too. Your father had studied, and, having ability, had risen to be a Mullâ, but you, who are not capable of writing your own name even, how can you become a teacher and preacher? Ability is not like the father's fur coat, which comes down by inheritance to the children. And therefore it is that you are not esteemed among the people. And how should you become rich? Why, if with your strength and your stature you had only taken to being a muleteer, you would barely have been content with gaining your hundred and fifty roubles a year by this time!

*Safar Beg, the Landoicner.* And why am I not rich?

*Hâjî Nûrî, the Poet.* You own land, and you should get your wealth by attending to the sowing and the reaping. But you, to your loss, have given yourself up to idle talk, throwing yourself first into this matter and then into that; speaking evil of people behind their backs, and worrying the Government officials with silly petitions about evil-doers and oppressed innocents. At last, having let your pen run riot, you were for three years in the clutches of the law, and then three years more spending great sums of money to get free. So your life has been passed. And now you expect to get rich all of a sudden through this lying Alchemist! Just like Mashadi Jabbâr there, who, in his excess of cupidity, lent out his petty scrapings to people at an exorbitant interest so as to become a capitalist, all in a minute; but now he would be well content if he could only once more lay his hands on the principal.

<sup>1</sup> The Kârûn of the Kurân is identical with the Biblical Korah, who headed the rebellion against Moses in the Wilderness. In Moslem legend he is proverbial for his wealth, as we say of Cræsus.

*Goldsmith.* Well, master Poet, even if we have made mistakes, and have not succeeded by his trade: still you yourself do not get a very agreeable income from your own talent. You get your dinner, you go without your breakfast, you go without your sleep, to what you have said, your talent—talents—ought to become the Great Elixir

*Poet.* Yes; my talent in truth *should* be as useful as you say that, for the Elixir you say is necessary to have base metal on which to work,—even so, in the matter of my talent, it is necessary to find men of taste and standing, in order that the grandeur of my talent be appreciated. But seeing that through my talent myself in the midst of such fellow-talents, without intelligence or culture, and without appreciation, what gain could there be to a talent such as mine? and what can I do?

*Goldsmith.* How he does blunder about! Look! Who invited you to come and give advice here? And look now, where have you got your philosophy of yours from? Be off outside; for advice.

[*altogether*]. Get up and go! We don't

*Poet* [*picking up his paper of verses in a pocket under his arm*]. I'm off—words of

[*Exit.*]

*Goldsmith.* Well, your worships, we are ready; they must be ready by the beginning of the month; we will set off by road to the Khâchmaz ourselves before Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [*there*]. Yes, we are all agreed.

*The Curtain Falls.*

ACT II.—*The Scene of the Second Act is laid in the Khâchmaz Hills. In a level meadow among the foot-hills, where the herbage is beautified with sweet-smelling flowers of every hue, two tents are pitched, at a distance of fifty paces each from the other. On a lower level than the tents stands a four-called hut of wood, in the interior of which is seen a large forge. Conveniently placed, near the forge, are the bellows, and all around are lying fractured ingots of brass, in great lumps, as though the metal had been poured hastily into moulds and had been about to become silver. In front of one of the tents is a second—smaller—hut. Above, the meadow runs up into the mountains, which are snow-capped. On the further side is seen a valley, and a small river flows through it, on either side of which are clumps of oak and hazel trees of a hundred years growth, the leaves rustle in the blowing of the breeze, while birds of all sorts flit about from branch to branch and fill the valley with the melody of their harmonious song. On the other side to the meadow a spring gushes from a stoney basin, and with a gentle melancholy murmur flows down towards the valley, its waters sparkling here and there as they wend their way. To the eastward of the meadow spreads a boundless plain, running down to the Caspian Sea. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl occupies one of the tents, and in the other is Mullâ Hamîd, his assistant. In the smaller hut is his servant, Darrîsh ‘Abbâs, seated amongst the tools and utensils. It is two hours after sunrise, and the sun’s rays are gradually dispersing the mist which lies in the valley. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, the Alchemist, coming out of his tent, calls towards that of Mullâ Hamîd. Mullâ Hamîd, leaving his own tent, goes to him and stands respectfully before him. Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl is the first to speak.*

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.* Mullâ Hamîd, according to what Shaikh Sâlih wrote, ought not those people from Nakhû to arrive here, in the afternoon to-day?

*Mullâ Hamîd.* Yes, master, or even earlier.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.* When these people come, Mullâ Hamîd, pay them every respect. Make them take seat in the tent, and inquire after their health. Ask them why

and if they say that they have brought want to buy silver, then answer them, all the silver of the last melting to the s, and the silver of this next melting too, now in hand, he has already disposed of r it requires a month to complete the Elixir for this second melting. You have ourselves the trouble to come quite use- ter will neither receive the copper money you silver in return.' And then if they say further to them, 'My master is in three days for meditation, and is now prayers; therefore, for three days it is to receive people or answer inquiries.'

Why do you tell me to do this, master? in this manner, it is very probable that money and go away with it.

*Chalil.* You are a wondrous idiot! Are me the ways of the people of Nakhû? them, they would not leave this place me and given me the money; so go and told you. [*He returns to his own tent.*]

*or him*]. On my eyes be it, master!

*it is now but two hours to sunset. The appear, and Mullâ Hamîd, coming out of to meet them.]*

Peace be on you!

*them*]. The peace be upon you. You delight you give me! Be pleased to be tent.

*people [to Mullâ Hamîd].* We were very l. Is your health good? Is your nose

be to Allah! In such a pleasant, could my nose be otherwise than fat?

of the Persian expression. It means "Are you

Particularly, too, in the service of such a great man as Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl!

*One of the Nakhû people.* Ah well, one often finds places as pleasant as this; but so great a man as Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl one does not come across everywhere! Can we to-day have the honour of visiting his worship?

*Mullâ Hamîd.* Our master has gone into retirement for three days, and is taken up with his devotions. It is impossible for him during these three days to give an interview to any one, or to talk, or to come out. But you can see him at the end of three days. And now be pleased to tell me the purpose of all the trouble you have given yourselves. Is it merely to make a visit to his worship, or have you some other matter too?

*One of the Nakhû people.* In the first place, our sole aim is to visit his worship! But secondly, each of us has brought a trifling donation to offer to him, and if he will accept it, perchance he will not be stinting to us of his favour!

*Mullâ Hamîd.* Well I understand. No doubt you have brought copper money, and you want to buy silver. Now the truth of the matter is that our master, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, will not take the money from you. The silver that came from the last melting, and also all that which is now under our hands, is already disposed of to the Armenians of Iklis, and for the double weight of silver that is to be given, a single weight of copper coin has already been received by us. And still another month must pass before the completion of the Elixir for this second melting. Under these circumstances, it is impossible for our master either to receive your money or to give you silver. Especially since the applicants for silver have become so numerous that the silver of each month's melting is sold a month in advance.

*One of the Nakhû people.* Our feelings of devotion to our master, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl, have nothing to do with the fact of others being his humble servants too! If we could only see him, his very self, all would be quite right!

*Mullâ Hamîd.* In that case you must have patience for three days, until the time of our master's retirement has

You shall be my honoured guests for

le. Very well! Certainly!

*le, Darvish 'Abbās appears out of his hut. of about thirty, his long hair falls over his complexion is yellow, his beard is spare, and his ears are cut off. He is tall, wears the conical turban, and a leopard-skin over his shoulders; in his right hand he holds a horn for blowing,<sup>2</sup> and under his arm he holds a fowl.<sup>3</sup> Intoning in a terrific voice the words,*

*Yâ Hû, Yâ Hak!'*<sup>4</sup>

*le goes behind the tents, and at a convenient spot he drives a peg into the ground. Thrice he blows his horn, and echoes come back from rock and hill. Then he goes to the tent-peg, and declaims in a loud voice the couplets from the poems of Shaikh Sa'adi:<sup>5</sup>*

*Springtide, Arise! and enjoy what the day bringeth*

*From sunset to dawn, or that springtide will come back*

*As thou shalt count as thy gain the breath of this soft vernal*

*Song of the bird, the perfume so sweet of the*

*Wind that is wise, who regardeth the leaf of the tree,*

*And a page proclaiming aloud the Creator.*

*le then blows three blasts on the horn, then spreads the turban on the ground, and the grass at a distance of about ten paces*

*le then*

*le then*

leynard takes occasion to point out in a note that the incantation scene, is probably due to some confused mind of the respect accorded to this bird in Zoroastrian times, the cock was a sacred fowl, being the best of Ormazd's creatures, in whom was incarnate was the cock who at dawn of day crowed and called men, thereby chasing away the Div of sleep. Also, the cock and the dog were the emblems of vigilance of the genii and Yatus.

leynard all over the Moslem east. It is Arabic, and means (the Only One) O the Truth! (that is, Allah.)"

leynard at portion of Sa'adi's Divân, which is entitled "Tayls." In the Bombay edition of 1861 they are given, vol. ii. p. 41.



*from the cock, and once more chanting in a loud and terrific voice,*

Yâ Haḡḡ! Yâ Hû!

*takes his seat on the skin, squatting with his knees up under his armpits.<sup>1</sup> On hearing the cry of the Darvîsh and the sound of the horn, the Nakhû people in the first moment of astonishment have rushed out of the tent, and thunderstruck stand witnessing the strange scene. When the echoes have died away from rock and hill, and all has become silent again, they turn to Mullâ Hamîd, and in the excess of their wonderment, begin to ply him with questions.*

*One of the Nakhû people. Mullâ Hamîd, who is the Darvîsh? and what is this cock?*

*Mullâ Hamîd [laughing heartily]. Ha! ha! ha! Ha! ha! ha! Yes, yes! You have every right to ask the question, for you simple people are ignorant of the secrets of science, and unlearned in its methods. That grass there is a major ingredient in the Elixir, and it is only to be found in these hills. No one besides Mullâ Aghâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl is capable of recognizing it. But according to the assertion of the Greek sages, it must grow while the cock is crowing. So it is the duty of Darvîsh 'Abbâs each night to take the cock, and, after performing the ceremonies which you have just now witnessed, to tie the bird up in a new place, and then he must watch from sundown to dawn to keep off the jackals and foxes. Thus while by night the cock crows, the grass for the Elixir at the same time grows. In the book of *The Wonders of Wondrous Matters* it is plainly indicated that for the service of guarding the cock, only a Darvîsh, and men of no other condition, may lawfully be employed.*

*The Nakhû people [in a state of wonderment]. Allah is great! All praise be to Him!*

*The Curtain Falls.*

<sup>1</sup> This is a favourite position with Darvîshes.

*Scene of the Third Act is laid in the same inside the tent of Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl. It is discovered kneeling on his face to the Kibla,<sup>1</sup> his turban is on his head, and he is holding a chaplet of a thousand beads. He mutters his prayers. His assistant, stands facing him, with his hands on his chest.<sup>2</sup>*

Master, be pleased to give your commands. I have brought the guests to your presence?

Khalîl. Well, yes; go and call them.

*He makes an inclination, leaves the tent, and is followed by the people of Nakhû, introducing Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl's presence.]*

*He [all together, to Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.*

Khalîl [*blandly smiling, and not disturbing him, slowly rocks his body from side to side while he holds the chaplet.*] And on you be the welcome. You have brought joy in putting an end to the trouble of coming. [*He moves to make room for Nakhû to sit down, and then motions them*

*the people [after taking his seat].* For us to be so great as your worship is not trouble, but an honour and felicity to us!

Khalîl [*smirking, and with affected humility*]. Hamîd, has already assured me of your good intentions. I also was extremely desirous to know as to the matter in hand, by Heaven! I have nothing to do, and assuredly I shall be at your service! From Mullâ Hamîd's report I have brought copper coin, wishing to give you a silver.

*He bows towards Mekka.*

*He bows in attitude of respect and attention.*

*The Nakhû people [in a cajoling manner].* Yes, master, so please you that your favour may be ours!

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khallî [gratified].* By Allah! and that I should be put to shame before guests so dear to me as you are! But the buyers of silver are so numerous! And every month, giving money for the following month, they buy in advance the silver of the next melting. Why, the silver of the last melting, and this too that is now under our hands, has already been bought by the Armenians of Iklis. And the silver that will be produced by the Elixir in the melting to be completed at the end of the month, that too the Jews of Vârtâsh<sup>1</sup> have got by their begging and bothering, and they are gone off, near by, to bring the copper coin. I had not yet told Mullâ Hamîd of it, for he is not very fond of the Jews. But I must show them some kindness, for their village is near here, and they do me many services.

*Mullâ Hamîd [interrupting the conversation].* Master, these—

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khallî.* Be silent!—In short, those who desire silver have reached such a number that they give me no leisure in which to find time for the preparation of the Elixir. For in order to prepare the ingredients of the Elixir these must be set, for the space of twenty days, in a pot made of luting-clay, to soak in Spirit of Sulphur, and each day a certain fixed quantity of fresh Spirit of Sulphur must be introduced. Then, after this, the ingredients must remain, for ten consecutive days in an alembic and retort, covered with Roseatic Acid, and every other day the Roseatic Acid must be changed and fresh added. After the termination of this portion of the preparation, the ingredients of the Elixir must be brought to the full term of its concoction by incident of igneous heat, in a crucible made of luting-clay. After a space of three sidereal hours, following on the admixture of certain other secret ingredients of a foreign nature, it then first presents an appearance of melting, subsequently coagulates, and finally becomes stable in the form of a

<sup>1</sup> Vartash or Vartashin, a village lying south of Nakhû.

dy. Elixir has the name Elixir because of baser ores. Thus, for instance, when brass melted has a certain measured portion of with it, it turns into pure silver. This is men, as I am assured, have been spreading ls that I work miracles and have received am no such person. I am but a seeks for the companionship of the pious, e doing of good deeds, firstly through the ighty Creator, and secondly by means of ound investigations which I have made in hemy. Through the experiments which I have been conducting in the philo- nd while searching out the secrets of the have become acquainted with the full preparation of the Elixir, and how with concocted. At every degree of its prepa- umber of essential external conditions to are all exigencies necessarily attributive gh at first sight they may appear to nge and peculiar. Also . . . .  
aster ! As I have already begged you to fore you are all Moslems, and, if it please them some advantage over the accursed

halll [*rising slightly*]. No ! Not so ! I d ! and for two million pieces I would re spoken. But see ! An idea comes to t tell me that I may rightly calculate. month's melting, when it is completed, f brass will it suffice to convert into

*rowing up his head, and, fixing his eyes on presses the forefinger of his right hand on for a moment. Then answers*] Elixir ficing for thirty-two poods of silver.

<sup>1</sup> See note 2 to p. 107.

Thus, after its completion in thirty days, it will be projected over thirty-two poods of brass and turn these into pure silver, such as will pass the touchstone. Now, allowing that your worship deducts two poods of this by reason of the impurity of the brass, still at the beginning of next month thirty poods of silver will be produced, as I deduce from my inspection of the amount of the crude brass and of the Elixir.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.* And these worshipful gentlemen, how much copper money have they brought?

*One of the Nakhû people.* Five thousand stone-weight, Master.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl.* Very well! See, Mullâ Hamîd, what I have in my mind. The copper money of these worshipful people is but little in amount, and we will allow them ten poods of silver. Then there will remain twenty poods, and that can be given to the Jews, that my promise to them may not be broken. What think you of it? Have I not made an excellent partition? On the one hand, your mediation regarding the rights of our co-religionists has not been for naught, and on the other hand my promise given has not been forfeited.

*The people of Nakhû [bowing and vastly contented].* May Heaven increase your prosperity! So please you, we will deposit the money here in your presence.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl [raising his eyebrows, contemptuously indifferent, and speaking slowly].* It is not necessary to deposit the money with me, and how should I find time enough and have leisure to attend to such trifles! Count it and give it over to Mullâ Hamîd, and then in thirty days come back here and get your ten poods of virgin silver. God be with you! The hour of midday prayer is come!

*The Nakhû people [bowing and greatly delighted].* May Heaven increase your life and your prosperity! [*Exeunt from the tent.*]

*The Curtain Falls.*

*Scene is once more the same. The thirty  
1. At early dawn from a distance they  
are seen approaching to keep their appointment.  
Khalil hastily ties a white cloth round his waist  
and girdles. He is dressed in his every-day working  
clothes. He comes outside the tent and calls to his  
brother. He comes outside the tent and calls to his  
brother, and when Mullâ Hamid has come up, he  
gives his orders.*

*Khalil.* Mullâ Hamid, be quick, and go  
to the goldsmith-forge, with the crucible  
and coals, and bring them out here. Set them  
in place, and see to arrange the nozzle of the  
bellows in position. Then light the forge and set  
it going, too, the sack of coals from behind  
them out in front of the forge.

Now, in the casket there are three small  
papers, twisted up, three coloured papers; get  
them here.

Take the yellow paper,—open it, and empty the  
crucible.

Pour out of the green phial over it, and  
squeeze the bellows.

*As they have been carried out, Mullâ Ibrâhîm  
takes a pair of iron tongs and fixes the crucible  
in place. At this moment, all of a sudden, appear  
Nakhû people from behind the corner of  
the tent already dismounted from their horses.  
Khalil is occupied with his work, his head  
is looking into the crucible. Apparently  
they are there. They however are delighted at  
to see Ibrâhîm Khalil thus occupied, and call  
out in voice, and eagerly.]*

Peace be on you!

*Khalil* [looking up]. Peace be on you! Oh  
what day? How is this? and what have

you done! What a disaster it is you bring down on my head! I was busy working for your good; but you are come to render abortive all the pains that I have taken for your sakes! Oh! Alas! Alas! Alas!

*The Nakhû people [in astonishment].* But, master, what has happened? What disaster has come on our heads? What is it that we have done?

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl [in perfect despair].* Why, what would you have worse than this? You set foot here in this place to-day at the very hour of the projection of the Elixir! At the very moment when the ingredients are melting in the crucible! Why, it is the especial property of the Elixir that for a whole farsakh<sup>1</sup> round the tent where it is liquid-escing, no stranger man must set foot, or else the Elixir loses its peculiar power and becomes a mere gas. On this subject the Magician of the Sprites, Sakkâkî,<sup>2</sup> has most carefully insisted. Do you imagine that otherwise I should, of my own accord, have come and taken up my abode here in a corner by myself, thus far away from all habitations?

*The Nakhû people [astonished].* But, master, we have come in accordance with your own commands. To-day the thirty days are completed.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl.* What I said to you was, 'at the end of thirty days,' meaning, of course, for you to let thirty days elapse, and to come on the thirty-first. The Elixir would then have been prepared, and the silver already run out. But you come on the thirtieth day, at the very moment when the Elixir is at fluxion in the crucible! Oh! Alas! Alas!

*The Nakhû people.* Well, but as it is all happened, we don't know what to do. Can't we help it?

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl.* Why, there is no help for it. The Elixir will not now do its office, and the silver will not be

<sup>1</sup> Farsakh = Parasang, a little over three miles.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably Abu Ya'kûb Sakâkî, the Necromancer, who composed the work entitled *Miftah al-'Ulûm*, "The Key of the Sciences." He died in A.D. 1229.

ess, indeed, you . . . . For the counter-ly with this.

ple. Unless we do what? What is it counter-spell possible?

*Khalil.* Well, now that you have once the magic rule forbids that you should leave the Elixir in the crucible is at fluxion. That I have any regard for your own welfare, and wish to give all the pains that I have undergone on from now until the time when the Elixir pours out of the crucible—and I have waited over it for the last hour, and it still remains more to come to term—for this time you have no idea of a Monkey to cross your mind, the very semblance of its image come into your counter-spell depends on this! And other-which for the whole of the last month I have had to prepare, in the twinkling of an eye and goes off into thin air. This is its fate even as Hakím Julí<sup>1</sup> has very carefully written, and plainly laid down in his treatise.

[*re-assured by the apparently easy counter-spell,—together*]. All right, master! This

Please Heaven to make the perfecting agent on this alone!

*Khalil.* Yes, it depends simply on this. It is all in the hand with what you do, and I shall be so much the more ready to blow with the bellows.

*As the bellows, while Mullá Ibráhm turns the crucible with the iron tongs. He throws one of the waters into it, and pours in, drop by drop, the contents of the phials. Then he takes his seat, catches out of his breast pocket, looks at it.*  
-]

Doctor [*turning towards him*]. Master, is there any counter-spell than this?

doctor was I have been unable to discover.



*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl.* No other but what?

*Aghâ Zamân, the Doctor.* No other but with the Monkey.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl.* You fellow! What—what are you saying? What words are you pronouncing? Ah, woe to you!

*Aghâ Zamân.* Well, but what can I do? I can't drive the Monkey out of my thoughts.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl* [*in despair and very angrily*]. Hold your tongue, you fellow! Whatever comes into your mind, keep it out!

*Aghâ Zamân.* On my eyes be it, master.

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl* [*angrily to his assistant Mullâ Hamîd*]. Blow hard with the bellows! You are going to sleep! [*Poking down his head, he peers into the crucible. Then undoing the blue paper he pours in the powder out of it. At this moment*]

*Mullâ Salmân* [*throwing off his cap*]. Ouf! how hot it is! Ouf! Heaven give you all its curse! They will not keep back! There is no help for it!

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl.* And whom should Heaven curse? Who will not keep back? What is there no help for? What are you talking about?

*Mullâ Salmân.* There is no help for it! The counter-spell is impossible!

*The rest of the Nakhû people.* That is true. There is no help for it! It will never be possible!

*Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khâlîl* [*getting in a rage*]. What do you mean by there being no help for it? What is impossible? What are you talking about? What has come to you?

*Mullâ Salmân* [*prompted by the state of mind in which he and his companions are, and urged on by their looks of approval, ventures to reply*]. Master, all the animals of the hills have changed themselves into the figures of Monkeys and the likenesses of huge Apes, and are uncurling their long tails before my eyes, and now are assaulting my head. Ouf! I don't know what to do, or whither to take refuge! Ouf! Heaven give you its malediction, you Apes and Monkeys!

*Nakhû people [throwing up their heads].*  
 u, you Monkeys! What a pass is this we

*le of Nakhû have their heads in the air looking, Mullâ Ibrâhîm Khalîl hurriedly ing into the crucible. Flames and what z shower of bullets burst out of it and fly sides. Then the crucible cracks, and the ir blows up into the air like gunpowder. set, and the coals rolling about, the various to blaze.—Mullâ Hamîd springs back ces and the forge in terror. Mullâ Ibrâhîm at the hair of his beard with both hands, ng his knees<sup>1</sup> with his hands, moans aloud.]*

*Khalîl [screaming at the Nakhû people].*  
 omes! What is this that you have done!  
 omes, and close the doors of your houses  
*is at the hair of his beard, and strikes his*

. Sit down, Master! Be calm! What  
 me to pass. There is no help for it.  
 ; we to do?

*Thalîl [in great vexation].* What ought  
 ;, what you must do is, now before  
 yourselves to that village, near by there,  
 or all the time that the next Elixir is  
 a can come back here again after the  
 e elapsed. You may then receive the  
 n exchange for what still remains of the  
 weight of your copper coin. That is,  
 ' deduction of the sum of necessity  
 nsable reagents used at the last fusion,  
 l. But understand, — before getting  
 account do you stir out a step! For,  
 in make an error in your counting, and

umon sign of distress in the East.

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*Buddhism in its Relation to Brāhmanism.*

Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, C.I.E.,  
A.S.

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[*The Nakhâ people remain in a state of utter perplexity and bewilderment.*]

*The Curtain Falls.*

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*Additional Note to "The Alchemist: a Persian Play."*—Since my translation has been in type, I learn that Monsieur Barbier de Meynard is bringing out, in the January number of the *Journal Asiatique*, the original Azeri-Turkish text of "The Alchemist," with a French translation appended. The appearance thus simultaneously of the two translations is entirely fortuitous, and had I earlier known about this, it might have been better to have chosen a different play for translation in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. However, this is, perhaps, the less to be regretted, as readers will be able thereby to compare, in the respective translations, the Persian play and its prototype composed in the Turkish dialect of Azerbaijân. It is due to Mons. B. de Meynard to add, that his paper was already in type before the beginning of December, when, unaware of his intention, I wrote out my own translation.—GUY LE STRANGE, Jan., 1886.

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## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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ART. VIII.—*On Buddhism in its Relation to Brāhmanism.*

By Professor Sir MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS, C.I.E.,  
D.C.L., M.R.A.S.

THE recent annexation of Upper Burmah will probably give an impulse to the study of Buddhism. At any rate, the fact that the sacred books of the Southern Buddhists are being made accessible through Professor Oldenberg's edition of the Vinaya-piṭaka,—through the works of Professor Rhys Davids and other scholars,—and more especially through the valuable publications of the Pāli Text Society, is likely, I hope, to cause a considerable accession to the ranks of Pāli scholars.

Rightly or wrongly, and in my opinion wrongly, Buddhism has always excited more attention and interest in this country than Brāhmanism, and the relationship of the one to the other is not yet generally understood.

I may therefore perhaps be held excused if I venture to come before this Society to-day, not with any new theory or discovery, either in the science of language or religion, but with a contribution towards setting forth more clearly the debt that Buddhism owes to Brāhmanism, and Brāhmanism to Buddhism, and the inter-relationship between two systems which together influence the creed, conduct and social condition of more than one-third of the population of the world.

I need scarcely say that I am here using the term Buddhism in a restricted sense. I am applying it to that moral and philosophical system first taught in India about 2350 years ago, of which the Sacred Books of the Southern



arrive most inopportunately one day before the completion of the Elixir, and so spoil the next as you have done this. An idea comes to me. I will add the interest on your money, during this time, to the amount of the silver that shall be set aside for you. For it makes no difference to me to give you a little more or less silver, but for people like you every grain of silver is, after all, something. So God be with you! Go your ways, and wait for my summons. [*He retires to his tent, his head bent down, and, speaking aside to himself, says*] Yes, wait till I send you a summons! But, please Heaven, before that time comes, I shall find means of dispensing with seeing your faces again!

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mination of the two systems proves that closely related in their origin, but that antagonism which afterwards took place never so great as to exclude the prospect drawing towards each other again by d attraction, and even actually blending; ial union being, in my opinion, the pro- er forms of Vaishṇavism and Śaivism. pers of the god Viṣṇu, in their ideas r and equality, in their abstinence from nce towards all creatures, in their hero- of humanity and fondness for images, to me to be more than half Buddhists.

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Buddhists are the best exponent, not to those highly developed forms of so-called Buddhism which prevail as popular religions in other parts of Asia in the present day.

And at the outset I may remark that philosophical Buddhism bears much the same relation to its various later outgrowths that pure Brāhmanism bears to Hindūism.

In speaking on former occasions before this Society, I have striven to point out what I conceive to be the difference between pure Brāhmanism and Hindūism.

Pure philosophical Brāhmanism may fairly be identified with the Vedānta system, which again is closely connected with the Sāṅkhya.

It is a creed built up on the doctrine of an impersonal, universally present, unconscious spirit called Brahman—a kind of spiritual element or vital principle pervading all space, and underlying equally every material object, whether organic, or inorganic, whether stones, animals, men or gods.

It postulates the eternal existence of that impersonal elementary spirit as its starting-point—denies the real existence, not only of all material objects, but of the separate human soul, as distinct from the universal soul; and ends where it began in a pure impersonal entity, which it is difficult to distinguish in its unconscious state from pure nonentity. If this be Pantheism, as commonly alleged, it is a kind of spiritual Pantheism very different from the ordinary Pantheism of European philosophy.

Hindūism, on the other hand, is a system built up on the doctrine of devotion to the personal gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. It postulates the eternal existence of those personal gods as its starting-point, and ends in simple polytheism and idolatry.

If we compare in the same way philosophical with popular Buddhism, the difference seems to lie in this:—

Philosophical Buddhism—or at least the truest form of it—is a system built up on the doctrine of the utter unreality and undesirableness of life in any form or state, and the non-existence of any spiritual essence, as distinct from material organisms. It postulates the eternal existence of

starting-point, and ends in simple Nihilism. written on the whole visible universe, even the most perfect human being must hence.

ism, on the other hand, is a system built up of certain perfected human beings called gods. It affirms the eternal permanence of some state or other, just as Vaishnavas affirm the existence of Vishṇu. It gives them divine powers like Hindūism in polytheism and idolatry. The latter doctrine we have at present nothing to do with; our concern is with that form of philosophical scepticism set forth in the sacred books of the Vedas which was once current in India.

It might seem that for a Brāhman, who is a Brahman, to say, who asserts that Brahman—the Absolute—exists and nothing else, and for a Bud-dha-vādi—that is, who affirms that a blank void substituted for Brahman—there can be no difference.

A comparison of the two systems proves that they are closely related in their origin, but that the antagonism which afterwards took place between them was never so great as to exclude the prospect of their drawing towards each other again by mutual attraction, and even actually blending; the final union being, in my opinion, the proper result. The forms of Vaishnavism and Śaivism. The powers of the god Vishṇu, in their ideas of unity and equality, in their abstinence from violence towards all creatures, in their heroism of humanity and fondness for images, lead me to be more than half Buddhists.

The very first point made clear by the sacred documents is that the Buddha never undertook founding a religious system in direct opposition to Brahmanism, but Buddhism does not undertake to explain how

opposition to Brāhmanism. He himself was a Hindū of the Hindūs, and he remained a Hindū to the end.

And it is remarkable that just as the Founder of Christianity, being Himself a Jew, never required his followers to give up their Jewish creed or usages, so the founder of Buddhism, being himself a Hindū, never required his adherents to make any formal renunciation of their ancestral religion, as if they had been converted to an entirely new faith.

Nor had the Buddha any idea of ostentatiously courting popularity as a champion of universal social equality and denouncer of all distinctions of rank<sup>1</sup>—a kind of Tribune of the people, whose mission was to protect them from the tyranny of caste.

What he rather aimed at was to form a caste of his own, that is to say, an order of monks which had in its constitution much of the character of a caste, though not a priestly one—a vast association of persons who were all to be equals in rank—a brotherhood in which all were equally under the triple vow of celibacy, poverty and mendicancy—a society in which all were equally dominated by one idea—an idea very prevalent before Gautama's time—that life was not worth living under any circumstances, whether on earth or in heaven, whether in present or future bodies.

The founding of such a monastic Order was, without doubt, the Buddha's principal aim; and when founded, it contained within itself potentialities for expansion of which its founder probably never dreamed.

Its growth soon surpassed all anticipations, and its ramifications rapidly extended in all directions, spreading in the end to distant countries, where, like the Indian Fig-tree, they sent down roots to form vigorous plants even after the decay of the parent stem.

In point of fact, an organized monastic system, which opened its arms to all comers of whatever rank, and enforced on its members the duty of extending its boundaries by itinerancy,

<sup>1</sup> This, I admit, is not consistent with what I said in *Indian Wisdom* (p. 55), but when I wrote that work the *Tripitaka* was not so well known as it is now.

at rolling onward of the wheel of the Buddha from the earliest times the chief backbone, of Buddhism, without which it been propagated, nor even have held its origin for so many centuries.

is main design, Gautama was really no producer of new ideas foreign either to the of Brāhmanism.

It always been an adjunct, or accompanying system. Thus, we find it laid in the Law-book (vi. 1) that every twice-born be first a student living with a preceptor, a householder, and then, at a certain period of time, to abandon wife, family, and caste, and to become a hermit or anchorite, living in the constant wandering from door to door.

Through these very stages and states of life the Buddha himself must in all probability have

passed that ordinary Hindū monks were not. There were in India many monastic orders included in them men of various castes and there were also numerous solitary monks and monks took vows of different kinds, whether of silence, of fasting, of poverty, of nakedness, of celibacy, of abandoning caste, rank, wife,

and called themselves by various names, such as 'one who has abandoned the world'; Vairāgī, 'one who has abandoned worldly desires'; Yogī, 'one who seeks truth by abstract meditation'; Yati, 'one who has renounced passions'; Jitendriya, 'one who has conquered the senses'; Śramaṇa, 'one who fatigues himself by austerities'; Bhikshu, 'one who lives by begging.' The chief qualification for all who wished to enter the Buddhist path was that he should be of good character, and that he set his face to the goal of final beatitude, and that he set his face to the goal of asceticism. His aim was to form a vast

well-organized fraternity of celibate monks, co-extensive with humanity itself; and although these were to be collected in local centres, they were nevertheless bound to move about from one place to another both to obtain their daily food and for the propagation of the Buddha's doctrine. It should always, indeed, be borne in mind that celibacy, poverty, and mendicancy were three essentials of *true* Buddhism, and not a mere accidental accompaniment of it.

It is to be noted, however, that Gautama did not think it necessary to distinguish the members of his Order by any new title, but preferred making use of some of the current Brāhmanical names.

His usual mode of designating them was by the term Bhikshu (Pāli Bhikkhu) 'beggars,' to indicate their poverty; though they were also called Śrāvaka 'hearers,' to denote their attitude of attention as hearers of the Law; and Śramana (Pāli Samana, Sanskrit root Śram), to indicate the labour and fatigue they had to undergo after their admission to the Order.

For although Buddhism has the credit of being the easiest and least burdensome religious system in the world, and its monks among the idlest of men—as having properly no rites and ceremonies to perform, and nothing to do in the way of working for a livelihood—yet in real truth the carrying out the objects contemplated by the Founder was no sinecure if earnestly undertaken.

It was not possible for men to be really idle who felt that their only mode of avoiding starvation was by begging their daily bread from place to place, and that as members of the Order they were bound to be constantly engaged in turning the wheel of the law, in bringing all their bodily desires into subjection, and in practising profound meditation for the attainment of true knowledge.

This last duty—the duty of meditation—the Buddha himself—as is well known—had set the example of performing for many years as a means of attaining true enlightenment. And it may be here pointed out that in doing so, he had merely conformed to the practice of Yoga, which, though

o a regular system of philosophy, was at enough among the Brāhmans.

little doubt that Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna, and ms of abstract contemplation and mental e frequently resorted to by Brāhmans in th much the same object he had in view— nsight and true enlightenment of mind. e proved by a reference to Manu vi. 72.

ī or ancient Vedic prayer—still used by ian fellow-subjects at their daily devotions in act of meditation performed with the —“Let us meditate on the excellent glory fying Sun, may he enlighten our under- eḍa iii. 62. 10).

of the Aśvattha or sacred Pīpal tree as the the first stirrings of the divine afflatus— nysterious rustling of its tremulous leaves ke themselves felt, was quite in harmony ideas; for we know that in the Kaṭha the root of this tree is identified with the hman, and that a passage in the Muṇḍaka ), and a Mantra of the Ṛig-veda (I. 164, re conception. It is true that Gautama sub- d all idea of any divine inspiration coming ource, yet it is highly probable that when self under the sacred Fig-tree, which is as a form of Brahmā—he expected to be d of supernatural communications.

as been said to show that, according to plan, every true Buddhist was bound to t. Let us not forget, however, that in recognized laymen and married house- ch as Brāhmanism did.

uddha knew very well that it was not celibacy on all his followers, however

is to affirm as a certainty that the Kaṭha Upanishad, buddhistic. Its exact date is immaterial; it must be the Mantra in the Rig-Veda and other passages, as r of the idea of this tree's sacredness.



desirable such an eventuality might have been. He was well aware that if every man and woman had been led through his example and teaching to remain unmarried, and go about from one place to another, either as a mendicant or preacher, there would have been no work done, no food produced, no children born, and in time no humanity—nay no Buddhism—left.

He had to take the Indian world as he found it, and the generality of people were in Gautama's day very much what they are in India now-a-days—bent on early marriage and resolute in devoting themselves to the task of earning a livelihood by honest work—aye and down right hard work too.

Without doubt celibacy in instances of extraordinary sanctity has always commanded respect in India; but in no country of the world has married life been so universally honoured, and the duty of toiling daily for self-support so universally admitted. It is not very likely, then, that the following sentiment from the Sutta-Nipāta could have met with very general approval among the Buddha's hearers:

“A wise man should avoid married life as if it were a burning pit of live coals” (Dhammika-Sutta 21, Kumāra Svāmī).

And indeed it seems to me that the very circumstance that the foundations of Buddhism were not laid, as those of Brāhmanism were—and as those of Christianity notably are—on the sacred rock of family-life, and that Gautama made abstinence from marriage essential to actual enrolment in his society, and to perseverance on the way of salvation, is sufficient of itself to account for the fact that Buddhism never gained any real stability or permanence in India.

At any rate it is clear that the Buddha, foreseeing the impossibility of converting the mass of the people to his anti-matrimonial views, very soon gathered round him an exterior circle of married laymen. These lay brethren were bound to Buddhism by very slender ties. They were required to conform to the simplest possible code of morality.

Probably the only test a layman had to undergo was his willingness to appear before an assembly of monks and repeat

the refuge with the Buddha, his Law and indeed it seems to me probable that it was the lay adherents were not called disciples, but as, that is, 'Servers,' or 'Honourers,' and even Upāsikās.

They had to perform serving, and this chiefly offering of food and gifts to the monks. If failed in this act of reverence, the only penalty on him was that he was deprived of receiving gifts, and so acquiring a store for his advancement in future states of life. Lay brethren were not true Buddhists, nor supporting and serving the monks,<sup>1</sup> they were not for enrolment within the pale of the Order at some future time or in subsequent forms of rebirth. Nor were they, as I have already said, to be believers in the Buddha's doctrine, or adherents of their general creed.

But, that when a man presented himself to the monks and claimed to be admitted as a member on the ground of his readiness to do homage to the Law and his Order, he was not thereby renouncing a half or even whole belief in the gods and customs of his family. In short, he was not to break with Hindūism, and as a result he did so, any more than the lay Buddhists in China, Confucianism and Taoism.<sup>2</sup>

In keeping with Aśoka's declaration in his edicts, "The beloved of the gods honours all forms of religion; all ought to be reverence for one's own religion and for that of others."<sup>3</sup>

Tolerance of the doctrines and ideas of

<sup>1</sup> With Eastern Monachism, I may remark that the chief duty attached to the monastery at Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire was that the monks, procure food and cook it for them; and we find a similar duty devolved on the Carthusian lay brothers.

<sup>2</sup> To-day the Emperor practises simultaneously Confucianism.

<sup>3</sup> Bouff's translations.

other systems had its advantages, especially in the early stages of the Buddhistic movement. It certainly had a prophylactic effect in warding off violent opposition, and helped to secure the permanence of Buddhism for many centuries in India. On the other hand, it had its *per contra* disadvantages, and the absence of any sharp lines of separation between Buddhism and co-existing creeds and superstitions makes it easy to understand how in the end it happened that on the destruction of Buddhist monasteries in India by hostile religionists, Buddhism seemed to melt away or become merged in Hindūism, while all its temples, symbols, idols, and sacred places became subservient to Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.

Yet, as a matter of fact, Brāhmanism and Buddhism co-existed for about a thousand years after Aśoka's Council (about 245 B.C.). If conflicts took place, they were not general, but confined to particular localities, and I think it may be safely affirmed that if Buddhism was ever anywhere persecuted, it never anywhere persecuted in return. I myself was much struck in one of my visits to India by the evidence Ellora (in the Nizām's territory) affords of friendly tolerance between Brāhmins, Buddhists, and Jains. Brāhmanical, Buddhist, and Jain caves may be there seen side by side, and their inmates no doubt lived on terms of just as much harmony as the members of the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan communions do in Europe at the present day. It was only in the South of India that any violent crusade against Buddhism—like that instituted by Kumārila and Śāṅkara in the seventh and eighth centuries of our era—seems to have been carried on. In other parts of India, Brāhmanism crept up somewhat insidiously to its rival, and drew the heat out of its body by close contact. In brief, I hold that if it be true to say that Brāhmanism was the birth-place of Buddhism, it is quite as true to assert that in India at least Brāhmanism became its grave, and that the passing away of the Buddhistic system was, on the whole, peaceful and unattended with any violent pangs.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> No doubt there are places in the South of India where there is evidence

the Order of Nuns (Bhikṣuṇī, in Pāli) generally believed that at the outset of his life he refrained from imparting, or allowing others to impart, knowledge to women, simply because he feared the mingling of communication with the female sex. It was not until the death of his favourite cousin Ānanda for permission to do so that women were indebted to the intercession of their own.

Not a long period elapsed before the Buddha granted the privilege of entering on the same path of life as that opened to men.

It is not that at the time when Gautama lived, women were kept in actual seclusion. Yet we learn from the records that they enjoyed little independence and were regarded as inferior beings, incapable of performing religious duties as men.

It is surprising, therefore, that Gautama, while preaching the doctrine of the plea for women's rights under universal brotherhood and equality, and while establishing a sisterhood of nuns, should have placed the women in subjection of monks, and made them subject to all matters of discipline.

As far as is said about the theory of social equality among women in Buddhist countries, there can be no doubt that in India Buddhism effected little alteration in the position of women.

It is clear that men were regarded as possessors of knowledge, while women were regarded as possessors of wealth. Men were superior to women in respect of the more rapid attainment of knowledge, and that every nun cherished as an ambition the hope of being born as a man at her next birth.

For instance, I may instance among the places I visited the city of Madura. When I concluded the reading of this paper on February 15, 1886, our President, Colonel Yule, said that the members of two religious communions who hold each other in such intense hatred on that account hate and oppose each other all the more. The intense tolerance and eclecticism that characterized Buddhism must have prevented mutual persecution, except in the case of Brahmanism. Brahmanism was much more likely to have adopted a policy of tolerance than to have persecuted and expelled it. In point of fact, it is well known, turned the Buddha into one of Viṣṇu's avatars. They are ready to turn the Founder of Christianity also.

Such then was the monachism which lay at the root of true Buddhism. It was in no one particular openly antagonistic to Hindū caste. It was supported, as we have seen, by a large body of lay associates, and those lay brethren who refrained from enrolling themselves as members of the Order retained their caste-distinctions without any denunciations from Gautama. Nor did Gautama ever rail at the Brāhmans, or dispute their right to be regarded as men of higher social rank. On the contrary, he treated them with respect, and taught others to do so,<sup>1</sup> just as he admitted the superiority of the gods over men, and allowed men to worship them; merely denying that either gods or Brāhmans could alter a man's condition in a future life.

What he really opposed was priestcraft and priestly domination, not caste; for, be it observed, Buddhism recognizes no priests, and has properly no priests of its own, unless monks can be so called.

Other reformers and leaders of Hindū sects had done much the same before him, so that even in this respect it cannot be said that Gautama struck out any wholly original line.

But it was not merely in the establishment and organization of a universal monastic Order, by means of which he might propagate what he believed to be true knowledge, that the Buddha took care to avoid any direct or offensive opposition to the spirit of Brāhmanism: he was equally careful in regard to the form in which the knowledge so propagated was presented. It seems indeed as if the great Teacher to whom the majority of Asiatic races have for centuries looked as a kind of god-like example, if not as an actual god, was naturally so tolerant of the opinions of others, and so humble-minded in regard to his own, that he could not bring himself to pose in the attitude of an original thinker.

<sup>1</sup> He even asserted that birth in a Brāhman family would be a reward for merit. According to Burnouf "very little difference appears between the Buddhists and Brāhmans in the *early* Buddhist writings, and Buddha is often described as followed by a crowd of Brāhmans as well as of Bhikkhus." See Journal R.A.S. O.S. Vol. XII. p. 242.

doctrines of Buddhism will be found on more or less amplifications or modifications of current Brāhmanical ideas, which again modified by an interchange with Buddhistic ideas, it may be doubted whether Gautama in his whole life-time ever expressed opinions which would do any serious offence to the most orthodox Brāhman. He could not of course wholly dispense with the authority of his own; but all his dogmas were more or less a compromise with old-established

in that the Buddha's method of clothing himself in the new dress, or, to adopt another metaphor, in the new with old, had in it a fascination very strong for the Brahmins. For Brāhmanism was in truth a very eclectic system. For other creeds, and equally eclectic. Even among its most orthodox adherents, he was one of three ways or methods of securing

the way of sacrifices, ceremonies and rites, the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portion of the

the way of devotion to one or other of worshipped personal deities, leading in Jainism and Vaishṇavism (as ultimately unorthodox).

the way of knowledge as set forth in the

the three ways, or all three together, might fear of being charged with heresy, so long as the Veda was not impugned; but the new knowledge, which was incomparably the more open to all.

was reserved for the more intellectual and

usually expressed in Sanskrit by Karman, Bhakti, and the doctrine of Bhakti was not fully developed till after the Upanishads prove that the practice of devotion must have existed.

philosophically-minded Brāhmins. The generality of men had to content themselves with the first and second ways. All that the Buddha then did was, in the first place, to institute an Order to which all classes were admissible; and in the second place to throw open the third or highest way—the way of true knowledge—to all who wished to enter upon it, of whatever rank or caste or mental calibre they might be. No human being, he declared, not even the lowest, was to be shut out from free access to the path of true enlightenment.

And here, of course, it will occur to most persons to inquire what was the nature of that knowledge which the Buddha thus made accessible to all?

Was it some deep spiritual truth? Some abstruse doctrine of philosophy, or physical, or metaphysical science? Was the Buddha's open way very different from the old, well-fenced-off and carefully-guarded Brāhmanical way? Was his knowledge opposed to Brāhmanical knowledge?

Unhappily we are here met by a difficulty. The Buddha promulgated a creed, but he never, like Muhammad, wrote a book or even a single line. He was, in some respects, the Socrates of India, and we are obliged to trust to his followers for a record of his sayings and doings. Still we have no reason to doubt the genuineness of what has been handed down in regard to the main doctrines he taught, and we are at once struck with the fact that Gautama called his own knowledge *Bodhi* and not *Veda*. Most probably he did so because he wished to imply that his own knowledge, as attainable by all through their own efforts and intuitions, was to be distinguished from *Veda* or knowledge obtainable through the Brāhmins alone, and by them through supernatural revelation only.

But it should be noted—as pointed out long ago by Professor A. Weber of Berlin, and recently by Professor Oldenberg—that even in the choice of a name derived from the Sanskrit root *Budh* 'to know,' the self-enlightened Buddha was only following the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. For example, the Śūta-patha-brāhmaṇa called a

<sup>1</sup> who had attained to perfect knowledge may be pointed out, too, that in Manu man is called Budha.

doctrines which grew out of his self-gautama still called *Dharma* 'law,' the term employed by the Brāhmins—of law in its most comprehensive sense, whether the physical laws of the Universe, political and social duties. And, further, what was taught in the Buddha's *Dharma* was truth. It was in perfect harmony with

His way of knowledge, though—like that that ultimately developed into many paths, had a departure. It started from the old truth, that all life—not merely some life—was and it indicated two cures for that misery. The first was the suppression of desire, especially the desire for existence. The second cure was renunciation. When, however, we come to put in practice what we find ourselves brought to know by the twelve-linked chain of causality and the answer we receive is:—ignorance and misery and all craving for continuity are a mistake.

to prove that this kind of pessimism—Schopenhauer, von Hartmann and other philosophers—was taught by the Brāhmins and has continued to be a thoroughly Brāhminic doctrine to the present day. Witness the following *Maitrāyaṇi* or *Maitri Upanishad* :—

the body, ever liable  
to ambition, avarice, illusion,  
to grief, envy, hatred, separation  
the things we hold most dear, association  
the things we hate; continually exposed  
to thirst, disease, decrepitude,  
to growth, decline and death,  
can there be for true enjoyment ? ”

*ta-patha-brāhmaṇa* xiv. 7, 2, 17.



Also the following, from Manu (vi. 77) :—

“This body like a house composed of the (five) elements, with bones for its rafters, tendons for its connecting links, flesh and blood for its mortar, skin for its covering ; this house filled with impurities, infested by sorrow and old age, the seat of disease, full of pain and passion, and not lasting—a man ought certainly to abandon.”

Later writers chime in, thus (Vairūgya-śataka of Bhartṛhari, iii. 32) :—

“Enjoyments are alloyed by fear of sickness,  
High rank may have a fall, abundant wealth  
Is subject to exactions, dignity  
Encounters risk of insult, strength is ever  
In danger of enfeeblement by foes,  
A handsome form is jeopardized by women,  
Scripture is open to assaults of critics,  
Merit incurs the spite of wicked men,  
The body lives in constant dread of death,  
One course alone is proof against alarm,  
Renounce the world, and safety may be won.”

And again (iii. 50) :—

“One hundred years<sup>1</sup> is the appointed span  
Of human life, one half of this goes by  
In sleep and night ; one half the other half  
In childhood and old age ; the rest is passed  
In sickness, separation, pain and service—  
How can a human being find delight  
In such a life, vain as a watery bubble ?”

Then we know that the removal of the pain caused by desire, ignorance, and bodily existence, was the chief aim of the Brāhmanical systems of philosophy, quite as much as of the Buddhistic.

The very first aphorism of the Sāṅkhya system defines the chief aim of man to be complete deliverance from the misery and pain incident to corporeal existence. The Nyāya,

<sup>1</sup> Centenarians (S'atayus, S'ata-varsha) seem to have been rather common in India in ancient times, if we may judge by the allusions to them in Manu and other works. See Manu, iii. 186 ; ii. 135, 137.

aphorism, declares that beatitude consists in freedom from the pain resulting from birth, old age, knowledge; while the Vedānta considers the fetters the soul of man to the body, and Karma, the cause of all pain and suffering. So the Buddha's so-called agnostic and ascetic said that he wholly repudiated the existence of Being. And it is true that his highest ideal was a perfectly enlightened man, free from all pain and suffering.

It is pointed out, he had great sympathy with the Yoga philosophy not only asserted the existence of Spirit but also defined His nature thus (ii. 24):—

"The individual Spirit (*purusha*, which also means pain, acts, the result of acts, and desires." This definition may equally serve as a definition for the individual soul, and it is difficult to suppose that one is true by the other.<sup>1</sup> It seems, also, difficult to understand the Buddha's predilection for Yoga with his insistence of Spirit as distinct from bodily existence. A little consideration will perhaps indicate the ground round to this disbelief.

The Buddha's so-called enlightenment and attainment of Nirvāṇa, he was as firm a believer in the real existence of Spirit as the most orthodox Brāhman. He was imbued with Brāhmanical philosophy while he was a student of his two teachers Udraka and Alāra. The Yoga and Vedānta systems were no definite or finally formulated systems, separated from each other by sharp boundaries, but they embodied had been roughly sketched, and were orally current.

It is then believed, as had been repeatedly asserted, that nothing really existed but one impersonal Spirit, and that the whole of existence was to be identified with that Spirit.

to imply that the Yoga definition was necessarily

Then it followed as an article of faith that man's spirit, deluded into a temporary false idea of separate personal existence by the illusion of ignorance, and maintained in that false idea through repeated births by the force of its own acts, was also identical with that One Spirit, and ultimately to be re-absorbed into it.

Now it is obvious that to believe in the ultimate merging of man's personal spirit in One impersonal unconscious spirit, is virtually to deny the ultimate existence of any human spirit at all. Nay more—it is virtually to deny the existence of a supreme universal Spirit also.

For how can a merely abstract universal Spirit, which is unconscious of personality, be regarded as possessing any real existence worth being called true life?

To assert that such a Spirit is pure abstract Entity or (according to Vedānta phraseology) pure Existence (without anything to exist for), pure Thought or even Consciousness (without anything to think about, or be conscious about), pure Joy (without anything to rejoice about), is practically to reduce it to pure non-entity.

All that Gautama did, therefore, was to bring common sense to bear in purging Brāhmanism of a dogma which appeared to him to be a mere figment and a sham.

He simply eliminated as meaningless and incapable of proof the doctrine of an impersonal incorporeal unconscious spirit, whether human or divine.

And this leads us to the important question how far the great central Brāhmanical doctrine of soul-transmigration formed the basis of the Buddha's theory on the same subject. It might seem at first that the teaching of the Buddha would differ materially from that of the Brāhmins in regard to this central dogma. The real fact was that the divergence of the Buddhist doctrine from the Brāhmanical theory of metempsychosis was not greater than was to be expected from the difference between the two systems in regard to the doctrine of soul and spirit. Of course Gautama was brought up to accept unreservedly the Brāhmanical theory as minutely described in Manu's Law-book (chapter

elsewhere). The great Brāhmanical law—  
 with a triple order of transmigration through  
 higher planes of existence, resulting from  
 good and bad acts, words and thoughts. Thus—  
 the lower—the soul of a man who spoke ill  
 is destined to pass into an ass or a dog (ii.  
 1). A thief might occupy a mouse (xii. 62), the  
 neglected his caste-duties might pass into a  
 pig (2); and greater crimes might lead to the  
 condemned to occupy plants, stones, and minerals.  
 An intermediate condition of the soul, as a  
 ghost, which would be miserable but for  
 sacrifices—a source of constant profit to the  
 formed them.

the soul through repeated bodies was the  
 which it was the great object of Indian  
 move. It was impossible, however, for  
 such ideas, denying as he did the exist-  
 ence of spirit at all, as distinct from material  
 therefore put forth a view of his own,  
 which afterwards amplified by his followers  
 more Buddhistic than Buddhism, just as  
 of the present day developes his teaching  
 more Darwinian than Darwinism.

may be pardoned for recapitulating here  
 what scholars have already made clear, that  
 according to the Buddhist is composed  
 of five called Skandhas.<sup>1</sup> And that these are :  
 1. Sensations (*vedanā*). 2. The faculty  
 of feeling (*samphar*). 3. The faculty  
 of thought or consciousness (*viññāna*).  
 4. The faculty of conformation (*samskāra*)  
 leading ideas, dispositions (leading to actions,  
 5. The faculty of thought or consciousness (*viññāna*).  
 The most important of the five, and is the only  
 one which is not destroyed by Buddhists. Theoretically it perishes  
 at death, but practically it is con-  
 tinued in a new body.

It is said to be made up of the five elements—ether,  
 air, fire, water, and earth, and a sixth called *viññāna*, consciousness.

For although it is true that when a man dies, all the Skandhas are dissolved, yet by the force of the merit and demerit (*kuśala* and *akuśala*) resulting from his actions (*karma*), a new set, of which consciousness (*viññāna*) is still the dominant faculty, instantly starts into being. The process of the new creation is so instantaneous that it is equivalent to the continuance of the same personality, pervaded by the same consciousness, though it is only really connected with the previous personality by the force of acts done and character formed in that personality. In short (as Prof. Rhys Davids has well shown), to speak of transmigration of souls as a doctrine of Buddhism is misleading.

A true Buddhist does not believe in the passing of a soul from one body to another, but in the passing on of what may be called act-force or character-force: that is to say, in the constant perpetuation and transmission of the aggregate of merit and demerit resulting from a man's acts so as to cause a continuous and connected series or succession of separate forms and personalities. It is this act-force alone, commonly called Karma, which is the connecting link between each man's past, present, and future bodies.

In its subtle and irresistible operation this accumulated Act-force may be compared to stored-up chemical or electric energy. It is a force which continually creates and re-creates the whole man, and perpetuates his personal identity (even in the absence of recollection) through separate forms, whether it compels him to ascend or descend in the scale of being. Be it observed, however, that the scale of descent appears to be limited in true Buddhism to animal organisms. It is not extended, as in the Brāhmanical system, to plants and minerals, stocks and stones.

Enough then has been stated to make it clear that the only creator recognized by Buddhists is, so to speak, Act-force. It is Act-force that creates worlds. It is Act-force that creates all beings in any of the six classes into which Buddhists divide all beings,—namely, gods, men, demons, animals, ghosts and the dwellers in hell. We know that it is an axiom with modern European men of science that no

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lost, but must of necessity be transmitted in some form or other. Now the Buddhist has done this very thing many centuries ago in the form of the Karma generated by a man's character and the Buddhist philosophy affirmed much the same. The modern Positivist philosopher asserts that both body and mind are resolved into nothingness at death. The only immortal part of us is the good we have done, what good words or deeds we have behind us, to be made use of by our successors and approved on for the elevation of humanity. The Karma of these, according to the Buddhist, is strong enough to re-create us.

It was the force of Gautama's own acts that had led him through a long chain of successive rebirths, culminating in the perfect Buddha. And it is a characteristic of the perfect Buddha that he has the faculty of recollecting these personalities of his past lives. The stories of at least five hundred births (Jātakas) are even now daily repeated to the eager listeners in every Buddhist country of the East of Asia, and are believed to convey lessons, much in the same manner, if I may say so, with all reverence, that the stories of the patriarchs, prophets, and heroes, who are believed to be types of Christ, are repeated as religious services.

The interchange of ideas between Brāhmanism and Buddhism is again exemplified by the Buddhist birth-stories which are obviously mere modifications or variations of the tales and folk-lore long current in India, and which evidently have been imported from Buddhism into the Sanskrit literature.

One is constantly reminded of similar ideas in the Upaniṣads, Hitopadeśa, Rāmāyaṇa, and the like. A noteworthy point about the repeated stories is that there appears to have been no

Darwinian rise from lower to higher forms ; no working of the way gradually and progressively upwards ; but, on the contrary, a mere jumble of metamorphoses. Thus we find him born twenty times as the god Indra, eighty-three times as an ascetic, fifty-eight times as a king, twenty-four times as a Brähman, once as a gamester, eighteen times as a monkey, six times as an elephant, eleven times as a deer, once as a dog, four times as a serpent, six times as a snipe, once as a frog, twice as a fish, forty-three times as a tree-god, twice as a pig, ten times as a lion, four times as a cock, twice as a thief, once as a devil-dancer, and so on in an endless irregular series, without any apparent conformity to any rule or law of development.

Another wise man of the East, who lived long before Gautama, spoke of "the path of the just shining more and more unto the perfect day."<sup>1</sup> Of this kind of progressive advance towards higher planes of perfection, the Indian sage knew nothing. Nor to the Buddha, of course, would such a doctrine as that of "imputed Righteousness" have conveyed any meaning whatever. With Gautama, righteousness and unrighteousness, holiness and sin, were merely forces causing in the one case a man's rebirth either in one of the heavens or in higher earthly corporeal forms, and in the other his rebirth in one of the hells or in lower corporeal forms. "Not in the heavens," says the Dhamma-pada, "not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself away in the clefts of the mountains, wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions."<sup>2</sup> And this Buddhist theory of every man's destiny being dependent on his own acts is quite in keeping with Brähmanical ideas expressed here and there in Sanskrit literature. Take for example the following : — *Pūrva-janma-kṛitaṃ karma tad daivam iti kathyate*, "the act committed in a former birth that is called one's destiny"; and again, "As from a lump of clay a workman makes what he pleases, even so a man obtains

<sup>1</sup> Proverbs iv. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Dhammapada, 127, 219 (Dr. Oldenberg's Buddha, p. 243), with a slight variation of phraseology.

he has wrought out for himself" (Hiton).

I too of a sentiment by a poet of our own—  
still travel with us from afar,  
we have been makes us what we are." <sup>1</sup>

te's saying, "Every man is the son of his  
of Wordsworth's, often quoted, "The child  
n;" and of Longfellow's, "Lives of great  
we can make ourselves sublime."

ies and rites performed by priests avail  
r devotion to personal gods avail aught,  
whatever, except a man's own works and  
the slightest efficacy.

ds and demons of the Hindū Pantheon  
ddhists to be mere myths. They existed  
oreal forms than those of men, and were,  
beings, capable of working good or evil,  
among them the Vedic god Indra being

st omnipotent, and were wholly powerless  
y one on the road to his own salvation.  
o that division of the Buddhist system  
in the operation of physical laws in the  
tion of worlds, we are again reminded of

r noted that, notwithstanding the great  
Buddhism and Brāhmanism in regard to  
it, the disagreement in the end appears  
than real. The same may be said with  
ideas on the subject of matter as opposed  
ain, the gulf between the two systems  
be impassable. It might indeed have  
since Gautama denied the eternal exis-  
would at least give eternal existence to

the text of the 70th chapter of George Eliot's



But no ; here, again, Buddhism allowed no permanence. Here, again, the only eternal thing is the Causality of Act-force.

The world around us, with all its visible phenomena, must be recognized as an existing entity, for we see before our eyes evidence of its actual existence. But it is an entity produced out of nonentity, and destined to lapse again into nonentity when its time is fulfilled.

For out of nothingness it came, and into nothingness must it return, to re-appear again, it is true, but as a wholly new creation brought into being by the accumulated force of its own acts, not evolved out of any eternally existing germ.

It is thus that the Universe is like an endless succession of countless bubbles which are for ever forming, expanding, drifting onwards, bursting and re-forming, each bubble owing its re-formation to the force generated by its vanished predecessor ;

“ Worlds on worlds are rolling ever  
From creation to decay :  
Like the bubbles on a river,  
Sparkling, bursting, borne away.”<sup>1</sup>

Or like an interminable succession of wheels for ever coming into view, for ever rolling onwards, disappearing and reappearing ; for ever passing from being to non-being, and again from non-being to being.

As to the question what force created the first world, the Buddha hazarded no opinion. He held this to be an inexplicable mystery.

Many of these speculations also may be traced back to a Brähmanical source. We know that a fundamental doctrine of Brähmanism is *Ex nihilo nihil fit*. The true Vedānta philosophy makes the Universe proceed out of an eternal illusion, and students of Manu are familiar with the doctrine of Kalpas, or immense intervals of time (lasting for 4,320,000,000 earthly years), during which every creation attains perfection, and then again deteriorates and decays till it is utterly dissolved, not indeed into nothingness,

<sup>1</sup> Shelley's *Hellas*.

or simple unconscious Spirit, to be again inauguration of a fresh Kalpa.

ed, however, that pure unconscious spirit different from pure nothingness ?

author of a well-known hymn of the Rîg-

g there was neither naught nor aught,  
neither sky nor atmosphere above.  
darkness hid in darkness, gloom in gloom ;  
ater, all a chaos indiscreet,  
ne lay void, shrouded in nothingness."

Kalpas or ages of the world, we know that notion of vast intervals of time exceeds the modern geologists ; yet the Buddhist con-

gaggeration of the same notion.  
ed, say Buddhist writers, that a solid rock 16 miles high, and the same in length and  
ly rubbed once in a hundred years with  
cloth, and by this slight friction reduced  
o the size of a mango-seed ; that would  
ea of the immense duration of a Buddhist

buddhist theory of numerous heavens and  
an equally exaggerated expansion of the

t doctrines of Brāhmanism was that earth,  
even formed three worlds (Manu xi. 236),  
st writers expanding these into three sets  
s, the first comprising the seven worlds  
(Kāma), viz. the earth and six heavens  
inhabitants of which are capable of those  
desires which lead to re-birth and death,  
resided over by Māra, the deadly spirit  
re is the atmosphere, and who, as Prof.  
! shown, is the counterpart of Mṛityu,  
the Kaṭhopanishad. The second group  
'form' (Rūpa), divided according to four

places of pure thought or meditation, and said to contain sixteen (or according to the Northern school seventeen or even eighteen) heavens. The third group are called 'formless worlds,' and contain four heavens, inhabited by beings who appear to exist in a highly sublimated transcendental state, untroubled by desires, feelings, or thoughts.

Similar hyperbole is used in describing the numerous Buddhist hells. Manu (iv. 88-90) reckons 21 hells or places of torment of various degrees, but these are expanded by Buddhists into 136, the eight principal of which are minutely described as terrible places of torture. The worst, called *Avīci*, is for unbelievers in and revilers of Buddha and his law.

And now, before I conclude, I feel rather like a foolhardy person rushing recklessly over thorny ground when I venture to speak of the culminating Buddhist doctrine of *Nirvāṇa*? I think, however, I may assert two things about this much controverted expression without fear of being contradicted.

The first is that the word *Nirvāṇa* is an expression common both to Brāhmanism and Buddhism. It was probably current in Gautama's time, and certainly occurs in the *Mahā-bhārata*, parts of which may extend back to the time when Buddhism first arose in India. Of course, like some of the crucial theological terms of Christianity, it is capable of being interpreted differently, according to the views of the interpreter and the point he wishes to establish.

The second is that it would be about as unreasonable to restrict the expression *Nirvāṇa* to one meaning as it would be to restrict both Brāhmanism and Buddhism—two most elastic, comprehensive and Protean systems—which have constantly changed their front to suit changing circumstances and varying national peculiarities at different epochs and in different countries, to one hard and fast outline.

*Nirvāṇa*, no doubt, properly means 'a state of extinction' like that of a blown-out flame, but such extinction may have at least three meanings. It may indicate first a complete extinction of the fires<sup>1</sup> of the passions and a total cessation

<sup>1</sup> The three chief fires are lust, infatuation and hatred.

cially the desire for individual existence—  
 7 all Arhats while still living in the world,  
 1 Buddha himself, at the moment when he  
 died, forty-four years before his complete  
 secondly, there is a form of Nirvāṇa in-  
 7, in which the leading idea seems to be  
 release from all pain, accompanied by a  
 peace and rest, all fear of further bodily  
 terminated. This condition, implying as  
 consciousness of blissful repose, precludes  
 annihilation. Then, thirdly, Nirvāṇa may  
 be of entire cessation of re-births, with utter  
 unconscious personal existence as attained by  
 going to the orthodox view, at the moment

led to the first form of Nirvāṇa—the  
 release of the passions—it must be borne in  
 mind of profound respect for such a con-  
 dition in the mind of every true Hindū, and  
 nothing new in this idea.

no one can have come in contact with the  
 their own country, without observing that  
 ocratic Brāhman to allow others to see  
 any passion, to exhibit any emotion or  
 ded as a proof of weakness.

understand, therefore, that when the  
 his followers to strive after a wholly  
 , he addressed a sympathetic audience.

exhortations were heard in India, his  
 held persons in the highest respect who  
 entirely suppressed their passions. The

Gautama's teaching was that he made  
 nt on all true Buddhists alike, without  
 a state of absolute impassiveness is well  
 e by the usual attitude of the images  
 ia's death, were carved to represent him

is that the Buddha did not advocate the suppression of

—an attitude of complete tranquillity, passionless composure, and dignified calm.

Then, with regard to the second phase of *Nirvāṇa*, in which the main idea is cessation of all pain, this seems to correspond very much to the Brāhmanical *Apavarga*, described in the *Nyāya*, and defined by a commentator, *Vātsyāyana*, to be *Surva-duḥkha-ēheda*. I trust I shall not shock my Indian friends if I illustrate this condition by an example from the animal creation. In crossing the Indian Ocean, when unruffled by the slightest breeze, I have sometimes observed a jelly-fish floating on the surface of the transparent water, apparently lifeless, but really drinking in the warm fluid in a state of lazy blissful repose.

No Buddhist at least could look at such a sight without being reminded of the second idea of *Nirvāṇa*—the idea of, so to speak, floating in perfect peace and cessation from all pain on a kind of ocean of conscious beatitude.

With regard to the highest form of *Nirvāṇa*—sometimes called *Parinirvāṇa*—absolute extinction of conscious personal existence and individuality, I have already shown that if this is to be distinguished from the Brāhmanical idea of absorption into an impersonal unconscious spirit—whereby the Ego of personal identity was utterly destroyed—it is a distinction without much difference.

We may be quite sure that although the highest form of *Nirvāṇa* is the ultimate goal, and great object of all the loftiest aspirations of a true Buddhist, it has no place in the aims, efforts, and even in the thoughts of the ordinary adherents of Buddhism.

The apex of all the desires, the culminating point of all the ambition of the most religiously-minded Buddhists of the present day, point to a life in one of the heavens, while the great mass of the people aim only at escaping one of the hells, and elevating themselves to a higher condition of bodily existence in their next birth on this earth, and perhaps on that very part of this earth which is the scene of their present toils, joys and sorrows.

And now, in conclusion, let me say a few words in regard

Code of Morality. It may be well asked, where of morality find a place in a system where all thought and action proceed from ignorance and where all virtuous conduct the product of a mistake as to the nature of life in higher states of being ? ”

It seems difficult of explanation, but it is to be said that notwithstanding the constant misery resulting from every form of rebirth, it is taught that the life of a virtuous man is far better than a wicked life and a life

of merit (*kuśala* or *punya* or *dharma*) the practice of morality, self-renunciation, almsgiving, according to the example set by the Buddha himself, was made an absolutely indispensable condition of a man's re-birth in higher corporeal forms, the attainment of perfect knowledge, perfect liberation and perfect deliverance from individual rebirth.

Buddhism and Brāhmanism might be well compared in a few words as schemes for the intense pursuit of self-righteousness, with a view to getting at the end of it be clearly understood that the self is not the self spoken of in Christianity, individuality and continued personal consciousness.

In systems Buddhism is certainly entitled to be called the perfect art of merit-making. For every trader who keeps a ledger, with a regular account, and a daily entry of profit and

loss to store up a money-balance in a worldly way is entitled to be constantly accumulating a merit-balance of Karma.

In a Christian sense, a man must be God-fearing; in a Buddhistic sense, a man must be self-righteous. The righteousness of the Buddhist is not of holiness, nor even the perfection of

self-enlightenment by the dissipation of ignorance. It is the perfection of merit-making, whereby the complete extinction of individual existence is achieved.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Buddhist system of morality is not of a very high order.

Often, indeed, it rises to the highest plane of Christian teaching, but the same can be said of the moral code existing among Brāhmans and Hindūs before the Buddha's time, and in nothing is the close connection between Buddhism and Brāhmanism better shown than in the moral precepts of these two systems which are sometimes nearly identical.

There is scarcely a sentiment in the *Dhammapada* and *Sutta-nipāta* which may not be matched by something similar in either *Manu*, the *Epic poems*, or the *Nīti-śāstras* of Sanskrit literature.

Most certainly the highest morality of both Buddhists and Brāhmans has this in common, that both had an ultimate reference to their own interests, and that both inculcated doing good to others, with a view to laying up such a store of merit for themselves as might secure their own advancement in future states of corporeal existence.

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ories of *Jimûtavâhana*, and of *Hariśarman*.  
 by Rev. B. HALE WORTHAM, M.R.A.S.

end of *Jimûtavâhana* is related twice in  
*âgara*, in the 22nd *Tarânga*, from which  
 relation is made, as well as in the 90th  
 versions of the legend differ somewhat  
 of the story, the latter version giving  
*Jimûtavâhana*'s courtship and home-life,  
 omitting all account of his actions in a  
 their results. The legend has also been  
*Nâgânanda*, or Joy of the Snake World,  
 a drama, remarkable as being the only  
 drama commencing with an invocation to  
 as follows the lines of the legend as laid  
 out.

*FAVÂHANA* (*Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, *Tarânga*  
 22, Śloka 16).

led the Snowclad on this earth  
 in many forms, the chief of hills,  
 the deity,—of Gauri's spouse  
 called. In that great mount,  
 the Vidyâdharas, once dwelt  
 in the *ûtaketu*. To his house  
 "the fishing tree," the legacy  
 from its nature called  
 "the desires." Then the king  
 heard that heaven-sent tree and said,  
 in tones : "O deity !



Who ever grantest all we ask or seek,  
Give me, I pray thee, now, a virtuous son,  
For I am childless." "King," replied the tree,  
"Thy prayer is granted, thou shalt have a son ;  
Within his mind shall dwell the memory  
Of former births ; he shall be liberal,  
The lover of all creatures." Then the king,  
Filled with delight, in adoration bowed  
Before the tree, and straightway to his Queen  
Bore the glad tidings. Soon a son was born,  
And to the boy the father gave the name  
Jîmûtavâhana. As time went on  
The youth increased in stature, while the love  
Which filled his inmost nature, step by step,  
Grew with his outward form. At last, the prince,  
Proclaimed Successor to his father's crown,  
Filled with compassion for all living things  
That move upon this earth, in secret spoke,  
And thus addressed his father, who with joy  
Heard his son's words. "Surely I know full well  
That all things perish : nothing on the earth  
Has an abiding place ; one thing alone,—  
The glory of the virtuous, replete  
With purity,—though countless ages pass,  
Shall never fail. If men of noble mind  
Have gained renown by showering kindnesses  
On others, more than life, far more than wealth,  
They value that fair glory. As for us—  
If our good fortune—our prosperity—  
Be for ourselves alone, nor overflow  
On the less fortunate, then like a flash  
Of lightning shall our fortune pass away,  
And vanish into air. This ' Wishing tree '   
Grants all that we desire ; if, then, we pray  
The tree to pour its blessings o'er the world,  
Nor keep them selfishly,—then shall its fruit  
Be ours indeed. So let me supplicate  
The wishing tree that by its boundless wealth

des of men, who pass their lives  
 may be relieved." Thus spoke  
 Jimutavahana : gladly his sire  
 and the youth invoked the tree.  
 O tree ! The giver of all good  
 this day our earnest prayer ;  
 earth all want and poverty.  
 O friendly one ! Thou hast been sent  
 world with wealth, therefore I pray  
 for the wealth that they desire."

Jimutavahana

When one, the tree sent down  
 abundant showers on the earth,  
 mankind rejoiced. Who could have bent  
 the tree to carry out his will  
 in plenty, even though he were  
 freedom, but the glorious  
 one ? Therefore to him  
 the regions of the earth fast bound  
 latitude, and o'er the heav'n  
 the same extended far and wide.  
 the sons of the King uprose,—  
 Jimutaketu,—full  
 as the throne was firmly fixed  
 glory ; and their minds they set  
 that place wherein the tree,  
 all blessings, grew,—a place  
 easy to be overcome.


They met together, fully bent  
 and said Jimutavahana,  
 proposed, " Father ! this life of ours  
 is like a bubble on the stream.  
 We then desire prosperity ?  
 or flame, whose tongue of flame  
 the wind, so among men  
 Who could ever hope to gain  
 (at least) prosperity  
 or arm or death ? I will not fight

With kinsmen ; I will rather leave my realm  
 And dwell within the forest. Let them be !  
 We will not slay these miserable men,  
 Our brothers and our kin." His father said,  
 Firmly resolved in mind : " I, too, my son !  
 Will go with you, for I am old and grey,  
 And how should love for power abide in me  
 Since thou, all young and vigorous, hast cast  
 Thy realm aside, as though it were but straw,  
 Through love and pity ? " Thus the King approved  
 Jîmûtavâhana's advice, and left  
 His realm, departing with his wife and son  
 To Mount Malaya. There the youth abode  
 Within a grove, the Siddha's dwelling-place,  
 Where trees of sandal shadowed o'er the brooks,  
 Making his father's life his chiefest care.  
 And while he sojourned there, the Siddha prince,  
 One Mitrâvasu, took him as a friend,  
 Whose maiden sister in a former birth  
 Had loved Jîmûtavâhana. He saw,  
 And filled with perfect wisdom knew again  
 The damsel he had loved. Their mutual glance,  
 Like the frail meshes of the net which holds  
 The captive deer, ensnared each other's souls.

One day the Siddha prince, his countenance  
 Beaming with joy, in sudden thought addressed  
 Jîmûtavâhana, whom the three worlds  
 Adored : " A younger sister dwells with me,  
 Called Malayavati : to thee I give  
 The maiden ; O ! do not refuse my gift ! "  
 Then spoke Jîmûtavâhana, and said :  
 " Prince ! in a former birth she was my wife,  
 Thou too my friend, even as dear to me  
 As my own heart ; to me is given the power  
 Of calling back to mind births past and gone."  
 Then Mitrâvasu said : " Tell me, I pray,  
 The story of thy former births, I long  
 To hear it." And Jîmûtavâhana,


rds all creatures, answeréd :  
 my tale : Once in a former birth  
 hara, flying through space,  
 mâlaya, whose lofty peaks  
 beneath me, and I was beheld  
 rting with his spouse. The god  
 ause my towering flight  
 ve him, with a curse pronounced  
 on me : ' In the world of men  
 ise thou shalt be born : a wife  
 lyâdharas thou shalt obtain.  
 point thy son to occupy  
 d then once more remembering  
 irth, thou shalt again be born  
 ara.' Thus Śiva spoke,  
 cursed, foretelling too the end  
 ma, and disappeared.  
 a merchant's family  
 an form, and lived the son  
 r in a city named  
 udatta was the name  
 e. Time passed ; to manhood grown,  
 me forth, a retinue  
 lowing, to some far land  
 my journey, I was seized  
 forest ; stripped of all  
 e, they loaded me with chains  
 e to their village, to the shrine  
 e a silken banner waved,  
 ng, like as it were the tongue  
 agerness to lick the blood  
 s. Then to Pulindaka,  
 y brought me, who was worshipping  
 ess, that within her shrine  
 ed as a sacrifice.  
 although a Savara,  
 his heart within him melt  
 ate ; a causeless love

Which seems to spring unbidden in the heart  
Tells us of friendship in a former birth.  
Thus was I saved from slaughter by the King,  
Who, still intent upon the sacrifice,  
Prepared to make the offering of himself,  
And so complete the rite. But while he thought  
Thereon, a voice from heaven said : ' O king !  
Hurt not thyself ! Ask of me what thou wilt,  
It shall be granted thee, for thou hast been  
Approved of me.' Then filled with joy the king  
Replied : ' Since thou, O goddess, hast approved  
My deeds, what should I further need ? but yet—  
One thing I ask of thee : in births to come,  
May love between me and the merchant's son  
Ever remain unchanged.' ' It shall be so,'  
Answered the goddess. Then the Savara  
Restored me to my home loaded with wealth.  
My father, seeing that I had returned  
From a far-distant land, the jaws of death  
Barely escaped, held a great festival  
To do me honour. Then I saw again  
After some time had passed the Savara chief  
Led in a prisoner before the king  
For sentence and for punishment : his crime  
The plunder of a caravan. Straightway  
I told my father, and I prayed the king  
To spare the Savara. My prayer was heard  
And with a mighty sum of gold I saved  
The Savara chief from death. Thus I repaid  
His benefits, and to my own abode  
I brought him home, and long I tended him  
With loving care. After a time he turned  
Departing to his village, while his heart  
Tender with love was fixed upon me still.  
And then he roamed the earth, seeking a gift  
Worthy the kindnesses which I had showed  
Towards him. As he wandered here and there,  
He saw a lake before him, on its banks



riding on a lion, young  
 'ul. The Savara, amazed,  
 as within himself. 'Who may this be?  
 rtal? How then does she ride  
 ? Can she be divine?  
 Idess, how should such as I  
 ? Surely clad in human form  
 the merit which I gained  
 irths. Oh! could I only win  
 friend in marriage,—then indeed  
 tow on him a just reward  
 enefits.' The Savara,  
 ing in himself, respectfully  
 greet the maiden, who returned  
 n. 'Who art thou?' she said  
 hou come to this far-distant land?'  
 ara prince,' he made reply,  
 eeking treasure in this wood,  
 ight of thee I called to mind  
 ho saved my life, the merchant's son.  
 he in youth and comeliness,  
 of nectar to the world,  
 art. Fortunate the lot  
 naid who shall bestow her hand  
 l of generosity,  
 s, of patience, of compassion.  
 sing lovely form of thine  
 'such a destiny, Alas!  
 ears indeed his bow in vain.'  
 mind by these enticing words  
 vay, as though the spells of love  
 er. 'Where is this friend of thine?'  
 er love's prompting. 'Bring him here!  
 ee him.' 'Even so,' replied  
 nd full of joy returned  
 iend, thinking his object gained.  
 g with him treasures—pearls and musk,  
 ar abode, and entering in,

While all our house saluted him, he gave  
My sire the present, worth a mighty sum  
Of gold. After the day and following night  
Had passed in feasting, then the Savara  
Took me aside, and told me privately  
The story of the maiden ; and to me,  
Full of excitement at the tale, he said,  
'Come there with me, my friend!' When nightfall came,  
The Savara departed, bearing me  
Along with him. And when the morning light  
Shone forth, my father knew that I had gone  
Together with the Savara prince ; but yet,  
Confiding in the prince's love for me,  
He felt no grief. And I, as time went on,  
Journeyed towards Himâlaya ; the prince  
Tending me on the way with loving care.  
At length, one evening, we beheld the lake  
Before our eyes, and in the forest bounds  
We tarried all that night, eating the fruits  
Which grew within the wood,—that lovely wood  
Wherein the ground was strewed with creeper flowers,  
While all the air resounded with the hum  
Of bees : sweet gentle breezes blew,—the herbs  
Sent forth a gleaming light even like lamps.  
And then all night we rested in that wood—  
The chamber of delight. Next day the maid,  
Riding upon the lion, like the moon  
Resting upon an autumn cloud, drew near.  
As she approached, my mind at every step  
Flew as it were to meet her, and the prince,  
Advancing tow'rds her, said in courteous tones :—  
'Goddess ! I offer thee my dearest friend,  
Accept him as thy bridegroom.' 'Bring thy friend  
Hither,' she answered, and with eyes of love  
She glanced at me approaching her, and said,  
'This friend of thine must surely be a god !  
No mortal has so beautiful a form.'  
'Fair one ! I am a mortal,' I replied.



it's son, who dwells in Vallabhî.  
 y the favour of the god  
 upon his head the crescent moon  
 as his son.' Then said the maid,  
 st down through modesty, 'The god  
 fulfilled his promise ; for he deigned  
 n a dream, "To-morrow's sun  
 hy spouse to thee." Lo ! here I find  
 husband.' Thus she charmed my mind  
 of nectar sweetness. Then the wood  
 journeying homewards that the rites  
 might be duly solemnized ;  
 d on the lion, in my arms  
 maiden, we reached Vallabhî.  
 h wonder filled the people ran  
 ther ; marvelling, he came

When he saw the gracefulness  
 of the maiden, and perceived  
 ad chosen her, his heart  
 l to our marriage feast he called  
 nd relatives. Thus she became  
 nd all my life was filled with peace  
 s, blessed with a virtuous wife.  
 time went by, old age crept on,  
 g disgust for earthly things  
 s of life, I made my son  
 ny kingdom. Then I turned,  
 my royal state, and went  
 b. There intense desire  
 nortal frame possessed my mind.  
 editated on the deity  
 mountain side I threw myself  
 g. So I quitted life. Now born  
 e world, thou seest me  
 . To me belongs  
 n of my former births.  
 u art the Savara prince,  
 ister, Malayavatî,



Is that same blessed birth again when I,  
 The merchant's son, come in my former birth  
 To be my bride. Therefore his right and good  
 That I should marry her. First do thou go  
 And tell my parents: truly shalt thou gain  
 Thy whole desire." When Mitrāvati heard  
 The story of Jimûtavāhana  
 He told his parents, who were filled with joy,  
 And gave their daughter Malayavati  
 In marriage to Jimûtavāhana  
 And the pair dwell in great prosperity  
 And happiness upon Malayā's mount.  
 Once on a time Jimûtavāhana  
 Was wandering amid the woods that gird  
 The shore: and in that place he saw a man  
 Fearful and trembling: and with loud lament  
 His mother followed, while the man would turn  
 And bid his mother leave him, but with tears  
 She never ceased to follow him. Behind  
 The pair there followed one in soldier's garb,  
 Who led the man up to a lofty rock  
 And left him. Then Jimûtavāhana  
 Spoke to the man and said, "Tell me, I pray,  
 Who art thou? Why does this thy mother weep  
 For thee." Then said the man, "In bygone times  
 Kadrû and Vinatâ, Kâsyapa's wives,  
 Held a dispute. The horses of the sun  
 Were black," so one declared,—the other said  
 That they were white. The one who erred should serve  
 The other as a slave. Thus each agreed.  
 The subtle-minded Kadrû, fully bent  
 On victory, induced her sons the snakes  
 To send forth showers of venom o'er the steeds;  
 And then she showed them all defiled and black  
 To Vinatâ. So by an artifice  
 Was Vinatâ o'ercome and made a slave.  
 How terrible is woman's spite which wreaks  
 Vengeance upon its kind. Then came the son



Garuḍa, and he begged

Then the sons of Kadrû said,  
 'The gods have now begun  
 to pour a sea of milk. If thou wilt bring  
 it from that sea, O mighty chief,  
 I will give thee, thou shalt indeed redeem  
 thy mother from her bonds of slavery.'

A sea of milk Garuḍa went,  
 to show his mighty power, if by that means  
 he might obtain the nectar. Vishṇu, pleased  
 at the display of might, exclaimed, 'Indeed  
 thou hast lighted me! Ask what thou wilt,  
 I will give it thee.' Garuḍa, wroth,  
 that his mother had been made a slave,  
 prayed that the snakes might become  
 free. The god assented. So he gained  
 his valour, and a boon

As Garuḍa turned to go,  
 he told Indra. 'King of birds!' he said,  
 'I have an errand; may thy power and might  
 be used to free the foolish snakes lest they consume  
 the nectar and enable me to take

When Garuḍa heard these words,  
 he complied, and to the snakes  
 he brought the nectar in his hand he went,  
 he thought of Vishṇu's boon;  
 at a distance, he addressed  
 the snakes, filled with alarm at Vishṇu's gift:—  
 'Nectar, lo! I bring it you,  
 to save my mother; if you fear  
 I will place it on a bed  
 for you to taste; and when you have restored  
 her, will go, and you can take  
 the nectar.' All willingly the snakes  
 came upon a sacred bed  
 and Garuḍa placed the bowl  
 and departed, having freed  
 his mother. Then the snakes approached to taste



his enemy as food  
 of his realm ! Why did he not  
 offer himself ? Oh, base thy King !  
 overthrow of all his race  
 a witness. Ah ! how great a sin !  
 commits. Lo ! mighty sins  
 many men commit, impelled  
 by madness. Cheer up, my friend !  
 thee, surrendering  
 to Garuḍa." "Mighty one !"  
 Garuḍa ; "This be far  
 than thou wouldst not destroy a gem  
 of glass. Never will I  
 let my disgrace through me should fall  
 on me." Thus tried he to dissuade  
 him, and to the shrine  
 he went, thinking his time was come,  
 offering to the god.  
 offered Jîmûtavâhana,  
 his compassion, as it were,  
 his own house—thought that the chance  
 offering of himself, to save  
 his life. Therefore he quickly sent  
 him, on some pretence.  
 Garuḍa, and immediately  
 he began to tremble at the wind  
 beating his wings, as though it shook  
 his steadfast bravery  
 of a minded one. Then rose in haste  
 and filled with love  
 his wings, mounted upon the rock  
 shaking the quaking earth foretold  
 to Garuḍa. Then swooped down  
 his enemy—the heavens grew dark  
 in shadow, and he bore away  
 while drops of blood  
 fell from the hero, and his jewelled crest  
 was torn by Garuḍa's beak.

And flying to the topmost mountain peak,  
 The king of birds began to eat his prey.  
 Then instantly there fell from heaven a rain  
 Of flowers, while Garuḍa at the sight  
 Was filled with wonder. Soon this snake returned  
 Fresh from Gokarṇa's shrine, and when he saw  
 The rock of death wet with the drops of blood,  
 "Surely the mighty-minded one, (he thought)  
 Has offered up his life to ransom mine.  
 Oh, whither has Garuḍa borne him hence ?  
 Lo ! I will search for him, it may so chance  
 That I may find him." Following the track  
 Left by the drops of blood, the serpent went.  
 Meanwhile Garuḍa with amazement saw  
 That gladness filled Jimûtavâhana.  
 He ceased to eat him, and within himself  
 He thought :—" Who can this be ? This must be one  
 To whom I have no right ; for misery  
 Has no abode within his constant mind.  
 Lo ! he rejoices in his fate ! " Then said  
 Jimûtavâhana, upon his aim  
 Intent :—" O King of birds ! there still remains  
 Within my body flesh and blood : I pray  
 Why hast thou ceased to feed upon my form,  
 Seeing thy hunger is not satisfied ? "  
 Filled with astonishment, the King of birds  
 Ceased from his meal, and said, " O ! mighty one !  
 Surely thou art no snake ; I pray thee, say,  
 Who art thou ? " Then Jimûtavâhana  
 (His answer just begun, " I am a snake !  
 Eat me, I pray, for men of constant mind  
 With perseverance carry through the task  
 They have in hand, ") heard from afar the voice  
 Of Śankachûḍa, " King of birds ! desist !  
 I am the snake prepared for thee ! Alas !  
 How camest thou in recklessness and haste  
 To err so grievously ? " Confusion seized  
 Garuḍa, and Jimûtavâhana

e with grief, for his desire  
 unfulfilled. At last the truth  
 fore Garuḍa, and he knew  
 not a serpent, but the king  
 dharas. Then deepest pain  
 mind. "Alas! my cruelty!"  
 That sin has that brought forth in me!  
 es sin lay hold on those  
 fter sin! This noble one  
 her's good has sacrificed  
 ising this illusive world,  
 power—all honour be to him,  
 ceasing!" Then the king of birds,  
 self, into the flames  
 headlong. "King of birds," exclaimed  
 , "Do not despair!  
 st truly turn from guilt—repent!  
 serpents for thy food—repent  
 n thou didst eat in times gone by;  
 find a remedy for guilt,  
 ay avail." The king of birds  
 oiced, determined to repent,  
 mûtavâhana  
 y father. Then to heaven  
 ing down nectar, to revive  
 prince, and to restore to life  
 who had perished, and whose bones  
 t. Then Gaurî came from heaven  
 n, and on the mighty one  
 th showers of nectar: and his limbs,  
 eater beauty than before,  
 ck to him, while through the sky  
 music rang, and all the gods  
 ruḍa, too, returned from heaven,  
 ctar; and along the shore  
 he life-giving drops. And lo!  
 at had perished, once again  
 d with the forms that they had worn

In life, and filled that forest by the shore—  
 Crowds upon crowds of serpents pressing on ;—  
 It seemed even as though the serpent world,  
 Forgetting their dread enemy, had come  
 To see and honour their deliverer.  
 And round Jimûtavâhana his friends,  
 His wife, his parents, clustered, and they praised  
 Him for his glory, and undying fame.  
 Could aught but triumph reign in word or thought  
 Since joy had banished pain. Then to his home,  
 Together with his wife, and friend, and son,  
 Jimûtavâhana, compassionate  
 Towards all living things, departing, reigned  
 The sovereign lord of the Vidyâdharas.

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THE STORY OF HARISARMAN (*Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, Tarânga  
 30, Śloka 92).

Once on a time within a certain town  
 There lived a Brâhman ; he was very poor,  
 And foolish too. Moreover, he had naught  
 Wherewith to earn a livelihood ; his case  
 Was altogether very bad. Besides he had  
 No end of children ; thus the deity  
 Would punish him for all the wicked deeds  
 Committed in some former life. So then  
 The Brâhman (Harisarman was his name)  
 Wandered about, with all his family,  
 To beg for alms : and in his wanderings  
 He chanced upon a village. There he stayed,  
 And in a rich householder's family  
 He entered into service. While his sons  
 Tended the cows, and kept their master's goods,  
 His wife served him, and in a dwelling near  
 He lived himself, performing day by day  
 The tasks appointed in his master's house.

laughter of the householder  
 and a mighty feast was made,  
 from far and near invited came.  
 Brâhman pleased, because he thought  
 to cram himself up to the throat  
 ; but no one remembered him  
 at to the feast. When night had come,  
 distress because his hopes had failed,  
 wife to him :—"Stupid," he said,  
 at I: men therefore with disdain  
 now by an artifice  
 to them, and I shall appear  
 morning. This must be your part  
 later, when you have the chance,  
 used in magic art. Respect  
 said me." So a plan he formed  
 by night he stole the horse  
 the bridegroom rode. When morning came,  
 the men searched far and near, but found  
 Harisarman had concealed  
 in some far-distant place. Then came  
 the wife and said, "Why not consult  
 for he knows astrology  
 sciences. Lo! he will find  
 you." Therefore the householder  
 went to ask the Brâhman's help.  
 He said, "To-day the horse  
 you call me to your house,  
 yesterday, I was ignored."  
 "ardon," said the householder,  
 "forget :"—with such like words  
 the Brâhman's wrath, and said,  
 "What is the horse?" The Brâhman drew  
 his arms, and feigned to make  
 a sign. "You will find the horse  
 in such and such a place,  
 fetch him home, before the thieves  
 catch her." Then they went and found



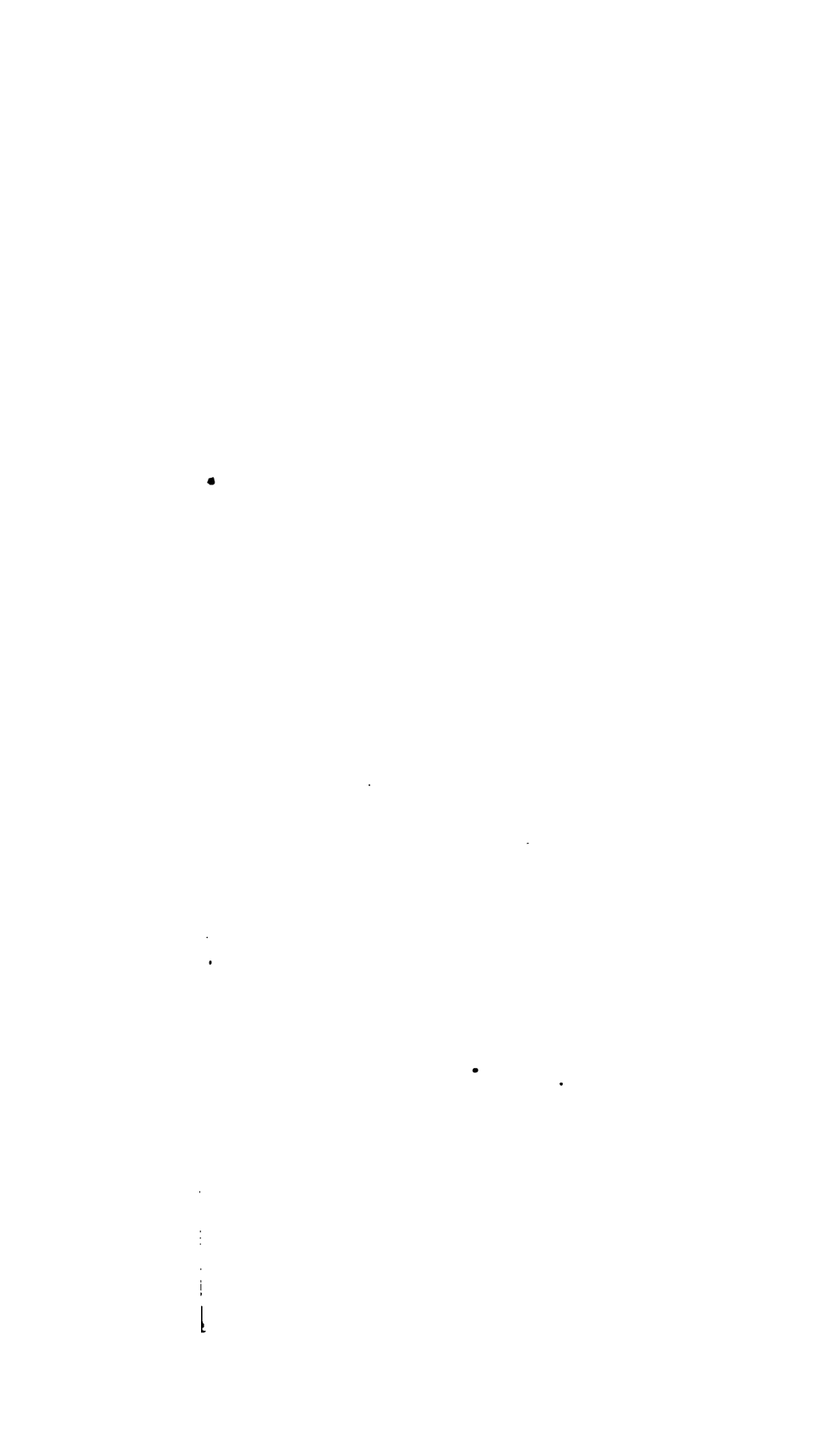
The horse and brought him back, praising the skill  
 Of Hariśarman. All men honoured him  
 And took him for a sage. It came to pass  
 After some time the palace of the king  
 Was entered by a thief, who carried off  
 Jewels and gold. Now Hariśarman's fame  
 Had reached the royal ears, therefore the king  
 Sent for the Brâhman. He, when, summoned came,  
 But gave no answer, trying to evade  
 The question. "When to-morrow comes," he said,  
 "An answer I will give you." Then the king  
 Locked Hariśarman up within a room  
 And placed a watch. Filled with despondency,  
 The Brâhman thought but little would avail  
 All his pretended wisdom. In that place  
 There was a maid called Jihvâ ; it so chanced  
 That she, helped by her brother, was the thief.  
 This maid, o'ercome with terror at the skill  
 Of Hariśarman, listened at the door  
 By night, intent on finding out, if possible,  
 What he might be about. Just at that time  
 The Brâhman, who was in the room alone,  
 Taking to task his tongue, which had assumed  
 To know that which it knew not, said :—" Alas !  
 O Jihvâ !<sup>1</sup> What is this that thou hast done  
 Through lust of pleasure? Evil one! Endure  
 Thy punishment." The servant, terrified,  
 Thought that her crime was known, and entering in,  
 Fell at the Brâhman's feet, whom she supposed  
 To have all knowledge, and she said :—" O Sir !  
 'Tis true! I am the thief! I Jihvâ stole  
 The gold and jewels, and I buried them  
 Under the roots of a pomegranate tree  
 Behind the palace. Take the gold I pray  
 Which I have left, and spare me, I confess  
 My crime." When Hariśarman heard these words,

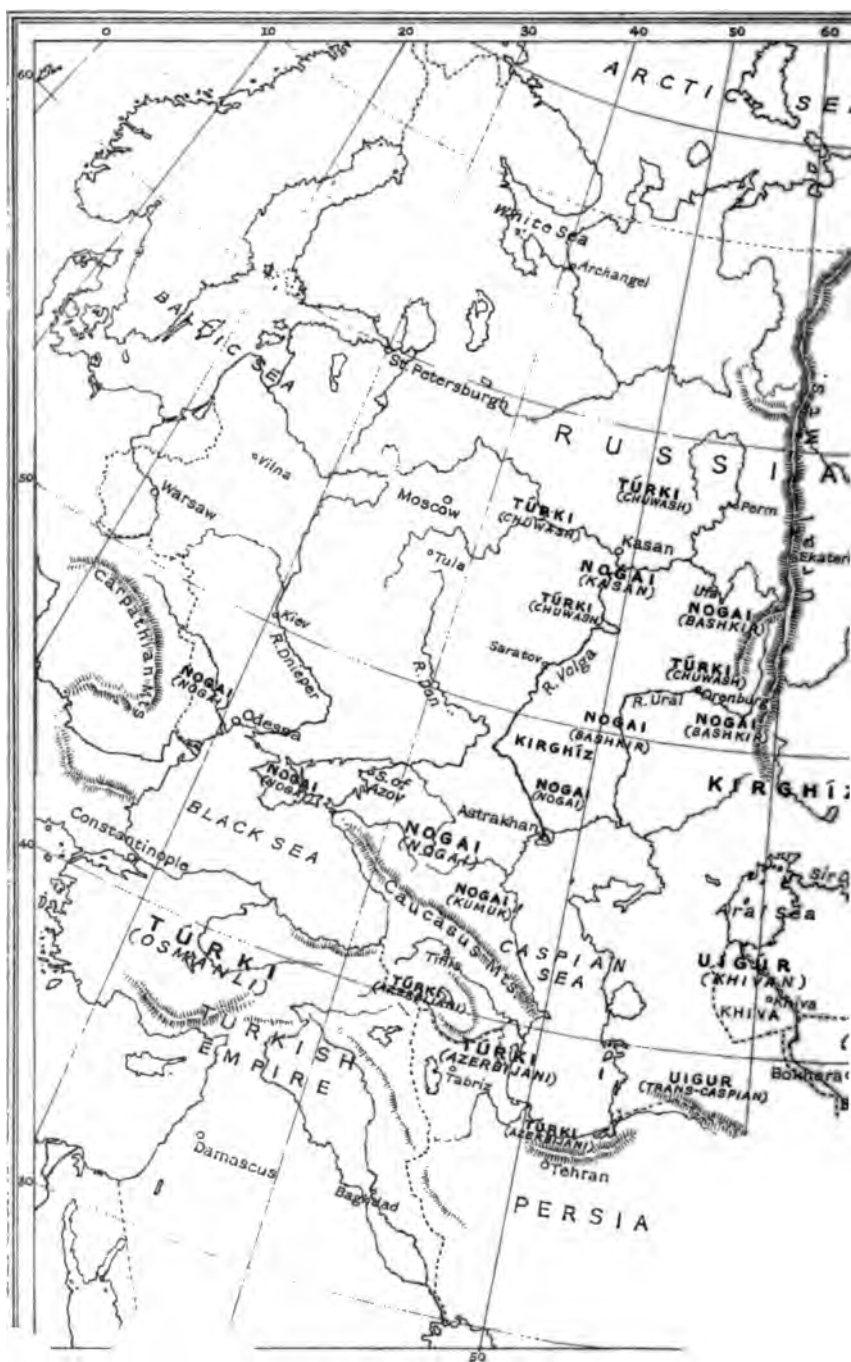
<sup>1</sup> Jihvâ means 'tongue,' as well as being a proper name.

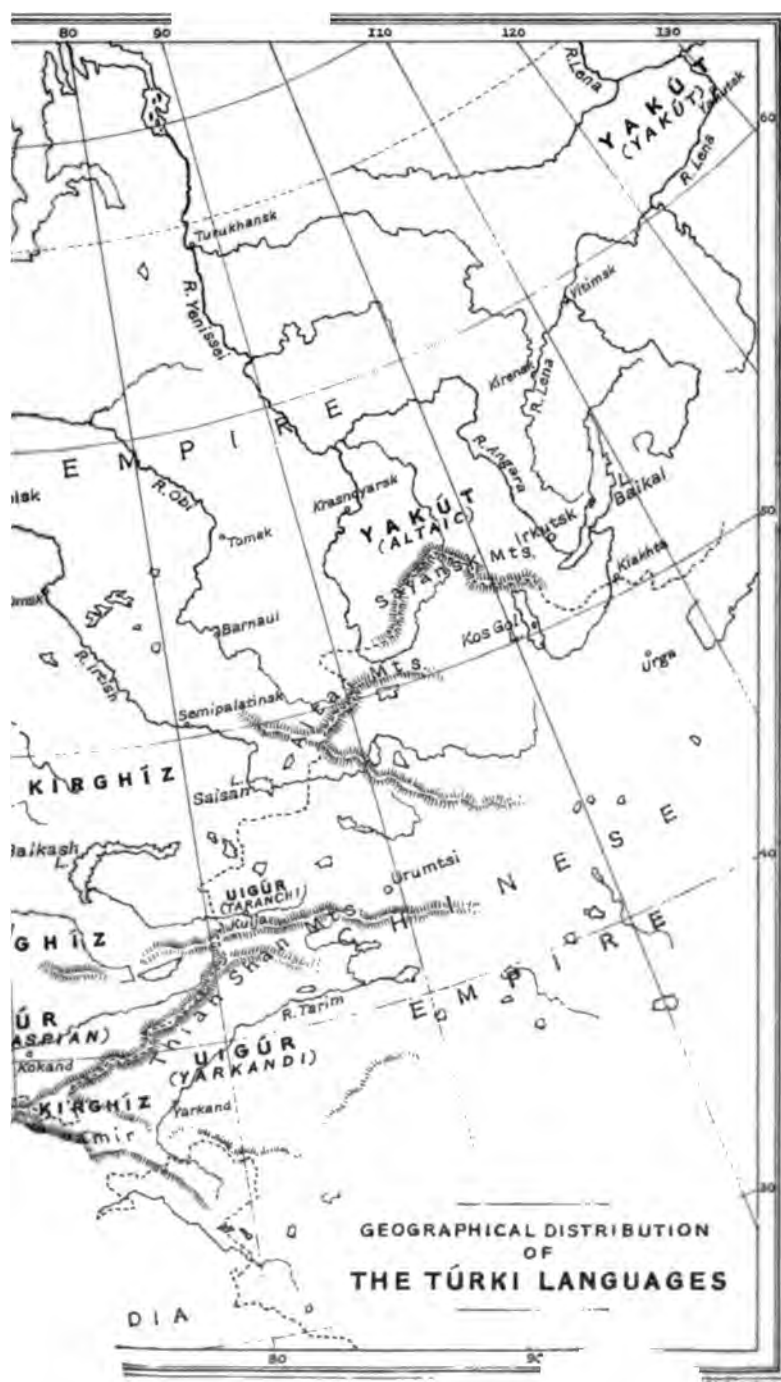
haughtiness : " I know all this !  
 future, past, and present lie  
 on ; but I will not denounce  
 thee, because you are a wretch  
 who have explored my mercy. Bring to me  
 what you have." Without delay  
 he started. Then the Brâhman thought  
 That which seemed impossible  
 accomplished, as it were in sport,—  
 proposed to me. Calamity  
 at hand, but yet I have attained  
 all my hopes. I blamed my tongue,  
 all my ills, when suddenly  
 my feet Jihvâ the thief  
 told. Secret crimes are brought to light  
 (revealed) by fear." With thoughts like these  
 he spent the night rejoicing. Morning dawned,  
 he led the king, with much pretence  
 to the garden where the gold  
 had been hoarded. Showing him what remained,  
 the thief had carried part away.  
 The king delighted, and he gave  
 him honours and rewards.  
 Then, the chief minister,  
 going in private, whispering  
 " How should a man possess  
 this, which ordinary men  
 cannot, seeing his ignorance.  
 Knowledge of the Śâstras,—of the books  
 of science. So you may be sure  
 of partnership with thieves,  
 living by dishonest means.  
 by some new artifice—  
 freedom." To this scheme the king  
 assented, and he placed a frog  
 in a new pitcher, newly bought,  
 and Harisârman, " Tell me now,  
 what is this pitcher ? If you guess

Arigh, then will I honour you indeed.”  
The Brāhman heard these words, and thought his end  
Had come at length : then rose within his mind  
The name of “ frog,” by which in sportiveness  
His father used to call him ; suddenly,  
Impelled by some divinity, he spoke,  
Lamenting his untimely fate, and said,  
Addressing thus himself, “ Poor little frog !  
Surely this pitcher is the overthrow  
Of all your hopes, for on you in this place  
Destruction swiftly falls.” Then all who heard  
The Brāhman’s words, with loud applause exclaimed,  
“ Indeed, a mighty sage ! he even saw  
Within the pitcher.” Then, indeed, the king,  
Thinking that Harisarman’s skill was due  
To magic art, gave to him villages  
And wealth, and outward marks of royal state.  
The humble Brāhman thus became a prince.

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Europe. Its four sub-branches are the Ugric, Finn proper, Volga-Finn, and Perm-Finn. With the single exception of the Magyar, one of the languages of the Ugric sub-branch, all these sub-branches are confined to the north of Russia, viz. to Lapland, Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, part of Kúrland, the northern banks of the Volga and the region between this well-watered district and the territory of the Samoyéd.

II. *Samoyéd* represents the semi-barbarous tribes inhabiting the inhospitable shores of the Arctic Ocean from the Gulf of Kandalak to the river Obi.

III. *Mánchu* is divided into three sub-branches: *Mánchu* proper, occupying the country known as Manchúria, north of Koréa; *Túngús*, spoken in a compact district around Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk; and *Lamut*, spoken by tribes leading a hard life in the district watered by the Upper Lena.

The *Mongol* Branch is spoken by a population altogether nomad. Its home is Mongolia; but immense bodies of Mongols are found in almost all parts of Central Asia and Southern Russia, from the Sea of Azov to Manchúria. The Mongol who inhabit the south-eastern steppes of Russia are known generally as Kalmük.

I now come to the fifth Branch, of which it is the object of this paper to give some more detailed account.

This Branch, for philological purposes, may be divided into five sub-branches, as follows:

1. *Túrki* proper.
2. *Nogai*.
3. *Uigúr*.
4. *Kirghíz*.
5. *Yakút*.

Each of the sub-Branched is distinct from the other, and contains its own Languages. A few general remarks on the linguistic aspect of these sub-Branched may be a useful preface to my remarks on their geographical distribution.

1. *Phonetics*. (A) There is an endless variety in the pronunciation of the vowels and consonants. There is hardly a single letter of the alphabet that has the same value in any

en languages. We have here in this section  
ics an immense field for research.

are very few which are pronounced alike in  
i. To illustrate what I say take the word  
We have *dakhee*, *daukhee*, *d'ha*, *taghee*, *tagee*,  
*nda*, *dagee*, *daagee*, *dagen*, *thagee*, and *da*, in  
ties. There are more than ten forms for  
'or 'is.' A comparative dictionary of these  
would be a useful work.

Some verbs are common to several Lan-  
atives of these verbs may not be common  
uage. The same applies to words built on  
adjectives.

cannot say that in the matter of structure  
d difference in the Túrki Languages. The  
s run through them all. Every sentence,  
ery one of the Languages must end with  
re are doubtless certain differences in the  
ative and accusative terminations in several  
, comparison of the adjective, in *nomina*  
les, in pronouns, and in the formation of  
om the verbs, but there is nothing radical  
e of the Languages from the rest of its

#### GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

convenient if, instead of taking each of  
es and treating it in its entirety, I were  
anguage in Geographical order, beginning  
oving eastwards, and indicating to which  
s the Language belongs.

##### i. *Nogai*.

r belongs to the Nogai sub-Branch. The  
umber about 190,000. The most westerly  
ave reached is the Russian province of  
hey occupy about twenty villages. They



*graphical Distribution of the Modern Túrki*  
 By M. A. MORRISON, Esq., Agent to the  
 oreign Bible Society in South Russia.

Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S., with a Note, Table  
 Authorities, and a Language-Map.

h I address myself in this paper is the  
 ibution of the Túrki languages. But  
 might be well to glance at the whole Ugro-  
 der to determine the position of the Túrki  
 at division of the languages of the human

g, but with sufficient accuracy, the Ugro-  
 e spoken over a region extending through  
 rees of longitude, from the shores of the  
 reat Wall of China and the plateau of  
 35 degrees of latitude, from the frozen  
 d and Yakút to the plains of Northern  
 l-waters of the Indus.

, spoken over this vast portion of the  
 e, for philological purposes, divided into  
 es. They are :

1. Finn.
2. Samoyéd.
3. Mánchu.
4. Mongól.
5. Túrki.

of the various languages which compose  
 hes I have nothing to do at present. A  
 owever, descriptive of their geographical  
 and useful.

group is almost altogether confined to

of Azerbiján, Ghilan, and Mazándaran, this is the vernacular. It is a peculiar and corrupt form. For philologists it has none of the value of the more archaic languages, e.g. the Uigúr. German missionaries, stationed in Shusha, about the year 1830, were the first to reduce to paper its grammatical principles. In this they were assisted by a most able Armenian linguist, Mirza Ferúkh.

vii. *Bashkir.*

Again going north to Astrakhan on the Volga delta, we enter the country of the Bashkír. If we draw a line from Astrakhan north-east to Orenburg, and thence due north to Ufa and Perm, we bisect the country of the Bashkír into two not very unequal parts. The Bashkír are most compact in the neighbourhood of Ufa, which is really a Bashkír town. They number some 400,000, and are mostly settled. Their language belongs to the Nogai sub-Branch. Ethnologists are divided in opinion about the origin of the race, but the best authorities are agreed that, although the race may be of Mongol origin, the language is Túrki.

viii. *Trans-Caspian.*

This is a very widely dispersed language. It is spoken by about 2,300,000 people. Going from west to east we see it spoken by the Tekke in the rich pasture plains lying between the northern slopes of the Kopet hills and the desert, and in that long strip of the Arkatch valley north of the Kuren Dagh. But in addition it is also the language of the ruling natives in Samarkand, Tashkent, Bukhára, Charjúi, Kokan, Ferghana, Bulk, and the populous Zarafshan valley. In other words it is the language of the great Uzbek nation. The 92 clans of the Uzbek are scattered over all that part of Central Asia in which the towns just named are situated. It is also the language of the Salor and Sarik tribes of north-west Afghanistan; also of the Kiptchak dwelling north of the Naryn river, and in the district

tant town of Andijan. It belongs to the h. Although it is somewhat corrupted by of Persian, it retains the ancient forms of fully than either the Bashkír or Azerbijáni. In these districts wishes to speak in a more or to write a letter or document, he uses that of the Tájik or else pure Persian. As language, the name Jagatai is little known in the Uzbek say that they speak 'Túrki.' The derived from Jagat, that son of Jenghíz the portion of Turkestan now inhabited by ven by his father.

#### ix. *Khivan.*

also belongs to the Uigúr sub-Branch. It has 1½ million in the Khanate of Khiva and is situated between the Amu Daria and the Caspian. It includes 150,000 nomad Yomut inhabitants and the Kara-Kalpak, numbering perhaps 100,000. The population round the southern shores of the Sea of Caspian, who form the bulk of the population of the region, must have broken off at a very early period from the original home of the race among the Altai. It has marked affinities with the most archaic Turkic language.

#### x. *Kirghiz.*

Of the five sub-Branches is so free from Persian as the Kirghíz. The language spoken in the lower Volga and that spoken in the Tien Shan mountains are one and the same, and are nearer to the Western Túrki than the languages of the Caucasus and Western Caspian. It is very nearly as near to the language of Yarkand. It now consists of two great divisions, the Kirghíz, who are highlanders confined to

the Altai, Pamir, and Thien Shan mountains, and to that part of Eastern Turkestan belonging to the Chinese Empire; and the Kazák-Kirghíz, dwellers on the plains, who roam with their sheep and camels over half a million of square miles from the Caspian to Lake Tenghiz. The Kazák or western division are far more numerous and powerful than the Kara-Kirghíz, and are subdivided into the well-known Lesser, Middle, and Greater Horde. The Greater Horde, which borders on the territory of the Kara, inhabits the Alatau district. The Middle Horde is scattered over the whole of south-west Siberia in the territory north and west of Lake Balkhash between the Upper Syr Daria and the Irtish, and is bounded on the west by the Sarisoa. The Lesser Horde is as far west as the Caspian and Ural Mountains, and meets the Middle Horde on the Syr Daria and Yemba. There is yet another Horde confined to Russia called the Inner or Bukciëff Horde. They dwell on the steppe between the Volga and Ural. There is moreover a considerable Kirghíz population in the government of Orenburg. Ethnologists are not yet able to decide whether they belong to the Mongol or to the Túrki race. They number altogether a little over 2,000,000. The Kazák or Western Kirghíz has been called 'Orenburg Tartar,' for the same reason that the Nogai has been called 'Karass': a Scotch Missionary resident in Orenburg translated portions of the Scriptures into Kazák-Kirghíz. I may add that the translation gives an excellent idea of the written form of this dialect.

#### xi. *Yakút.*

For the purposes of the philologist this is perhaps the most important of any of the languages, inasmuch as it has preserved its ancient forms untouched by the influence of foreign idioms. It is the language on which Böhlingk wrote his celebrated monograph. The tribes speaking Yakút inhabit the far north-east corner of Siberia, and number about 200,000. It is pretty certain that at some unknown time they have migrated to that secluded region from the

baikal. All their traditions agree with this Russian Orthodox Church has had a mission among the Yakút, but more than the half of their heathen usages.

xii. *Yarkandi.*

of Yarkand in Chinese Tartary and the Thien Shan mountains. We have here the form of *Túrki*. Vambéry considers that it is undoubtedly the most primitive words and the oldest of all *Túrki* forms of speech. It has attained, with the single exception of *Osmánli*, the highest literary culture. Early in the fifth century Chinese writing by the Chinese, and in the eighth century missionaries from Syria formed an alphabet. According to this Language numbers nearly

xiii. *Taranchi.*

According to Kaulbars the Taranchi number some 100,000 settled in Kulja and in small agricultural districts. They are probably emigrants from the north, settled in their present territory by the Chinese. Radloff says of the Taranchi that "it is the oldest of any of the Central Asian Turkish languages, especially Turkish than any Turkish book known in Constantinople." It belongs to the Uigúr sub-group. It is derived from the Turkish word *Taran* and the Taranchi are skilful agriculturists; hence, the name. Allusion.

xiv. *Altaic.*

Vambéry, Radloff, Castren, and Pavet de Selye. The *Altai* and *Karagas* are distinct forms of the language on the northern slopes of that range, and many others, calling them dialects.



## SUMMARY.

DIVISION.	SUB-DIV.	POPULATION.	GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT.
1. Túrki	Osmánli	11,000,000	The ruling class of the Ottoman Empire and the inhabitants of Asia Minor.
	Chuwásh	450,000	Governments of Nijnii Novgorod, Kasán, Simbirsk, Viatka, Orenburg.
	Azerbijáni	3,000,000	Trans-Caucasia and N.W. Persia.
2. Nogai	Nogai	190,000	Bessarabia, Crimea, Cis-Caucasia, and Volga Delta.
	Kumük	70,000	N.E. Daghestan, Terek Valley, and N.W. Shore of Caspian.
	Kasán	200,000	Governments of Kasan and Simbirsk.
3. Uigúr	Bashkir	400,000	Governments of Astrakhan, Orenburg, Ufa.
	Yarkandi	1,000,000	Yarkand and Chinese Tartary.
	Trans-Caspian	2,300,000	Country of the Tekke, Zarafshan Valley, and generally Central Turkestan.
4. Kirghíz	Khivan	1,500,000	Khanate and Desert of Khiva, and South of Sea of Aral.
	Taranchi	40,000	Kulja.
	Kirghíz	2,000,000	From the Volga to confines of Manchuria, most compact in S.W. Siberia.
5. Yakút	Yakút	200,000	N.E. corner of Siberia.
	Altáic	Unknown	On the N. Slopes of Mt. Sayan.

## NOTE BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY R.A.S.

Now that the entire Region occupied by Túrki-speaking tribes has come under the influence of European domination, it is desirable that some clearer understanding should be arrived at of the different languages of this wide-spread Family. I had hoped to prevail on my friend Arminius Vambéry to write a paper for this Journal on the subject, and no one is more competent to deal with it, but the Council declined to offer any remuneration, and so the negotiation dropped, which I had commenced at Buda Pest in 1883. Pavet de Courteille of Paris, at my request wrote a paper on the subject in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1877; but, as it appeared to me to be rather a Geographical than a Philological subject, I went down in the autumn of 1883 to Tiflis, to talk over the matter with Mr.

1, the Agent of the British and Foreign  
 and his learned colleague, the Rev. Amir-  
 I found engaged in the translation of the  
 e Túrki spoken in Trans-Caucasus and  
 orth-West Province of Persia. This was  
 ask for a profound scholar in his study in  
 person engaged in Asia in distributing the  
 horde in the Language intelligible to them.  
 on visited London last year, we talked over  
 , and fixed approximately the number of  
 consider this sketch to be only tentative,  
 vance towards the final settlement of this

n Vambéry that though he calls the  
 three Khanates of the Oxus the Jagatai,  
 y marked Dialects at Kokan, Bokhára,  
 in each case by the peculiarities of each  
 assigns to Khiva the place of a separate  
 g the two other Khanates under the same  
 Tekke. This may or may not be accurate.  
 ligible, and therefore easily susceptible of  
 however quote no authority.

ef published, at St. Petersburg, 1875,  
 Turkish (Osmánli), Persian, Kirghíz and  
 as spoken in Central Asia, followed by a  
 r Uzbek he means the two Languages  
 paper as Trans-Caspian and Khivan, and  
 Turkestáni; but this would be going too  
 assuming a name for one portion of the  
 s to the whole field. He admits that the  
 Khiva is differentiated from the Dialect of  
 kend, owing to the contact of the former  
 ii. At the time that he wrote he knew  
 guage of Yarkand and Kashgar, as Shaw  
 is Grammar, and he knew nothing also  
 he Tekke of Merw, that country being at  
 and unconquered. Every Russian hates  
 rgarian, and Terantief, as was to be

expected, attacks the "Jagataische Sprach Studien," but Scholars will probably agree with Vambéry. Radloff is of opinion that a single version of the Scriptures will be understood by the populations of Turkestan (Tashkent), Bokhára, Khiva and Kokan, amounting to two or three millions. A competent scholar, Ostramof, is engaged in the translation of the Gospels: his work has been submitted to Radloff, who is entirely satisfied with it. It will be carried out at the expense of the English Bible Society, and a large issue published and distributed; and the question as to the Language spoken in these Regions will be settled by the test of experience. Schuyler, who is a trustworthy authority, in his Travels entirely supports the same view as Terantief.

I have had a Language Map prepared, and add a table of Authorities or Texts, as the best proof of the existence of the Language and Family, and the best means of differentiating them.

Regarding their written Character, it may be noted that some of these are perfectly illiterate. The Osmánli, the Azerbijáni, Kumük, Kirghíz, Nogai, Yarkandi, Khivan, and Trans-Caspian use the Arabic Character partially or entirely. Vambéry tells us that among the Kirghíz the Mongolian Character is in use, and that the Mulla, who visit these Nomads for the purpose of propagating the Mahometan Faith, do not hesitate to use for that purpose the Character, which on other occasions they call the Káfir Character, and the use of which they try to suppress elsewhere. We find also that there are certain people who speak the Túrki, but read only the Armenian Character, and an Edition of the Bible has been published to suit their convenience. The Chuwásh tribes have been educated to read their Bible in the Russian Character, and are supplied with an Edition. The Osmánli Túrki Language has been made the instrument of Religious Instruction to some of the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who have forgotten their glorious language, but from mere racial and theological hate will only use the Greek Character, and the entire Bible has been supplied to them in the Alpha Beta of Hellas. The Yakút,

n subjects of Russia, apparently use the to judge from the texts given by Böhtlingk. It is not yet arrived at. In dealing with no finality as yet arrived at. In dealing must expect the Dialects to fluctuate. M. Survey from Kizil Arbát to Askabad two a Kurd from the frontier colony in Persia, prisoner among the Tekke, and spoke the language, and the other a native of Kasán in Ural, whose form of speech is stated, though given, to have resembled that spoken by the speaker. I take this statement for what it is worth. It is that, though he tried to make use of the Russian instead of the Osmánli, the Khan of Khiva tried to have much translated to him. This is a very accomplished Osmánli scholar, something of Khivan, and a good deal of knowledge of the great divergence. Bellet mentions that it was heard among the Nomads betwixt implying an intrusion into the Pashtu

He remarked that two venerable names are in detail of languages, and they are intentionally the object of this paper is Geographical: the Turkish language indicates the region or the territory it pertains. But a place must be assigned to Jagatai. Pavet de Courteille agrees with me in dividing the Túrki languages into two great groups. The North comprehends the languages spoken from the Jenissei, or rather the Northern Mountains; these languages are the Kirgiz, and many Dialects. The South comprehends the Túrki languages spoken from the Danube. This is a far better classification expedient of dividing the Family with population being nomad or sedentary. The ancient form in which the Túrki speech was the language, while the languages of the modern, which may be called the Altaic, and

which are totally illiterate, present the most primitive form of words and forms. There exists a manuscript, known as the Kudatku Bilik, the date of which is fixed at the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era : this is stated by some to be the oldest record, and is in Uigúr. Vambéry makes it the basis of his investigations. Though late in date compared with the literary monuments of the Aryan and Semitic Families, it is of great importance, as it is the most pure specimen of real Túrki, free from the influences of the Persian and Arabic languages, and worthy to be considered the typical language.

We have now to inquire what Jagatai is. One of the most remarkable writers on the subject of the Turki tribes is Abul Gházi of Khiva, who wrote a book called "The Genealogical History of the Tatars." He lived at Khiva in the seventeenth century of our era, and he remarks that he wrote his book in Túrki, in order that all might understand him, and that he employed words which a child of the age of five years would comprehend, and that he rejected all loan-words from Jagatai, Persian, and Arabic. This shows that the language, which he used, was not called Jagatai, in his time, but that he used what he deemed pure Turki. Pavet de Courteille comes to the following conclusion : that the Jagatai was the language, in which the Kudatku-Bilik was written, and was, in fact, the language in its most ancient form, and in the region nearest to its birthplace. Abul Gházi would not allow himself to use antique words, which were intelligible in the eleventh century, but which had fallen into desuetude in the seventeenth, and were only known to the learned. The literature of every country supplies an analogy of this process. The words Jagatai and Uigúr only indicate differences of age, and stages of dialectic variation, through which the Túrki language passed. Shaw confirms this view, and writes that though some European linguists have called the Túrki of Kashgar and Yarkand Uigúr, the name is totally unknown to the people, and would be a misnomer for a modern language. Terantief confirms this view. The term should be abandoned. Vambéry,

he Sprache, goes so far as to state that it the word "Jagatai Turki" means nothing e Turki," just as the word Jagatai coupled man " means a " brave, trustworthy man." o catch up all the names which are scattered ks of reference, which are sometimes tribal, sometimes synonyms, sometimes artificial. heir place under one or other of the Geo- now supplied. Karachai and Kabarda in gion, Kapchak on the Lower Volga, and soxania, are tribal names. Chantu is ürki. Tatar, converted by the wit of a r, is identical with Túrki (J.R.A.S. n.s. 125). Alatyan is identical with Altaic. Meshtsheriak, Tobolsk, Chasowo, Chjulim, Baraba, Kangayen, Teleut, Chiwa, are sup- h in the Túrki chapter of his Language yglotta, published at Paris, 1822. If they g value, it must be appraised after identifi- ality, and testing their accuracy. In these pilations in an imposing form are of no eographer can mark the spot with precision s-Map, and the compiler can give other urity for the genuineness of the Vocabulary his own Diary. We have got beyond the nd like to know the latitude and longitude, of the compiler, as well as his method of

emark that the whole of the Túrki-speaking world is slowly, but surely, gravitating omination. A few corners still lie outside luence, but they seem tottering on the sm. The Taranchi of Kulja, and the garia are still in the Chinese dominions; o inhabit the regions behind the Oxus and are still in Afghanistan: the Province of ms part of the Persian kingdom, and Asia ttoman Empire: but this state of affairs

is only for a time. Every fragment of the Indic branch of the Aryan Family of Languages, with the exception of the rude form of speech of the Siah Posh of Kafiristan and the Dards, has been absorbed into the Indian Empire; the same fate of being gathered under one sceptre awaits the whole of the widely-scattered Túrki tribes, and it is a notable fact for the future, since unity of language is put forward as the basis of political union.

How far the Russians possess the necessary sympathy for such a task, and the capacity for educating such a population, nomad, as well as sedentary, is a question. The Russian language, with its ponderous word-store, and illogical Aryan structure, has but slight attraction to the agglutinative and severely logical Túrki, which stands at the head of all languages in its wonderful symmetry and power of form, evolution or accommodation. Perhaps the Bántu family of South Africa alone can rival it. Of the kind of words, which will come into existence from the contact of such uncongenial elements as Russ and Túrki we have a specimen in the name of a son of a Kirghíz chief in the Russian service, Vali Khan, who has assumed the name of Valikhanoff. In India we should hardly call the son of Gulab Singh, Gulabsinghson, but such words may hereafter be formed.

How the subtle poison of the Arabized Persian language has found its way into the veins of the linguistic body of the Osmánli Túrki is well known, but it is surprising to find in the distant and secluded language of Yarkandi in Chinese Tartary the same infiltration of foreign elements, though to a less degree. The celebrated Uigúr Manuscript is quite free from this contagion. The presence of a Tájik servile population would supply the Persian element, and the conquering Religion of Mahomet would force into use Arabic words and forms. But we have the authority of Vambéry for asserting that it was quite unnecessary for the Osmánli language to make such prodigious loans from Arabic and Persian, as it had in its own Túrki root-store and expanding mechanism, a capability of expressing every human idea, and could at pleasure replace every foreign word by drawing

res; and, in fact, the East-Turki languages to a very great extent. We find the same phenomena in the marvellously beautiful and language of India, the Urdú, or Hindustáni, in the wealth of word-store and grammatical forms of the primitive Vernaculars, and the high degree of the pure Indian literature had reached long before the Indian Conquest, which rendered loan-words necessary. The very word "Urdú" marks the language of India by the Mughals. The Baber-namah, the first chronicle of that dynasty is in Jagatai. A certain number of words, though not many, have survived in the vernacular. The word Turk survives in the Persian Dictionary in connection with horses and is associated with the proverb:

عربی اصل      فارسی شکر

ہندی نہکٹ      ترکی ہنر

the root: Persian is the sugar:

the salt: Turki is the art.

This is a Scientific Comparative Grammar of the Turki language, worthy to be placed on the same shelf with the grammars of other families of speech which it treats, and it is stated on good authority that it is such a work.



## A. APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES AND TEXTS.

No.	Language.	Authority & Text.
1.	North .....	Zemstvenen and New Testament. From Khovvutla. Proverbs of the Tatars of the Crimea. Kasán.
2.	Permian .....	An extensive literature, and the whole Bible.
3.	Kumuk .....	Johannsen. Vocabulary. Z.D.M.G. vol. v. pp. 245. 331. Wachsmuth. Turki Languages spoken in the Caucasus. Excerpt of St. Matthew.
4.	Kasar .....	Balintu. Turki Grammar. Buda Pest. 1875. Vambéry. Dialect of Kasar. Grimm. Christian Turki Dictionary. Kasán, 1874. Excerpt of St. Matthew and St. Mark.
5.	Chuvash .....	Schott. Societe Philologique de Paris. 1874. The Four Gospels. Zemstven. Chuvash-Russian Dictionary. Kasán, 1875.
6.	Azerbaijani or Trans-Caucasian .....	Kasimierz. Allgemeine Grammatik Turko Tatar Sprachen. Translated from Russian in German by Zenker. Leipzig, 1848. Vambéry. Turan Sprach Studien. Leipzig, 1867. p. 6. Berne. Report of International Congress at St. Petersburg, 1874. p. 56. Id. Dichtungen transkaukasischer Sänger. Leipzig, 1868. New Testament. Translation of Play Four. Roy. Acad. Soc. v.s. 1886. Text of id. Four. Soc. Acad. 1886. p. 5. and Grammatical Notes by Barthier de Meynard.
7.	Bashkir .....	Schott. Introduction to Science of Language. II. p. 45, London. 1886.
8.	Trans-Caspian .....	Vambéry. Figur. Sprach Studien. Leipzig. 1867. Id. Etym. Wörterbuch. Leipzig. 1873. Id. Abaska. Collection of Jagatai Words, Buda Pest, 1862. Payer de Courcelle. Jour. Soc. Asiatique. 1873. vol. xii. p. 243. Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark (in the Press). Ahmed Vefik. Text of Masbûl ul Kulûb by Nevai. Con- stantinople. 1872. Vellman t-Zernof. complete edition of the Abaska, St. Petersburg. 1869. Ilminsky. Text of Bibér-namah. Kasán, 1857.
9.	Khivan .....	Schuyler. Travels. vol. i. p. 109.
10.	Kirghiz .....	Ilminsky. The Kirghiz. Kasán. New Testament, and part of Old.
11.	Yakut .....	Boecklingk, Ueber die Sprache der Jakúten, St. Petersburg, 1851.
12.	Yarkandi .....	Shaw, Language of Eastern Turkestan, Lahore, 1875. Vambéry, Uigurische Sprach Monumente, Innsbruck, 1876 Klaproth, Ueber die Sprache und Schrift der Uiguren, Paris, 1820. Faulmann, Buch der Schrift, Vienna, 1878, p. 111.
13.	Tarachi .....	Baron Kaulbars (name of work not known).

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### Authority or Text.

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Altaic Mission, Kasán, 1869.  
Favet de Courteille, Transactions of Philological Society of  
London, 1877, p. 61.  
do. Jour. Soc. Asiatique, 1878, vol. xii. p. 209.  
Frambéry, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Turko-Tatarischen  
Sprachen, Leipsig, 1878, p. viii.  
Fradloff, Ueber die Formen der gebundenen Rede bei den  
Altäischen Tartaren.  
do. Aus Sibirien, Leipsig, 2 vols. 1884.  
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1882.  
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logical Society, 1877-8-9, p. 54.  
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1855, p. 144.  
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Asia Polyglotta et Sprach Atlas, with Vocabularies, Paris,  
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Vienna, 1882.  
Recherches sur les Dialectes Mussulmans. Première  
partie. Systeme des Dialectes Turks, Kasan, 1848.  
Turkish Grammar. Preface.  
Grammar of Turkish, Persian, Kirghiz and Uzbek.  
(Russian.) St. Petersburg, 1875.  
Kirgisische Chrestomathie, 1883.
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ART. XI.—*A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature.*

*Rizá Kulí Khán and his Works.* By SIDNEY CHURCHILL,  
Esq., M.R.A.S.

BUT a few Persians have devoted so much time, energy, and real enthusiasm to their own literature during the present century as the subject of this notice: the Amíru-sh-Shu'ará Rizá Kulí Khán B Muhammad Hádí Khan B Ism'aíl Kamál, poetically surnamed "Hidáiyat," and popularly known as the "Lalah Báshí." Descended in a direct line from the well-known poet, Kamál Khojandí—a cotemporary of Háfiz, who died at Tabriz in A.H. 792 (A.D. 1389)—the Amíru-sh-Shu'ará was born in Tehrán on the 15th Muharram, A.H. 1215 (8th June, 1800). His family, in honour of their ancestor, appended the surname Kamál to their individual appellations. Hidáiyat's grandfather, Ism'aíl Kamál, suffered death at the hands of Zakí Khán Zand for refusing to take up the cause of the Zand dynasty in preference to that of the Pretender Aghá Muhammad Khán Kajár.

Rizá Kulí Khán lost both father and mother at an early age, being left an orphan at Shíráz, where he entered the service of the Farmán Farmái Husain 'Ali Mírzá. His *takhallus* was first "Chákar"; but after some of his odes had reached Mazandarán, his native home, he changed it to "Hidáiyat."

Fath 'Ali Sháh Kajár, when in Shíráz, appointed him Amíru-sh-Shu'ará, or "Chief of the Poets," but notwithstanding this and other evidences of the Sháh's goodwill, he sojourned in Shíráz until A.H. 1254 (A.D. 1838), when he travelled towards Tehrán, and being presented to Muham-

had succeeded his grandfather, was ap-  
 as Lalah Báshí, or guardian to his favourite  
 á Náib us-Sultanah, who is now known by  
 Árá, "ornament or adorer of the kingdom."  
 (A.D. 1848), Muhammad Sháh died and was  
 e Valí'ahd Násiru-d-Dín Mírzá. Owing to  
 ainst Hájí Mírzá Aghásí during the last  
 Muhammad Sháh's life, some of the princes  
 o Karbalá. Amongst these were 'Abbás  
 mother, who had been the late Sháh's  
 For these reasons Rizá Kulí Khán was  
 quiet for a time. Through the patronage  
 ám—Mírzá Takí Khán—however, he was,  
 n. 1851), sent on a mission to Khiva. On  
 Central Asia, he was appointed Deputy  
 Royal Academy, which had lately been  
 n, a post he held for some years. When  
 zaffaru-d-Dín Mírzá, was appointed to the  
 zarbaiján, Rizá Kulí Khán received the  
 allow him in the same capacity as that he  
 bbás Mírzá. A few years later, whilst in  
 a little rest, he died, from an illness from  
 a suffering, in A.H. 1288 (A.D. 1871).

hí was a very good scholar, and one of the  
 of his day. His learning being recognized,  
 opportunities of taking advantage of his

His value as a poet is highly estimated  
 n; though his *diwán* has not yet been

s a list of his works :

of the Rauzatu-s-Safá, a general history  
 ) adjacent countries, from the creation to  
 volumes, composed by Muhammad B.  
 . Mahmúd, better known as Mír Khwánd.

s introduction to the "Relation de l'Ambassade au  
 collection consists of more than 50,000 *bait*s or distichs.  
 itings, of which mention is made in Mr. Churchill's list,  
 l 13.—Ed.

The work is called the *seventy volumes* in the introduction has tended to which the name of 'Thousand' is given. The work is in *amshur*—is subject being a history of Iran—then comes *Josang Mirza* and his son, and then in continuation of these *Riza Kuli Khan*. In both volumes compiled in the course of two years after Mirza's death—his own words—in the history of Iran—between the seventy years from the origin of the nation to the birth of the Prophet, thus including the two periods of *Josang-i-Din* Shah's reign. These three hundred volumes, comprising about seventy thousand lines, were incorporated together with the preceding seven volumes the whole being bound into two big tomes, at Tehran and *Isfahān* in 1291-92, and a thousand copies struck off.

2. The '*Farah Fannān Faislshāhī Zām Nājmā*.' This work is new and still in MS. It consists of an enumeration of the kings and dynasties of Persian origin, and is divided into three *Mahashūman* on the five principal branches of early Persian kings, viz. I. *Manashān*, 2. *Jalvān*, (3) *Shāpūrān*, 4. *Tashān*, 5. *Shāh*. (Faint: early Persian history of the house of Tāgh-i-B Shāryān. *Tabakāh*: I. *Al-Bakār*, II. *Al-Bakār*, III. *Bakār*, IV. *Bakār* or *Bakār*, V. *Al-Bakār*, VI. *Al-Bakār*, called also *Al-Bakār*, VII. *Kavārān* dynasty: VIII. *Nimrūz*: IX. On the third branch of the *Al-Bakār*: X. *Al-Bakār*, of *Al-Bakār*: XI. The *Bakār* dynasty, descendants of *Kubād*, the *Bakār*: XII. The *Bakār* dynasty of *Dukkan*: XIII. *Al-Bakār*: XIV. Dynasties who ruled over *Nūr* and *Bakār*: XV. *Kujār* dynasties: XVI. *Lārīstān* dynasties: XVII. *Hormuz* dynasties: XVIII. Rulers over *Sind* and *Multān*. *Khātīmāh*; consists of a chronology of the principal historical events, from the birth of the Prophet to the date of composition of the work. The *Najhād Nāmāh* begins as follows:

پاک شاهنشاهی را سپاس و ستایش که دم کیهان گدازش همای

The following is a list of some of the works and authorities

text: Dabistán (<sup>1</sup> ul-Mazáhib; an anonymous work on the religious creeds of the East. Lithographed, A.H. 1260). Sháh Námah Firdúsi. Jámásb, Kitáb-i-Jámásb, a work on the horoscopes compiled posterior to his own day, by Jámásb, (Gushtásb B Luhrásb). Ayín Bahman. Dáráb, Afzái Anúshírván, the author of which is unknown. Dánishvar Námah (the work referred to as the Námah of Dánishvar, the Dehgán). The

The Luhrásb and Gushtásb Námah (of Muhammad, Dak-áiki). Táríkh Guzidah of Asafí Kazvini.<sup>2</sup> Asáru'l-Bákiyah (a historical work by Abú 'l-Raihan Md. B Ahmad Wárazmí; who died after A.H. 430). Sháh Námah. The Gurshásb Námah (of Assadí Túsi, A.H. 458). Yúsuf Zulaikhá of Firdúsi (lithographed, 1299). Táríkh Herát of Mu'ínu-d-Dín Husáiní (Nasukh Jahán Ará of Ahmad Ghaffári). Táríkh-i-Sístán and its rulers to A.H. 800. Husain B Ghíásu-d-Dín Sístání Suffári. Sháh Námah (Rauzat Aulí Albáb). Táríkh-i-Sístán (A.H. 613) of Ibn Isfandiár. Táríkh-i-Sístán (A.H. 881) of Saiyid Zahíru-d-Dín. Táríkh-i-Sístán (an early history of Tabaristán). The Sháh Námah of Abú 'Alí Maskuyah. Jám'au't-tá'ir. Tabakátu-n-Nahát (of Jalálu-d-Dín B Abú Bakr as-Síuti). 'Izáh fi'l-Nahv (by B Ahmadu'l-Farsi). Kitábu-t-Tájí (a work on the Alamites by Abú Ishák Ibráhím B Hilál al-Harírí, commonly called Sábí). Táríkh-i-Sístán (of Abú 'l-Mulúk. Miftáhu'l-Kulúb. Táríkh-i-Sístán (Karmán, called 'Ikdu'l-'Ula, by Afzalu'd-Dín B Ahmadí (brought down to A.H. 584. Also Táríkh-i-Kúhbinání; lithographed at Tehrán,

<sup>1</sup> the writer's own.

<sup>2</sup> discovered work of this author is added at the close of the

(3) *Fihrisu't-Taváríkh*, a chronology; consists of about twenty thousand lines. Said to have been partially lithographed at Tabríz.

(4) *Ajmalu't-Taváríkh*; an elementary historical class-book. Lithographed at Tabríz, A.H. 1283. Was originally composed for the use of the Valí'ahd (heir apparent).

(5) *Safar Námah Khwárazm*. This work has been edited by Ch. Schefer, Boulak, 1879, and translated by the same Orientalist, Paris, 1879.

(6) *Anváru'l-Viláyah*, a masnaví, in the metre of Nizámí's *Makhzan ul-Asrár*.

(7) *Gulistán Iram*, a masnaví, on the loves of Ráb'ah and Baktásh, also called *Baktásh Námah*. Lithographed, illustrated, Tehrán, 1270.

(8) *Bahru'l-Ilakáik*, a masnaví, in the metre of the *Hadikah* of Sanái.

(9) *Anísu'l-'Ashikín*, a masnaví.

(10) *Khurram i Bahisht*; a masnaví, in the *Takárub* measure.

(11) *Minháju'l-Idáyah*, a masnaví.

(12) *Idáiyat Námah*, a masnaví, in the *Raml* measure.

*Risálahs* (13) *Madárij*u'l-Bulághah. (14) *Miftáhu'l-Kunúz*. (15) *Mazáharu'l-Anvar*, and (16) *Latáifu'l-Ma'árif*.

(17) Edited the *Ķábús Námah*<sup>1</sup> of Amír 'Ansuru'l-Ma'áli *Kai Káús B Iskandar B. Ķábús*. Lithographed at Tehrán, 1285.

(18) Edited about 3000 distichs of *Minúchihri's* poetical works. Lithographed at Tehrán; and since re-edited and re-lithographed.

(19) *Ríázu'l-'Arifin*, a biography of *Súfis* and poets.

(20) *Farhang Anjuman Arái Násirí*; a glossary of difficult words, collected principally from the poetical works of the Persian poets. The current year, A.H. 1286, is mentioned in the introductory remarks, where the author states that he had already spent much time in collecting over one hundred thousand distichs of the choicest passages from the works of

<sup>1</sup> No mention of 9, 10, 15, 16, or 17 is made in M. Schefer's enumeration of *Rizá Kuli's* works.—[Ed.]

dern Persian poets—which collection he has the shape of the “Majma’u-l-Fusahá” and

Following this is a list of the author’s their works, which are as follows: Abú markandí’s Risálah. Abú Mansúr Assadí Lughat Furs (d. A.H. 465). Kátrán Tabrizí atrán B Mansúr Ajaltí ul-Úrumavi. The o is the Tafásiru’l-Lughat-i-Furs. Died een A.H. 445 and 465, according to his ers). Farrukhí Sístání (Abú ’l-Hasan ’Alí A.H. The work referred to is probably the ghat”). Shams Fakhri’s (Shamsu-d-Dín ní, d. 744) “Mi’yár Jamáli,” a glossary an Shaikh Abú Ishák. The Sharaf Námah nown as the Farhang Ibráhímí) of Ibráhím (Fárúqí). The Majma’u-l-Furs (equally e name of Farhang Surúrí) of Muhammad fuhammad Káshání. Takh. Surúrí; dedi- Abbás I. Safaví (A.H. 993–1036). The írí of Mír Jamálu’d-Dín Husain Anjú d in A.H. 1017. ’Abdu’r-Rashíd Husainí ’s translation of the Arabic Kámusu’l- u’-d-Dín Abú Táhir Md. B Ya’qúb Fírúz- , who died A.H. 817), the same author’s ection of the Farhang Jahángírí, styled (completed in A.H. 1064). The Burhán for Sultán ’Abdullah B Kutb Sháh by ain B Khalaf Tabrizí. Takh. Burhán; . 1062. From this Rizá Kulí Khán some of his authorities, which are, besides ús. The Kámús of al-Fírúzábádí (above Saháh (of Abú Nasr Ismá’il B. Hammad . 393). The Suráh (ul Lughah of Abú nar B Khálid, better known as Jamáli. sian version of the Saháh of Jauharí). The i (fi’l-Lughah; compiled by Hasan B. l. A.H. 650). The Naháyatu’l-Lughah. hah (probably the Kashfu’l-Lughát va’l-



Farhang compiled by 'Abdu'r-Rahim B Ahmad Súr.  
 Farhang-i-Lughah of Mí B 'Abdu'l-Khálík B Ma'rúf.  
 Mishkátu'l-Lughah there are several, but the work here  
 referred to is no doubt the one compiled in A.H. 1046, by  
 the author of the Farhang Rashidi. Tibyán. Misbáhu'l-  
 Ma'ani of Ahmad B Mí B 'Alí al-Fayyúmi, composed A.H.  
 744. Tajr-i-Masallih of Abú Ja'far Ahmad B 'Alí Baihaqí;  
 died ca. 744. Haft Khalfá makes Rudaki, the blind poet  
 of Balkh who died A.H. 304, to be the author of a  
 glossary with this same title. The Sámi fi'l-Asámi (of  
 Abú 'Alí Ahmad B Mí ul-Maidání un-Nishápúri; died  
 ca. 718). Mathnabú'l-Asmá by Mahmúd B 'Umar us-  
 Samá'í ash-Shábir. Mirkátu'l-Lughah (probably by  
 Ahmad Kirmání; died A.H. 815). Lahjatú'l-Lughah.  
 Tabránu'l-Abbáb the author of which is Háfiz Aubahí;  
 compiled in A.H. 986. Burhán Jáma'-Farhang-i-Farhang.  
 Farhang-i-Númat-Úláh. The Risálah Khúishtáb, a translation  
 of the Kármán Dánish, a work composed in the reign of  
 Khusrav Parváz by the Mábilí Húsh (or Havash). The  
 Risálah Zafast Afshán, composed by Dád Búyah B Húsh  
 Aym, in the days of Hormuz B Anushirván. The Chash-  
 mah Zandiagi and Zandiá Rúd, a philosophical work com-  
 posed by Farzánahand Arzam Sipáhání. The Sad Dar (of  
 Ibráhím B Malaksháh, composed in A.H. 900). The Lughat  
 Davan Kháqáni. The Lughat i Sháh Námah (edited by  
 Muhammad Túsi 'Alavi, who collected it at Isfahán over  
 three hundred years ago from a copy of the Sháh Námah  
 containing 60,000 distichs, in the margins of which were  
 glosses to the difficult words). The Farhang Makhzanu'l  
 Adviyah, a ponderous alphabetical dictionary of medicaments,  
 compiled by Mir Muhammad Husain Khán B Md. Hádí  
 Aghili ul-'Alavi ul-Khorásání, begun in Arabic in A.H.  
 1183, but finally changed into the present Persian text in  
 A.H. 1185; lithographed at Tehrán, A.H. 1277). The Sháhád  
 Sádiq (of Md. Sádiq B Md. Sálíh Isfahání ul-'Azádání).  
 The Majma'u-l-Buldán (of Abú Abdullah Ya'kút Hamaví).  
 The Tuhtah Hakím Múmin (lithographed Isfahan, 1274).  
 The Haft Iqlím (of Amín Ahmad Rázi). The Lughat i

; Baráhín ul 'Ajam; Lughat Dabistán, etc.<sup>1</sup> The text proper of his work, the author has a Mukaddimah on the discrimination of Arabic words; and twelve Árâishes on words of former lexicographers; on errors committed in the alphabet and grammar of the Persian text proper is divided into twenty-four ranged in alphabetical order. A Khâtimah, on idioms and locutions, closes this work, lithographed at Tehrán, with a portrait of 1288.<sup>2</sup>

ah of the Poets, called "Majma'ul-Fusahá." , A.H. 1284, is mentioned in the conclusion. This work is divided into four Rukus as I. Kings and Princes who have written from A.H. 173 to A.H. 800; III. Poets of I; IV. Contemporary poets. After praises Múminín 'Alí B Abí Tálib, the author origin of poetry, and concludes with a list, scarcely any of whom, however, does he find, one would have expected more accuracy in a scholar. As some of the works he is so rarely rare, it is worth while enumerating means it will be seen that such works are to be found by diligent search for them. The Tazbab of Muhammad 'Aúfí (otherwise the author of 'ul-Albáb, described by N. Bland in this p. 112; and Fr. Sprenger, Oude Catalogue,

ion of these works, it will become evident that, notwithstanding, the Lalah Báshí has not exhausted the field of glossology, we are to take the "Lughat Díván Kháqání" as a work to appear that one of the most important glossographers is Rízâ Kúlí Khán. I refer to Muhammad B Dáúd B Báshí, author of a similar work to the Farhang Anjuman ul-Fuzalá," composed in A.H. 873; and other

and Khâtimah may be accepted as the introductory and actively. Árâish and Pirâish really imply ornament and were regarded as indicative of divisions and subdivisions of a 'collection'—may be translated by Book or Chapter. It fanciful, and their application is probably left to the writer than subjected to any strict rule of composition.—[Ed.]

p. 1). The *Majálistu'n-Nafáís* of Mír 'Alí Shír (a biography of Jaghatái Turkish poets; has been translated into Persian and amplified under the title of "*Latáif Námah*" by Fakhrí B Md. Amírí). The *Tuhfah Sámi* (of Sám Mírzá Safaví). The *Tazkarah* of Táhir Nasírábádí. The *Tazkarah* of Daulatshah Samarkandí. The *Tazkarah* of Sádik Kitábdár Safaviyah. The *Tazkarah* Khair ul-Bayan. The *Haft Iklim*. The *Tazkarah* of Taqí ud-Dín Auhadí Farsí. Mír Md. Taqí Máshání's *Tazkarah* (called *Khulásatu-l-Ash'ár*, a most valuable work, rare, complete, and yet unsuperseded). The *Ka'bah 'Irfán* (of Taqí Auhadí Isfahání, and an abridgment of the next work by the same author). The *'Urfát* (va *Ghirfát Ashikín*). The rare *Majma'u-n-Navádir* (or *Chahár Maqálah* of Nizámí ul-'Arúzí us-Samarkandí). The *Múnisu 'l-Ahráh*, a biography by Muhammad B Badr Jájarmí. The *Tazkarah* of Abú Hayán-i-Tabíb. The *Tazkarah* of 'Alí Qulí Khán, Válih (called *Ríáz ush-Shu'ará*). The *Tazkarah* of Abú Tálib Khán Isfahání (called *Khulásatu'l-Afkár*) *Atashkadah*. *Tazkarah Ishák Beg* (an anthology by the brother of the author of the *Atashkadah*). *Rashhát Saháb Isfahání* (Mírzá Sayyid Md. B Ahmad. d. 1222 or 1233. This work was written for Fath 'Alí Sháh). *Ríáz us-Síáhah* of Sayyáh Shírvání. *Zinatu'l-Madáyah* of Humái Marví (Md. Sádik. There is a recension of this work by its author). *Anjuman-i-Khákán* by Fázil Khán, Garúsi, Rávi. The *Majmú'ah* of Ahmad Beg, Akhtar Gurjí. The *Majmú'ah* of Md. Bákar Beg, Nishátí. The *Dilkushái* of Bismil Shírází (Hájí 'Alí Akbar, styled Navvab). The *Safinatu'l-Mahmúd* (rather, the *Gulshan-i-Mahmúd* of Mahmúd Mírza Kájár, author of the *Tárikh Sáhibkrání*, etc.). The *Majmu'ah* of Haidar Qulí Mírzá, Khávar. Md. Súfí Mazandarání's *Maikhánah* va *But-Khánah*. The *Tazkarah* of Darvish Navái Káshání. The *Tazkarah* of 'Abdu-r-Razzák Bay Dumbulí, author of the *Tárikh Másir Sultáníyah*; Takh Naftúm. *Tazkarah Muhammadsháhi* of Bahman Mírzá Kájár, etc.

ADDENDUM (see footnote 2, page 199).

as in the "Literary Gossip" of the *Athenæum* ch, 1885, give an interesting account of a ed work by Hamd-Ullah Mustaufi Kāzviní, ers named in the foregoing paper. This ough foreshadowed in the preface to the *Tárikh Guzídah*," has hitherto remained stance to European scholars; and it is to chill of Tehrán (who now describes the f Rizá Kuli) that the credit of securing it Museum belongs. Under the somewhat f "Zafr Námah," it is explained to be cle of the Muslim world " in 75,000 verses, ; its existence might have been doubted." accounted for by the fact that it contains rdausi's "Shah-námah" written in the stance which enhances its value by supply- with a new and carefully-collated text of ic. Referring to it, however, as a closely- hly ornamented with frontispiece and gilt ed Shiráz 807, or 1405 of our era," the æum thus apportions the numerous verses :

) are devoted to the Arabs, *i.e.* to Muhammad wn to the fall of the Khalifat of Baghdad; the ersians, or to the dynasties of Irán from the khitais of Karmán; and the last 30,000 to last section, the largest and most valuable, House of Jenghiz Khán, treats very fully of he Mughal Empire, of Hulaku, and of his own to Abu Sa'id Bahádur Khán, the last of hom the author lived. The history is brought f composition, Ann. Hij. 735, or Ann. Dom. efore Abu Sa'id's death."

ber of the Journal it is proposed to give on this most valuable discovery. Meant- ted that Mr. Rieu's printed Catalogues

show two other of Hamd-Ullah's works among the Persian Manuscripts of the British Museum: one, the above-mentioned "Tarikh Guzidah," a general history from the earliest times to the period of writing—a sort of prose scaffolding to the versified history then in progress, and now displayed to the ken of Western scholars: the other, the "Nuzhatu-l-Kulab," described as "a cosmographical work, treating more especially of the geography of Persia and some adjacent counties." The last-named book, though mainly a compilation, has attained considerable repute: there are no less than nine copies noted in the Museum Catalogues.

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: *Bhoj'pūrī Folk-Songs*. Edited and trans-  
A. GRIERSON, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil

he reception of my former paper on Bihārī  
w lay before the Society a further set of  
e same dialect of the Bihārī language,—

aper was printed, the acquirement of this  
as been facilitated by the publication of a  
r,<sup>2</sup> and it is hoped that when the set of  
f which that forms a part is all printed,  
mparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Lan-  
published, is completed, the requirements  
in some measure be fulfilled.

f Bihārī is a printed literature. At present,  
ernment preference for the exotic Hindī,  
importance published in Bihār are written  
hough a few popular books are sometimes  
These latter are, however, few in number,  
dmired, they hardly pay; for, practically,  
pay in Bihār are those patronized by the  
tion Department, which steadily refuses  
o do with works written in the national  
a great pity, for Hindī is only under-  
ed classes, and, even amongst them, is a

igs, J.R.A.S. Vol. XVI. p. 196.

he Dialects and Sub-Dialects of the Bihārī Language,  
S. Part I. General Introduction. Part II. The  
atta, Bengal Secretariat Press; London, Trübner.  
published up to date, and two others are in the press.

y Kumāra Lāla Khadga Bahādūr Mall, published by  
pūr (Bankipore).

foreign tongue which they have to learn in addition to their native language.

Before the English rulers undertook to foster the vernaculars, probably the only two of them in North-Eastern India which had acquired any considerable literary cultivation were the Bais'wārī of Aulh and the Bargallī. The latter does not concern us now, and it will suffice here to refer to the line of famous poets in that language, commencing with Chappāī Dāsa, who lived in the fifteenth century A.D.

Bais'wārī, the border dialect between Braj Bhāshā the parent of modern Hindī on the west, and Bilārī on the east, and partaking of the peculiarities of both these languages, was admirably adapted to serve the purposes of a poet, who could be read, understood, and loved over the whole of Hindustān, and such a poet arose in the famous Tulsi Dās, who wrote almost entirely in that dialect.<sup>1</sup> He was followed by a host of imitators, down to the present day, and hence it follows that Bais'wārī has a literature which, if collected together, would fill a good-sized library.

At the same time, Braj Bhāshā, the language to the west of Bais'wārī, and not falling within North-East Hindūstān, developed a literature of its own, founded, while the language was almost yet a Prakrit, by Chand Bardāi, who was followed, *longo intervallo*, by Sur Dās and his imitators.

Hindī, i.e. the book Hindī of the present day, did not exist till the English conquest. Early in the present century it was manufactured by order of Government, out of Ūrdū, by the substitution of Sanskrit for Arabic and Persian words.

<sup>1</sup> The only poem of Tulsi Dās, with which I am acquainted, and which is not written in Bais'wārī, is the Kichubali, which he wrote, as the subject and form required in Braj Bhasa. Sur Dās, who wrote only about Krishna, wrote in Braj Bhasa, and Tulsi Dās, the friend of Ram, in Bais'wārī, and it seems to have been a recognized rule, even as far back as the time of the latter poet, that poems concerning the former hero must therefore be written in Braj, and those concerning the latter hero in Bais'wārī. So prevalent and fixed has this idea become that Bābupatī, the Mutina poet, who wrote only about Krishna, in the Mutina dialect, is declared by Bengali historians to have written in Braj, a language so different from Mutina as German is from English! The argument seems to have been something like this:—Any poems about Krishna must be in Braj. Bābupatī wrote about Krishna, therefore, although they admittedly did not possess the Mutina dialect, they are in Braj.

books were concocted in this language, and it remained the officially-recognized literary standard. Nowhere is it a vernacular, and it is different from the language of Bihār. At the same time it is closely connected, through its parent Ūrdū, with the language of the north, and hence is well suited to be the literary language of North-Western India. In the language to the east of Bais'wārī,<sup>1</sup> was not Braj Bhāshā. It is true it had one great poet who flourished at the end of the fourteenth century, who wrote in Maithilī, the extreme eastern dialect and had not many followers in his own country. But his principal imitators were Bangālīs who, like the poet of Chāitānya, a great admirer of the old poet, wrote a number of works in the spurious name of the Vaiṣṇava-pada-kalpa-taru, a Bangālī Vaiṣṇava litanies.<sup>2</sup>

Literature, though old, is small in extent, for neither dialects (Magahī and Bhoj'pūrī) developed a poet strong enough to found a school of poets. The poet, however, has not poems by great poets, but has songs, and so we find abundant stores of songs, some original, and some translated from the other dialects. The peculiarity of these last two dialects is that the fetters of metre lie upon them. In the dialect of Bīdya-patī and Tul'sī Dās wrote according to the rules of Pingala, measuring the quantity of syllables, but in these other songs the melody of the song is the only guide, and so long as the melody is provided for, the author cared little for the length of the lines, whether they were long or short. Their measure was the well-known metre, as was necessary, for all songs and melodies are written to suit such; but in the dialect given here, it will often be necessary to

<sup>1</sup> Considered as a dialect of Bihārī, but it is really, as already said, a dialect, though nearer related to Bihārī than to Braj.

<sup>2</sup> The work which is usually quoted is published by Bēnī in 1866.



read long syllables as short, and sometimes even the contrary, in order to read them as the poet would have them read.

Many of these songs are of considerable length. For instance, the cycle of ballads concerning the heroes Ālhā and Rūdal extends over many thousand lines, and again the Song of Bijāi Mall, or of Nāikā Banijar'wā, though shorter, still takes some hours to sing through. These longer songs, however, are the property of professional singers. It is a business to sing one, and a treat, equivalent in Europe to going to the opera, to hear one. The professional singer or *nat* sits in the dusk of an Indian cold weather, by the straw fire, and is well plied with spirits as he sings his song to the circle of hearers sitting silently round him smoking their hubble-bubbles.

If these longer songs can be compared to the opera, the shorter ones can be equally well likened to the drawing-room piece. Every stout young fellow with good lungs has a *repertoire* of them, out of which he sings whenever he has nothing better to do, whether alone or in company. He has probably only one tune, to which he fits all his words; and as the tune wanders about through all keys, and generally has a cadenza of twenty or thirty notes every second or third syllable, it is difficult for the European, uneducated to native tastes, to catch what he sings. This paucity of melodies has often struck me. In the country districts<sup>1</sup> I never heard of a new tune being invented. There seems to be a certain stock of tunes ready made, to which the words of every new song must be fitted. Thus, every mill-song must be sung to the melody called '*jāl'sār*,' and such songs are classed as *jāl'sār*. So certain songs sung in the month of Chāit are classed as *ghāṭōs*, because they are sung to the tune called *ghāṭō*, and the class of songs sung in the rainy season is called *kaṇ'ri*, which is the name of the air to which they are sung. Some castes have melodies peculiar to them. For instance, only cowherds (*ahirs* or *goārs*) sing the songs

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what is being done in Calcutta, where Bābū Surēndra Mōhan Tagore has started a revival of Hindū music.

*ars* and *bir'hās*, which are sung to the tunes and *bir'hā* respectively.

class I have collected forty-two in the set alone, all sung to the same melody. portion of the present collection. I cannot possess much literary excellence; on the of them are the merest doggerel; but they being one of the few trustworthy exponents of the inner thoughts and desires of the *r'hā* is essentially a wild flower. To use the of them, "it is not cultivated in the field, upon the branches of the fruit-tree. It art, and when a man's heart overflows, he rary to what might have been expected, it er with the warrior god Rāma, than with Kṛiṣṇa. Six of the following relate to the one to the latter. This is the consequence roundings. Shāhābād, the district in which; almost be called a second Rāj'putānā in its d songs. It is the land made holy by the atī the Rāj'pūtin, who drowned herself to rom the hands of the Musalmāns, and it is 'Ālhā and Rūdal, the heroes of Mahōbā. o, tough-hearted old Kūar Singh led the s against the English in the mutiny. It is ting-men, and as such Rāma of Ayōdhyā f Mathurā is the god of the land. The with other deities, *e.g.* with the special rrgā, which is the tutelary deity of the At one time he invokes her presence, est thing that a cowherd can offer her—a another he complains of the rapacity of his ands milk when his cows are far away; sarcastically, milk the Banyan tree, or him to milk the wild fig? Again, the he iniquities of the *kali*- or iron-age. He n of the very lowest castes are allowed to te a subversion of orthodox Hindū con-

servatism), and how even spirit-sellers may be seen counting their beads on a rosary. Many are the Bir'hās which describe the charms which adorn and the temptations which beset the pretty young village maidens whose forms are developing from childhood into womanhood. As in India girls are married in their infancy, these girls are all wives, though their husbands have not yet taken them home. Hence we find girls complaining of the non-arrival of their husband, and a number of not very delicate jokes which the village elders (men and women) launch at a girl when she first becomes *apta viro*. Sometimes, too, we find the girl, half-pleased, half-angry, relating the attentions paid to her by some village swain who met her as she walked through the forest. Again, we have songs referring to a woman's married life. She is now living in her husband's house, and she hyperbolically describes the slimness of her form, as reminding him of the string by which he lowers his drinking vessel into the well. Or, perhaps, as often happens, the husband is away on service and sends his earnings home, which are not always put to legitimate uses.

Even when away from home on service, the cowherd longs for his congenial occupations, and looks back to the happy days when he wandered free over the rich pastures on the Kūmūr Hills.<sup>1</sup> Or he looks contemptuously at the elaborate preparations of wrestlers and gymnasts, and tells how the young Ahir would only need to tuck up his waist cloth, and could do just as much. There are many other kinds of Bir'hās in the present collection than those now described, but the above will serve to show their infinite variety, and how each one is a miniature picture of some phase of village life.

Regarding external form, a Bir'hā consists of two pairs of two lines each, each pair being founded on the following scheme

6+4+4+2, 4+4+3 instants,  
or else 6+4+4+2, 4+4+4 instants.

<sup>1</sup> The principal pasture land of Shāhābād. They are to the south of the district, and are a branch of the Vindhya range.

rem, however, they will rarely be found to unless we remember, as already noted, that *bles* (i.e. two instants) must be read as short *t*). Sometimes, too, there are superfluous *not* form part of the metre.<sup>1</sup> In regular *rfluous* words are technically known as *jôr*.<sup>2</sup> *dialect* of the following songs, it is tolerably *such* as is exhibited in the Bhoj'pūrī *y* referred to. There are, however, a few *vulgarisms* (whichever one may choose to *may* here be noted.

most important is the constant use of the *geni-* in their original construction as possessive *originals* of these genitives were certainly *ives* in Apabhraṃṣa Prākṛit, e.g. *tohār* 'of *the* same as the Ap. Pr. *tuhār*, is translated *as tradiyāḥ*, and not as *tava*.<sup>3</sup> That is to *ossessive* adjectives, and liable to inflection *were* not substantival genitives. These *a* Bhoj'pūrī, as spoken by the educated *become* substantival genitives, and are not *n* for gender.<sup>4</sup> Amongst the lower orders *adjectival* construction has survived, and *y* feminine genitive forms.<sup>5</sup>

*al* is the old Prākṛit Present Indicative. *deed* survived over almost all Hindūstān, *modern* tongues generally become (as in *ent* Subjunctive. This was specially the *, which* possesses another special Present *l* with the suffix *lā*.<sup>6</sup> In these songs, *tense* is frequently used in its original

and ॐ in line 3 of No. 4.

J.A.S.B. Part i. No. 1, 1885, p. 36.

retain an adjectival oblique form. See Bh. Gr. § 34.

*ri*, 9, 4; 21, 4; 43, 18, 19. *hamari*, 44, 5; 45, 10. *āpani*, 4, 3. *jēkari*, 6, 3.

§61a. *dēkheḷō* 'I see,' *dēkhiḷā* 'we see,' *dēkheḷē* 'thou *dēkheḷā* 'he sees,' *dēkheḷan* 'they see.'

sense of a Present Indicative, and every occurrence of this use will be found noted in the Index.

As in other Bihārī dialects, the rules of number and gender are very laxly observed. The singular is frequently used for the plural and *vice versa*. As a rule the singular is used in a non-honorific or disrespectful sense, and the plural in an honorific or respectful sense. It should also be noted that the masculine is continually used for the feminine.

The rules for the shortening of the antepenultimate vowel are given at length in §36 of the General Introduction to the seven grammars of the Bihār dialects, and in the introduction to the comparative dictionary of the Bihārī language, and need not be repeated here. It may nevertheless be noted, that while in Bhoj'puri a long आ *ā* is usually shortened to अ *a*, in these songs it is sometimes shortened to an older form आ *ā*.<sup>1</sup> Examples are *āmaucā*, from *ām* (18, 1), instead of *amaucā*,<sup>2</sup> and *ākhirō* instead of *akhirō*, from *ākhir* (12, 4).

Some masculine nouns, it may also be noted, are given feminine long forms in a diminutive sense. The instances of occurrence are given in the index. An example is *dehiyā* instead of *deh'rā* (22, 2; 26, 1).

In conclusion, I desire to record my obligations again to Babu Siv Nandan Lāl Rāy, Deputy Magistrate of Pat'nā, to whom I am indebted for much help in the collecting and translating of these songs.

## ॥ अथ बिरहा के सङ्ग्रह ॥

### I.

सुमिरी गाबौं राम, सुमिरी भैया लकुमन

सुसिरी गाबौं सबल जहान

सुमिरी गाबौं प्रहि माता ए पिता के

जिन जरिया से कैसी हां सेवान

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the two pairs of vowels आ *ā* and अ *a*, and आ *ā* and आ *ā*, see Introduction (Chap. IV.), and article अ *a* in the Bihārī Dictionary.

<sup>2</sup> But instr. *amaucā* in 38, 3.

<sup>1</sup> Rām, as I sing; I call to mind his brother  
As I sing, I call the whole world<sup>3</sup> to  
ng, I call to mind this mother and this<sup>4</sup>  
ught me up from childhood to the age of

final vowel lengthened *metri gratia*. सुमिरि is  
√सुमिर 'call to mind,' used instead of the conj.

rs. جهان.

ed form of ग्रहि, which is the adjectival obl. base of

a boy, made me become grown up.' जिन्हि or  
of जिन्हन, the nom. pl. of जे 'who.' See Bh. Gr.  
onorific 3rd pl. perf. In Bh. the most usual form  
de by adding the word हा 'is,' to any form of the  
or किली 'I did,' किली हा 'I have done'; किलं  
'you have done,' and so on; see Bh. Gr. § 71. It  
s mode of forming the perfect is radically different  
the Western or Hindi group of dialects.

## II.

म जि के भेल जनमवा जनमवा

बाबेला अजोधा में होल

छर कौपेला गरभी रवनवा

जनमल मुद्दया ना मोर

birth of Rām has taken place, and the  
beaten in Ajodhyā. The proud<sup>1</sup> Rāwan  
es, saying, my enemy<sup>2</sup> has been born.

ption of गर्वी.

form of मुद्दई (مدعي), almost exclusively used to  
in the law courts, where it means 'plaintiff' or

## III.

अच्छा काम नाही कैलू, प्र केकर  
 मारेलू करेववा में बाग  
 सगरे अजोध्या के राम प्र दुखदवा  
 ते के दिहलू हां बन-बास

*Das'rath is represented as addressing Kāikēyī, who procured Rām's banishment.*

A good deed hast thou not done, O Kēkai. Thou hast shot an arrow into my heart. Rām was the beloved of all<sup>1</sup> Ajodhyā, and him hast thou made an exile in the forest.

<sup>1</sup> सगरे is emphatic for सगरा.

## IV.

राम त° राम त° रघुनन्दन पुकारेले  
 बिसे गोखुला में गोपी बाँध  
 आपनि महलिया से सीता जि पुकारेसी  
 कहाँ लछुमन गेले राम

*The departure of Rām into exile.*

Raghnundan<sup>1</sup> calls out 'Rām, Rām,' as urgently as the cowherdesses in Gōkula called for Kānh.<sup>2</sup> From her own little palace<sup>3</sup> Sītā cries out, 'O Lachhuman, whither is Rām gone?'

<sup>1</sup> Raghnundan is, of course, a synonym of Rām. The poet has, apparently, forgotten this. Perhaps he meant to say Bharat.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Kṛṣṇa. बाँध = बान्ह, according to a law of Bihārī spelling that when *anunāsik* is followed by the third or fourth consonant of any class, the two together may be represented by the nasal of the class or nasal of the class aspirated respectively. Thus, बाँग or बाङ 'a limb,' नीँद or नीन 'sleep,' कोँद or कोरह 'a pumpkin,' बाँध or बान्ह 'Kṛṣṇa.'

<sup>3</sup> महलिया is long form of महाल (محال), made feminine, to give a diminutive sense. See note on देहिया in No. 28.

## V.

लकुमन दू नो बनवा चलखे  
 ता चलखि हा सङ्ग-खोरि  
 लकुमन के त° लागलि पिअसिया  
 ता देखि अमिरित घोरि

Lachhuman both departed to the forest, and  
 fed<sup>1</sup> them. When Rām and Lachhuman  
 mixed ambrosia,<sup>2</sup> and gave it them (to

them on a Lorry.' खोरि or खोरी is a curious  
 coin of an English word. With the introduction of  
 the Lorry or Trolley became a familiar sight, and  
 extended to mean a railway train. Hence,  
 'a companion,' and hence, again, 'a companion in

a drink = nectar.

## VI.

ह मन्दोदरी सुन° , पिआ रावन  
 तैं लङ्का के हव° बीर  
 रे तिरियवा तूँझ हरि के ऐले  
 ह तैं बसे सरजू के तीर

ī, 'Hear, dear Rāwan. You are the hero  
 whose dear little wife<sup>1</sup> you have carried off,  
 as of the Sar'jū.'

redundant form of तिरि 'a woman,' used in a  
 with the genitive of the relative pronoun, also  
 and No. 45, v. 10.



## VII.

पुरै न बिजैवेखे एकल राम के  
 दहवा में परखै चकेलि  
 पतवा तूर तूर जाला भोज-सरवा  
 फूल चढ़े तेकर महादेव

*The efficacy of prayer.*

The lotus plant prays to Rām and no one else, saying, 'I am here alone in the pond.'<sup>1</sup>

So its leaves are broken off and go to the feasting-chamber, while its flowers mount upon Shiv himself.

<sup>1</sup> This beautiful legend shows how prayers are answered by the ever-pitying Rām. At a feast the dishes are made of lotus leaves, and hence the lotus plant now gets admission to the tables of the great. Its flowers, too, are offered to Mahādēb (Śiva), by being thrown upon his image; and what greater glory can there be than to be borne upon the head of the upholder of the Heavenly Ganges itself? पतवा is long form of पात (= Skr. पत्र) 'a leaf.' जाला is 3 pres. of √जा. सरवा is long form of सार (= Skr. शाल) 'a hall.'

## VIII.

मने मन झौखेला फेड़वा सिमरवा ।  
 के काहे फूलवा मोर जाल ॥  
 काहे फूलवा ना चढ़े इसरी देवतवा  
 के काहे मलिया ना गुहे हार

In his heart, in his heart, mourns the silk-cotton tree,<sup>1</sup> saying, 'Why are my flowers red? Why are my flowers not offered to Durgā,<sup>2</sup> and the gods? Why does the gardener not string garlands of them?'

<sup>1</sup> This tree is noted for its glorious red blossoms. It is a stock simile-subject in Hindū poetry; for while it is fair to look upon, it is worthless, for it has no scent. फेड़वा is long form of फेड़ 'a tree' = the Hindī पेड़.

<sup>2</sup> इसरी = Skr. ईश्वरी.

## IX.

रिया देबिया भुखिली, रे भिया  
 माँगेलि पियनवा के दूध  
 वा दूहौं कि बरोहिया, रे चरवा  
 मोरि बैना गेलि हां बड़ि दूर

tutelary goddess<sup>1</sup> has become hungry,<sup>2</sup> and  
 to drink. Shall I milk the Banyan tree  
 the wild fig,<sup>3</sup> for my cattle have gone a

form of देबी, in a diminutive sense. This is  
 personal pronoun, which is the genitive, thrown into  
 jective, made feminine, and given a long form

is fem. potential passive of भूख 'be hungry'; as  
 ich would be causal. See Bh. Gr. § 101.

is botanical name of the Barōhī tree. It is one of  
 is long form of चार (چار).

this song is well illustrated in the proverb 'One  
 a stone.' The man from whom milk is demanded  
 m expected to milk the fig trees, for I have no  
 ich to get any milk.'

## X.

या देबिया पुकारे देबी सारधा  
 बी सरगे में मेहराह  
 ए के देबौं देबी दुधवा के धारवा  
 रगे से ना उतरि ना आऊ

goddess, dear little goddess,' he calls, 'O  
 The goddess is hovering above in the  
 you, O goddess, a whole river of milk.  
 own from heaven.'<sup>2</sup>

lon of शारदा, a name (here) of Durgā.

से is sign of the abl. (Cf. No. 21 and No. 43, v. 2),

and **सरने** is obl. of **सरन**. *i.e.* **सरन** has taken the Ap. Pr. term. **हि** and contracted it into **ए**. **हि** in Ap. Pr. was originally a loc. termination, but rapidly became a general termination for all oblique cases. See Essays on the Bihāri Declension, J.A.S.B. p. 13, vol. lli. part 1, 1883.

## XI.

डिहवा डिहवा पुकारे डिहवरवा  
 डीह सुतले हां निरभेद  
 तोहरा गरभ चढ़ि ऐसी रे डिहवा  
 पहिल बोखिया ना राखे मोर

The village god cries out, 'O village, village,' but the village sleeps soundly (and answers not), 'I came hither riding on your womb, O village, and you do not answer my first call.' <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Dih'wār* is the tutelary deity of the village. There is a separate one to each township. He is said often to be heard calling out over the fields at night, especially when worshippers are lax in their attentions to him. The creation of a new township creates, of course, a new *Dih'wār*, which explains the latter half of the song.

## XII.

बने बने गैया चरावेले कन्हैया  
 घरे घरे ओरेले पिरीति  
 अनका मोगि के सान मारि ऐले  
 आखिरो त० जात अहीर

From wood to wood doth Kanhūyā<sup>1</sup> tend the cattle, and from house to house doth he make love. He winks<sup>2</sup> at others'<sup>3</sup> wives; but what can one expect? Is he not after all but an Ahīr by caste?

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Kṛiṣṇa. The song deals with the amours of Kṛiṣṇa. Some one

and says, 'but what can be expected of a mere not recognising his divinity. बने and घरे are Pr. बनहि and घरहि. See No. 10.

II, Pr. सखा.

ique form. It is obl. of आनक 'of another,' gen.

आखिरो is emphatic for आखिर (آخر).

### XIII.

क समे हरि घोरा भेले

बरह्या भेले लगाम

गान सुखज दूनो पायक भेले

केल खड़ि ना गेले चतुर सुजान

became a horse, and Brahmā became the n and the sun became wheels, and some an mounted him.<sup>1</sup>

st this legend elsewhere, nor can any one whom I t to me. This song exists, and that is all I can ct.

### XIV.

के रहखी तीरख दुआरिका

सुखा सान धरबाइ

हचवा ना गड़ो चौकी बेसनवा

म के धनुखवा बान

to go on a pilgrimage to Dwārikā, after xe. I make with it a paste-board and e hands of Sitā, and a bow and arrows for

ply nonsense. Dwārikā (the capital of Kṛiṣṇa) ays, being said to have been submerged under the

## XV.

सुअरी ना गङ्गा जुठारलि, प्र रामा  
 भगत भेले चमार  
 राम जि का हथवा का तुलसि के मलवा  
 कलऊ जपेला कलवार

*What happens in the Kali Yuga.*

O Rāmā, pigs drink in the holy Ganges and pollute it,<sup>1</sup> and Chamārs (the lowest caste, are allowed to become) pious men.<sup>2</sup> O, yea, a spirit-seller counts the beads on a rosary of Rām's own hand in this Kali<sup>3</sup> age.

<sup>1</sup> √ जुठार = Hindi √ जुठास 'to pollute vessels by touching them.' Another form of the same root is √ जुठिआव, see No. 47, l. 2.

<sup>2</sup> भगत is a technical term, meaning a pious and learned man devoted to the worship and literature of Rām.

<sup>3</sup> कलऊ is an irregular long form of कल or कलि, as if for Ap. Pr. कलिक, or कलिऊ.

## XVI.

गोरि गोरि बैहियौ गोरि गोदना गोदावेले  
 मुहया साले अल्हर करेज  
 ऐसन गोदना गोदू गोदनरिया  
 जेसे चूँदरि रङ्गैला रँगरेज

Her arms are fair, are fair, and the fair one is getting herself tattooed. The needle pierces her tender heart. 'O thou woman who art tattooing me, tattoo such a tattoo-pattern on me as the dyer dyes on a bordered veil.'<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is an obscure song. It seems to mean that the pain of tattooing is only comparatively slight, even if a pattern as intricate as that on a bordered veil is tattooed on a person. The real pain which the girl feels is the thorn (or needle) in her heart caused by separation from her lover. Compare No. 5 of an unpublished set of Bir'hiās in the Magahi dialect which are in my possession,

देना मोहिबे, ने, सुइया चूमि चूमि जाय,  
दा, ने, बोलेबे, ने, पियवा बिनु दरद कैसे जाय,  
tattooing done on your fair body, the needle will  
es along. You may summon heart-doctors of all  
our beloved, how will the pain depart?'

XVII.

के परिकल मुसरिया तुसरिया  
वा के परिकल बिलारि  
आपन ओबना सम्हारिहे बेटिउआ  
रिमें खानस बा ज़ेहार

like<sup>1</sup> are accustomed<sup>2</sup> to (eating) flour, and  
O ye girls,<sup>3</sup> be careful of your bosoms, for  
arking in the Rahar.

yming repetition of मुसरिया, which is long form

ustomed to.'

बेटिउआ, which is a contraction of बेटिआवा,  
टी.

The Rahari or Rahar (*Cytisus Cajan*) is a tall  
d of pea. It is grown in large fields, and offers  
r concealment. Nearly every highway robbery in  
imes involving an unexpected attack, take place

XVIII.

सागेसे टिकोरवा, रे सँगिया,  
करेसे हड़-फोर  
ग उठसे हा छाती के ओबनवा  
खेलवना रे होरे

gos<sup>1</sup> are forming on the mango tree, my  
ld-fig is laden with abundant<sup>2</sup> fruit (i.e. it

The fair damsel's budding bosom<sup>3</sup> is  
breast,—to be the toy of her beloved.

<sup>1</sup> टिकोरवा is long form of टिकोरा 'an immature mango.'

<sup>2</sup> हड़-फोड़ means 'abundant, full.' Natives connect it with the phrase हठ फोड़ बोझस, which means to sow with a drill-plough in a field which has been previously ploughed. This is said to give an abundant crop.

<sup>3</sup> जोवन, of which जोवनवा is the long form, means specially the budding bosom of a young maiden.

### XIX.

गोरि के छतिया पर उठेसा जोवनवा  
हसेसा सहरिया के सोन  
जेबू गोरि दमवा देबू, ही, जोवनवा  
तोरा से खतनवा ना होई

The budding bosom is developing on the breast of the fair one,<sup>1</sup> and the people of the village<sup>2</sup> smile (as they watch her). 'Will you take their price, and give me your bosom, for you will never be able to take care of it yourself?'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See No. 18.

<sup>2</sup> सहर (شهر) is masculine. Here it takes a feminine long form in a diminutive sense.

<sup>3</sup> A specimen of the not very delicate jokes which villagers bandy amongst each other. The last verse is literally 'by you, efforts (खतनवा, lg. f. of खतन = यत्न) it will not be (successful).'

### XX.

एक बने उहरेसा हँटी चिँटी  
एक बने उहरेसे गार  
एक बने उहरेसि खहीरिनि बेटिया  
दू गो चुषे घुघुरा नगार

In one forest wander the ants and the like,<sup>1</sup> and in another the kine. In another wanders the cowherd damsel, with bells fastened on each bosom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> हँटी is simply a rhyming repetition of चिँटी. This comparison

, of cattle, and of a pretty girl is common in these  
the Magahi songs (No. 8) already quoted, occurs the

नकली चूँटी, कहवौं से धेनु गाय  
मालिन बेटिया, ने, बटिया छुँघुटवा देखे जाय,  
e ant issued to-day, and wherefrom the milch-cow ;  
ues the gardener's daughter, who goes along the  
e ?'

च or चूची 'the nipple of the bosom.'

### XXI.

सर से गोरिया चकसर चकली  
भरि मौन मोतिया गुहारै  
ना चेलिकवा के नजरी परली  
मोरि मोतिया गिरेसे भहराई

er <sup>1</sup> started the fair <sup>2</sup> one alone, <sup>3</sup> having  
e parting of her hair <sup>5</sup> with pearls. 'Who <sup>6</sup>  
swain whose gaze fell upon me, so that (in  
pearls are falling crashing <sup>7</sup> to the ground.'

ie Tiger-pond) = *vulgo* Buxar, the capital of the  
ūr, where the Bhoj'puri dialect is spoken in its  
mon ablative postposition in Bh. Cf. No. 10.

form of गोरी.

or प्रकसर is the ordinal termination, which also  
second,' तिसर 'third,' etc. ; see art. चकसर in  
Language.

in भहराई in the fourth line, the final र is  
like of metre. मोतिया is long form of मोती.

ting of a woman's hair, which is covered with  
wise adorned as long as her husband is alive.

n of कवन or कौन, the adjectival form of the Inter-

ictionary gives the verb भहराना as meaning 'to  
In Bhoj'puri the corresponding root भहरा means  
crash,' or 'in a heap.'



## XXII.

बहे पुरवैया ऐसी जम्झैया  
 ठाढ़ि देहिया रे महियाए  
 कवना चेखिका के नजरी परसी  
 मोरा घरवा बनवा एको ना सोहाए

The east wind blows, and yawning<sup>1</sup> has come upon me.  
 As I stand, my poor little body<sup>2</sup> is filled with lassitude.  
 Who was the gallant swain whose gaze fell upon me<sup>3</sup>?  
 Neither<sup>4</sup> my home nor the forest pleases me.

<sup>1</sup> पुरवैया and जम्झैया are long forms of पुरवाइ and जम्झाइ respectively.

<sup>2</sup> See note on देहिया in No. 28.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 21.

<sup>4</sup> एको is emphatic for एक 'not even one.'

## XXIII.

रसवा के भेखली भँवरवा के सँगिया  
 रसवा से ऐसे हाँ खोर  
 अतिनाइ रसवा में केकरा के बँटवों  
 सगरी नगरी हित मोर

O friend, I sent the bee for (sugar cane) juice, and little juice has he brought me. With so little juice, to whom can I distribute any of it, for all the people of the village are (equally) my friends?<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This song contains a *double-entendre*. भँवर (of which भँवरवा is long form) is continually used to mean 'a lover,' as well as 'a bee.' So also रस (of which रसवा is the long form) means 'love' as well as 'juice.' Hence the girl means that she has only enough love for one person.

## XXIV.

तरि रहखँ पातरि होर गेखँ

गेखँ खोटवा के छोर

पना सामिया जि के पनिया पियवखँ

बिनु खोटवा ना बिनु छोर

, and more slender I became. I became as  
inking vessel's string.<sup>1</sup> I gave my husband  
without a vessel and without a string (*i.e.* I  
myself).

on of a slender maiden to the string by which a *lōṭā*  
is let down into a well, is very common in poems of  
the set of Bir'hās in the Magahī dialect already quoted  
the passage occurs: कहवाँ से चल० है, तू गोरी, अङ्ग-  
में देखौं छोर, अपने बलमुआ के पनियाँ पिलाओँ,  
बिनु छोर 'Whence do you come, O fair one? I see  
me, like the string in a well.' '(I am so slender) that  
I need not drink, even when I have no drinking vessel,  
his piece of ridiculous hyperbole is repeated in the

st. for the more usual contracted form पियौखँ.

## XXV.

जि साबेले बटखोहिया गोरिया

तूरेले गेहुआवा पर तान

तनों के सैंयाँ हमार करेले नोकरिया

हम ओतिनों के कचरीला पान

sits as she cleans the saucepan,<sup>1</sup> and sings  
(as she makes) on the cup.<sup>2</sup>  
All that my husband makes by his service, so  
I eat alone.'

is a vessel (generally made of alloy) used for cooking  
smaller than the बटखोहिया. See Bihār Peasant Life  
§ 664.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. as she cleans the cup, she sings to it. तान तूरब, *lit.* 'to break a measure' means 'to sing.'

<sup>3</sup> खेतिनाँ is a bye-form of the more common खतिनाँ, see Bh. Gr. § 32. √कचर means to 'stuff' or 'gorge oneself.' नोकरिया is long form of नोकरि. The song alludes to the custom of the males of the family going out on service and sending their earnings home, where they are not always put to their legitimate uses. Or it may mean that the husband sends so little money home that she has only enough to buy betel with.

## XXVI.

पिया पिया कहत पोखरि भेलि देहिया  
 खोगवा कहेखा पिँड-रोग  
 गौआ के खोगवा मरमिआ ना जानेले  
 भेलि गँवनवाँ ना मोर

As I constantly call <sup>1</sup> 'Beloved, beloved,' my poor little body <sup>2</sup> has turned pale. The neighbours say I have got consumption.<sup>3</sup> But the village neighbours know not the secret <sup>4</sup> cause,—it is that my husband has not come to take me to his home.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> कहत is pres. part.

<sup>2</sup> देह 'a body,' is masculine. Here, however, it is used as a feminine, and given a feminine long form, to give it a diminutive sense, 'my poor little body.'

<sup>3</sup> I do not know what doctors would call the disease here called पिँड-रोग. Natives describe it to me as a wasting disease, in which the body turns pale. खोगवा is long form of खोग.

<sup>4</sup> मरम = a secret (Skr. मर्म). The termination ह्यो adds emphasis, 'they have not an idea of the secret.' It is really an emphasized fem. long form, like देहिया, मरमिया + ओ.

<sup>5</sup> गँवनवाँ is long form of गँवन or गमन. This is the ceremony performed when a bride becomes *apta viro*, and her husband (to whom she has been married years previously) comes to her parents' house to take her to his home. Here the girl complains that though she is ready for the ceremony, her husband does not come for her.

## XXVII.

या के कूटले गणरिया गणरिया  
 गङ्गा जि के कूटले नहान  
 कड़ी तर के कूटले उठका बैठका  
 तीनी ना छोड़वले भगवान

*Song of a homeless cowherd.*

; the watching of my cows is no more; no thing in the holy Ganges. No more is the t the foot of the citron fig,—these three hath me.

up and sitting down.' The phrase commonly means ends every evening for a smoke and talk.

## XXVIII.

रेया सगावे धुरियाहावा कहाले  
 गिरही मारेले फरिवाह  
 तटा दोकाहवा मारे अहिरा बसकवा  
 जिनकर बटुरि नैवेले करिहाव

called <sup>1</sup> wrestlers apply dust to their bodies 5), and the gymnast wields his loaded stick <sup>2</sup> ng). But the young cowherd <sup>3</sup> just tucks up y which his ribs are tightly bound up.<sup>4</sup>

pres. potential passive, as against कहावेले, which Gr. § 89.

; stick, loaded at each end, which is flourished by

ng form of बासक. अहिरा is strong form of ' is long form of दोकाह 'a tight double waist-Peasant Life, § 728.

which the body above the waist (करिहाव) having bends (नैवेले).'

## XXIX.

बड़ निक्ख खागेले बिया के गपरिया  
 जौं त° भूँइयाँ परती होए  
 बड़ निक्ख खागेले मेहरी के मोदवा  
 जब से सरिक्खा नौं होए

It is very pleasant<sup>1</sup> to tend<sup>2</sup> the kine, if there is plenty of pasture.<sup>3</sup> A wife's lap is very pleasant, as long as no children come.

<sup>1</sup> निक्ख or नीक्ख is the regular Bihārī word for 'good,' 'pleasant' = the Hindī अच्छा. Cf. Rāmāyan Bā. do. 35, राम निक्खै रावरी है सबही को नीक्ख। जो यह सौँची है तो नीक्खो तुलसी क 'O Rām, your goodness is good to all, and if that is true, then good to Tul'sī also.' खागेले, with long antepenultimate, is the present indicative, as against खगले with shortened antepenult., which is the pret. ind. See Bihārī Grammar, Introd. § 36, 3, and Bh. Gr. § 61a, and § 61b.

<sup>2</sup> गपरिया or गेरिया is the act of tending cattle, as it were for गोशारी, Skr. गोपालिका.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. 'If the land is fallow,' i.e. 'produces no crop.' Cattle in India are always pastured on fallow or *par'ti* lands. The simile here is to a barren wife.

## XXX.

ककुरै बिथिलि हाँ ककुआ, प्र रामा  
 गङ्गा जि बिथिलि हाँ रेत  
 छोटि छोटि बेटिया तँ बेटवा बिथिलि हाँ  
 बजर परी ना ग्रहि पेट

O Rāmā, the she-tortoise has borne<sup>1</sup> a he-tortoise, and the Ganges has borne a sand-bank. Little, little girls<sup>2</sup> have brought forth boys. May a thunderbolt fall on all these wombs.

<sup>1</sup> All these are perfects with हाँ, see No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Not necessarily young girls, but rather, 'All the pretty young women in the neighbourhood.' The song alludes to those epidemics of births which occasionally occur everywhere.

## XXXI.

तखवा झरेले कैवल कुम्हलैले,  
हृन्स रोए बिरह बियोग,  
रोखत बाड़ी सरवन के माता  
के कावर टोहहे मोर

The pond is dried up, the lotus is withered,<sup>1</sup> and the swan bewails his separation from his beloved. Sar'wan's<sup>2</sup> mother weeps, saying who will carry<sup>3</sup> my *kāwar* now.

<sup>1</sup> झरेले and कुम्हलैले are potential passives.

<sup>2</sup> The hero of a great many poems, principally in the Magahī and Bhoj'pūrī dialects.

<sup>3</sup> √टो 'carry.' The कावर or कामर is the Hindū name for the stick carried across the shoulder, from each end of which baskets or other burdens are suspended. The Ūrdū name for it is *bahangī*.

## XXXII.

हथवा में डारले बरेछा रम-रेखवा  
गरवा में डारले उदराह  
सखकी पगरिया बाह के यरवा  
जानी के उदरले बा जात

Rām-Rēkhā has put bangles<sup>1</sup> on his arm, and on his neck an Ud'rāchh. The lover has tied on a red turban, and is carrying off his sweetheart.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> बरेछा or बरेखी is a kind of bracelet peculiar to the Goālā caste. Ud'rāchh is the रङ्गाच or necklace worn by Çāiva mendicants (see Bihār Peasant Life, §§ 767, 781).

<sup>2</sup> The last line is literally 'he has carried off (उदरले बा) his sweetheart (जानी के) and is going.' यरवा is long form of यार (يار). जानी = جاني.

## XXXIII.

कैसे चिन्हसे हाँ आपन गुरु, प्र नायन

कैसे चिन्हसे हाँ गुरु-भाइ

कैसे चिन्हसे हाँ आपन पिता, प्र नायन

कैसे चिन्हसे हाँ बुढ़ि-माइ

O singer, how did you recognize your spiritual preceptor, and how your brother disciple ?

O singer, how did you recognize your father, and how your old<sup>1</sup> mother ?

<sup>1</sup> बुढ़ि-माइ is a compound of बुढ़ि, fem. of बुढ़ old, and माइ. Hence the बू of बुढ़ि is shortened, as it comes before the penultimate.

## XXXIV.

कनवा फूँकत हम गुरु केँ चिन्हसी

सँगवा साध गुरु-माइ

बैचिया बैठल पिता केँ चिन्हसी

दुधवा पीयत बुढ़ि-माइ

*Answer to the last.*

I recognized my spiritual preceptor, at the time of whispering in the ear,<sup>1</sup> and the brother disciple through association.<sup>2</sup> When I sat upon his thigh, I recognized my father, and, when I drank her milk, my old mother.

<sup>1</sup> कनवा is long form of कान. The allusion is to the communication of the स्वमन्त्र by the *Guru* to his disciple. Every follower of the *Śaiva* religion must have a *Guru* or spiritual preceptor, to whom he is *chēlā*, or disciple. The *Guru* communicates to each disciple a peculiar *mantra*, consisting principally of meaningless words, such as *hūm*, *hrish*, &c. This is communicated in a whisper, and is never divulged. The *mantra* is called the *chēlā's swa-mantra*, and the ceremony of communication creates the relationship of *Guru* and *Chēlā*. See my forthcoming edition of the *Yōgīnī Tantra* in the *Bibliotheca Indica* for further particulars.

<sup>2</sup> सँगवा is long form of सङ्ग, बैचिया of बाँच, दुधवा of दूध.

XXXV.

भेले तोर गुरु, प्र गायन  
 का भेले गुरु-माइ  
 भेले तोर पिता, प्र गायन  
 का भेली बुढ़ि-माइ

What has become of your preceptor, and what of  
 the preceptor?  
 What has become of your father, and what of  
 the father?

Regular Bhoj'puri form for the neuter interrogative  
 is used, also, in Western Magahi, and corresponds  
 to the form in Eastern Magahi, and in Maithili, we first come  
 to the form, *की*; cf. Bangālī *কি*.

XXXVI.

मरि गेले हमार गुरु, प्र गायन  
 मरि गेले गुरु-माइ  
 मरि गेले हमार पिता, प्र गायन  
 मरि गेली बुढ़ि-माइ

*Answer to the last.*

preceptor is dead, and so is my brother  
 father is dead, and so is my old mother.

XXXVII.

मा सकरिया तू गुरु के आरसं  
 कवन सकरिया गुरु-माइ  
 मा सकरिया तू पिता के आरसं  
 कवन सकरिया बुढ़ि-माइ



<sup>1</sup> Of what did you make the funeral pile of your preceptor, and of what that of your brother disciple ?

Of what did you make the funeral pile of your father, and of what that of your old mother ?

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* With what wood did you burn your preceptor, etc. ? कवना is the obl. adj. form of the interrog. pron. के.

## XXXVIII.

चनन लकरिया हम गुह के चारसी

बबुर लकरिया गुह-भार

अमवे लकरिया हम पिता के चारसी

कुसुमे लकरिया बुढ़ि-माइ

*Answer to the last.*

Of sandal did I make the pile of my preceptor, and of mimosa that of my brother disciple.

Of mango-wood<sup>1</sup> did I make the pile of my father, and of saffron that of my old mother.

<sup>1</sup> अमवे is instr. of अमवा, long form of आम. कुसुमे is instrumental of कुसुम.

## XXXIX.

कई कोसवा में गङ्गा चाकर बहले

कई कोसवा में हवे लाम

कई कोसवा में हवे लङ्का, प्र रामा

कौन बिरवा ना फागि जाए

How many *kōs* is the Ganges wide, and how many *kōs* is it long ? How many *kōs* (high) was Laṅkā, O Rāmā, and what hero crossed (its walls) in a leap ?

XL.

सेवा में गङ्गा चाकर बहल बाड़ी  
 रि खैतवा से गङ्गा लाम  
 कोस के गढ़ लङ्कावा, ५ रामा  
 र हलिवन्त फानि आए

*Answer to the last.*

ows ten *kōs* wide, and is as long as it is from  
 id. O Rāmā, the fort of Laṅkā was a  
 id *kōs* high, and the hero Haliwant (*i.e.*  
 id (its walls) in a leap.

XLI.

जे हवीं मर-खौकी, ५ रामा  
 वे पकसे मर खाई  
 जे के हवीं ना निरमल जलवा  
 ते दिनवा बहि आई

langes is an eater of dead bodies ; she eats  
 and roast.<sup>1</sup> Yet the water of the Ganges  
 ows on night and day.<sup>3</sup>

are both emphatic of *कौच* and *पाकल* respectively.  
*रसे*, is to persons drowned in its waters, and those

s a mere expletive.

ion argument in favour of a wandering existence ;  
 mendicant devotee.

XLII.

बिरहा कर खेती भैया  
 हँ बिरहा फरे डाढ़  
 बसेले हिरिदया में, ५ रामा  
 उमगेले तब गाव  
 इति बिरहा के सङ्ग्रह समाप्त ।

*In praise of the Bir'hā, or song so called, of which the foregoing are specimens.*

There is no cultivation of the *Bir'hā*, nor is it borne like fruit upon the branches of the trees.

O Rāmā, the *Bir'hā* dwells in the heart, and when the heart overflows, then does a man sing it.

*This concludes the collection of Bir'hās.*

### XLIII.

The following song purports to be by the celebrated Maithil poet, Bidyāpati Thākur. I would draw attention to it, as contradicting a theory put forward with some confidence in the *Calcutta Review* by Bābū Shyāma Charaṇa Gāṅgūlī, to the effect that the songs of this poet are not known in the Bhoj'pūrī area. This song was written for me by a lady whose home is in Shāhābād, in the heart of Bhoj'pūr. I am indebted to the kindness of her husband (a gentleman of position in Government service) for the copy. It describes how a cowherdess of Brindāban (Vṛindāvana) addresses Ūdhō (Uddhava), who has come to her with a message from Krish'n (Kṛiṣṇa), who had left her and gone to Mathurā at the invitation of Kans (Kaiṇṇa). The metre is very irregular, probably owing to the fact that the song was originally written in Maithilī, and transformed in the course of centuries into Bhoj'pūrī, without regard to the quantities of the resultant syllables. The metre seems to have originally been 6+4+2 instants, four times repeated; but in order to get this metre now a great many long syllables must be read as short ones. In one case, in order to scan, a whole word (रामा in verse 9) must be left out, and this can be done without spoiling the sense, as the word is a mere expletive. Some words bear their Maithilī origin on their face, e.g. भगिँ in verse 20, and धरड in verse 21. So also सुनू in verse 20, which is Bhoj'pūrī 2 imper. fem., must, as the metre shows, originally have been सुनु, which is the regular Maithilī imperat. for both genders.

उहर घरवा प्र ऊधो  
 रामा झिलि-मिलि जाती ॥ १ ॥  
 या खे भैं सुतनों प्र ऊधो  
 रामा खँचरा उसाई ॥ २ ॥  
 'हम बगितों प्र ऊधो  
 रामा पिया जेहँ चोरी ॥ ३ ॥  
 म के डोरिया प्र ऊधो  
 रामा घोंचि बाँध बाँधितों ॥ ४ ॥  
 म के डोरिया प्र ऊधो  
 रामा टूटि फाटि जेहँ ॥ ५ ॥  
 म के बान्हल पियवा  
 रामा से हो जहाँ पैवों ॥ ६ ॥  
 नि उहरिया प्र ऊधो  
 रामा पिया गेल चोरी ॥ ७ ॥  
 नि उहरिया प्र ऊधो  
 रामा बगिया जगाओ ॥ ८ ॥  
 गया काँ ओते रे ओते  
 रामा केरा नरहर जाई ॥ ९ ॥  
 मा ससुर प्र ऊधो  
 रामा दुखरा भसुरा ॥ १० ॥  
 के बहर रे होखूँ  
 रामा बाजेला नेपुर ॥ ११ ॥  
 के नेपुरवा प्र ऊधो  
 रामा फँडिँ बाँधि लेइ ॥ १२ ॥  
 पा ओबनवा प्र ऊधो  
 रामा हिदये जगाई ॥ १३ ॥

पन मधे पान प्र ऊधो  
 रामा फर मधे गरियर ॥ १४ ॥  
 बिया मधे राधा प्र ऊधो  
 रामा पुख मधे कान्हा ॥ १५ ॥  
 कत ले पहिरोँ प्र ऊधो  
 रामा कत समुझौँ गुना ॥ १६ ॥  
 सोन के सिँधोरवा प्र ऊधो  
 रामा जामि भेले घूना ॥ १७ ॥  
 मोरि लेखे, आहो, प्र ऊधो  
 रामा दिन भेले राती ॥ १८ ॥  
 मोरि लेखे, आहो, प्र ऊधो  
 रामा जमुना भेयावन ॥ १९ ॥  
 भनहिँ बिदापति प्र ऊधो  
 रामा सुनू ब्रिज-नारी ॥ २० ॥  
 धिरवा धरऊ प्र राधा  
 रामा मिहिँ मुरारी ॥ २१ ॥

*Translation.*

1. 'The house, O Ūdhō, was of bamboos, and the lamp was flickering.<sup>1</sup> I spread<sup>2</sup> the border of my garment for a bed and slept<sup>3</sup> with my husband.

3. 'If I had known, O Ūdhō, that my husband would desert me secretly, I would have tightly bound him to me with a silken cord.

5. 'A silken cord will break and snap, O Ūdhō, but where shall I find a beloved bound to me with (kind) words?

7. 'Along the path by which<sup>4</sup> my husband deserted me secretly, would I plant an orchard.

9. 'On each side of the orchard would I plant plantain and cocoa-nut trees.<sup>5</sup>

10. 'In the courtyard<sup>6</sup> is my father-in-law, O Ūdhō, and

my husband's elder brother. How can I go  
 7 anklets ring forth a (tell-tale) sound.'  
 the anklet of your leg in your cloth,<sup>9</sup> and  
 ung bosom (in the garment) over your heart.'  
 eaves, O Ūdhō, *pān* is the best, and of all  
 -nut.<sup>10</sup> Of all women, Rādhā is the best, and  
 h.

uch shall I wear, O Ūdhō, and how much  
 his virtues. The wood-worm has eaten up  
 ilion box.<sup>11</sup>

las, O Ūdhō, day has become night. To me,  
 e river Jamunā has become terrible.'

yāpati, 'O Ūdhō, hear ye women of Braj.  
 ādhā, and Murāri will meet ye.'

लाना 'to undulate (as the flame of a candle).'

like a bed.'

i, often means 'with' or even 'from,' cf. Nos. 10

e of खवन, the long form of the relative pronoun जे.  
 form of डगर, डगहर, or डघर. बगिया, feminine  
 garden,' is generally specialized to mean 'an orchard.'  
 केल.

ऑँगन.

दुआर.

res. fem. of √ होख, the strong form of √ हो 'be.'  
 o No. 49, v. 2.

र above.

obscure line. It appears to mean that the speaker  
 est way to induce Kṛiṣṇa's return. Will it be by  
 t, and thereby enticing the man, or by meditating  
 nd thereby propitiating the deity? The first idea  
 he wood-worm (of separation) has devoured the  
 er charms). It is hardly necessary to point out  
 x is a portion of every married woman's toilet  
 she only puts it aside (and then for ever) when she  
 here, either her beauty is compared to a vermilion  
 that she has become as good as a widow through  
 sence.

## XLIV.

The following song is interesting as showing the occupations of a married woman in her husband's house. It narrates how a brother visits his married sister, and returns with news of her to his mother.

The metre in this also is obscure. It is founded on 6+4+4+2+4 instants in each half line, but in order to get this, many long syllables must be read as short ones. Sometimes, *e.g.* in verses 7, 8, 9 and 10, there is even then an instant too many in the half line. Also, in the second halves of verses 3 and 7, the word **भैया** is superfluous according to the metre.

बैठऊ प्र भैया चनन पिढैया रे ना ।

भैया तिरिया धनुहिया गजोबर रे ना ॥ १ ॥

बैठऊ प्र भैया मालिन का अवसवा रे ना ।

भैया मोर दुख जानेले मलिनिया रे ना ॥ २ ॥

बिगहा नापल भुँइयाँ लोपन रे ना ।

भैया औआ भरल बरतन मौखीले रे ना ॥ ३ ॥

मन भरि भैया कूटन पीसन रे ना ।

भैया मन भरि सोझेले रसोइया रे ना ॥ ४ ॥

पहिलि ठिकरिया हमरि भोजनिया रे ना ।

भैया ओऊ में कुकुर बिलरिया रे ना ॥ ५ ॥

भैया ओऊ में चेरिया लँउड़िया रे ना ।

भैया ओऊ में लऊरि ननदिया रे ना ॥ ६ ॥

इहे इहे दुख भैया अमवा से अनि कहिहँ रे ना ।

भैया मचिया बैठल अमवा रोइहे रे ना ॥ ७ ॥

इहे इहे दुख भैया बाबा से अनि कहिहँ रे ना ।

भैया सभवा बैठल बाबा रोइहे रे ना ॥ ८ ॥

इहे इहे दुख भैया भौजि से अनि कहिहँ रे ना ।

भैया ऐले गेले भौजि उघाटिहे रे ना ॥ ९ ॥

दुख भैया चाचा से अनि कहिह<sup>०</sup> रे ना ।  
 । अनि चाचा कैले अगुऐया रे ना ॥ १० ॥  
 का रोअलें रे भीअल चुनरिया रे ना ।  
 । का रोअलें रे भीअल पटुअवा रे ना ॥ ११ ॥  
 । पूता अन्न पिढ़िया रे ना ।  
 कह<sup>०</sup> ना बहिन कुसलिया रे ना ॥ १२ ॥  
 । अमवा बेहलि फुल्लिया रे ना ।  
 हँ । अमवा फुल्ले बहिनिया रे ना ॥ १३ ॥  
 । अमवा गङ्गा छल्लिया रे ना ।  
 हँ । अमवा रोअलि बहिनिया रे ना ॥ १४ ॥  
 । पूता कठिन करेअवा रे ना ।  
 रोअति बहिन छोड़ि ऐल<sup>०</sup> रे ना ॥ १५ ॥

*Translation.*

myself, my brother, on a sandal stool, and put  
 a bow<sup>2</sup> in the house.

myself, my brother, in the verandah of the garland  
 knows my sorrows.

plaster a piece of ground measuring a *big'hā*  
 and clean enough plates to fill a potter's

the pounding and the grinding of a maund of  
 (do), and a whole maund of grain is cooked<sup>4</sup>

tched little meal is the first(-cooked) small  
 : bread, and out of that the dog and the cat  
 share).

at, also, the maid-servant and slave-girls and  
 younger sister (must have their shares).

all not these sorrows to my mother, or she  
 upon her stool and weep.

not to my father, or, seated in the circle  
 all he weep.



9. 'Tell them not to your wife, or she will taunt me with it when I visit my home.'<sup>6</sup>

10. 'Tell them not to my uncle, who got me married.'<sup>7</sup>

11. With the weeping of the sister her bordered veil became wet. With the weeping of the brother, his sheet was wet.

12. 'Seat yourself, O son, on a sandal stool, and tell<sup>8</sup> me news of your sister.'

13. 'Just as, O mother, the jasmine bloomed,<sup>9</sup> so blooms my sister.

14. 'Just as, O mother, the Ganges rose and overflowed (its banks), so weeps my sister.'

15. 'Thank you, my son, for your hard heart,<sup>10</sup> (you) who could leave your sister weeping behind you.'

<sup>1</sup> बैठ is an old form of बैठै, 2nd imperat. of √बैठ 'sit.'

<sup>2</sup> तिरिया is long form of तीर 'an arrow.'

<sup>3</sup> औआ 'a potter's kiln.' Cf. Hindi आवा.

<sup>4</sup> √सीस 'to be cooked.' A maund is about 80 pounds.

<sup>5</sup> हमरि is a feminine genitive. भोजनिया is a feminine long form of the masculine भोजन.

<sup>6</sup> A wife's visit to her parents' house is called आरख गेल, of which the locative is ऐले गेले.

<sup>7</sup> The person who brings a marriage about, or match-maker, is called सगुआ, and his office सगुआह, of which सगुऐया is long form.

<sup>8</sup> ना is a common expletive, used specially with the imperative, and in asking questions.

<sup>9</sup> √फुल or √फूल 'to bloom.'

<sup>10</sup> Lit. liver.

## XLV.

### The death of Bas'ti Singh—a *Mill-Song*

The following is another *jat'sār* or mill-song, of which some examples were given in my former paper, one of which—the song of Bhag'batī and the Mir'zā Sāheb—has had the honour of being presented in a poetical dress to English readers by Mr. Edwin Arnold. The song of the death of Bas'ti is a great favourite, and is widely known in Bihār.

it sung in many places, and under many the present version is, I believe, both the the most spirited one. Unlike the song of only hints at the main facts of a story, the which are supposed be to well known to its legend tells how Bas'ti Singh's wife refused to minal advances of her husband's elder brother; r took out her husband under pretence of ordered him in the forest; how, in order to body and give it due funeral rites, she pre- to the murderer's proposals; and how, finally, showed her the body, the fire of her chastity , great that it set fire to her husband's funeral her as a *sati* together with the corpse upon it. ner songs, the metre is irregular. It is founded , 4+4+4+6, but in many of the lines there words (*e.g.*, one छेवड़ि is superfluous in the many long vowels will have to be read as

### ॥ अतसार ॥

वड़ि छेवड़ि भविया बनौली ।

न दिहली छुँपरवा ह रे जी ॥ १ ॥

कूटि कूटि भतवा रँधीली ।

मुँगीआ केरि दलिया ह रे जी ॥ २ ॥

बैठलि तूँझें सामु बढैतिन

अँवना बीसे टारन ह रे जी ॥ ३ ॥

क मोरि, हे बड़आ, नेतवैं ओहारिहं ।

सरिखवे अँवना टारिहं ह रे जी ॥ ४ ॥

ठल भसुह बढैता ।

छपरवा निहारेले ह रे जी ॥ ५ ॥

भसुह अँवना बिगारली ।

गुनवा लीली बिसभारे ह रे जी ॥ ६ ॥

नाहिँ मोर भवही जैवना बिगारलू ।

नाहिँ जुगवा लौलू बिसभोरे हू रे जी ॥ ७ ॥

होत भिजुसरा भसुलू डगवा दिखीले ।

छोट बड़ चलसु अहेर खेले हू रे जी ॥ ८ ॥

सभ केहू मारेला हरिना सावजवा ।

भसुलू मारेले आपन भैया हू रे जी ॥ ९ ॥

मचिया बैठलि तूँँ सासु बढैतिन ।

हमरि टिकुलिया भुँइयाँ गिरेला हू रे जी ॥ १० ॥

ऐसनि बोली जन बोलू बझरिया ।

मोर बसती गेल बाड़े अहेरिया खेले हू रे जी ॥ ११ ॥

सभ कर घोरवा चीरत दीरत ।

बसती के घोरवा बिसमाधल हू रे जी ॥ १२ ॥

सभ कर तरवरिया चलकत झलकत ।

बसती तरवरिया रकोँ बूझल हू रे जी ॥ १३ ॥

घरी राति गेलि पहर राति गेल ।

भसुलू केवड़िया भड़कावे हू रे जी ॥ १४ ॥

दुर तूँँँ कुरुरा दुर रे बिलरिया ।

दुर रे सहर सभ लोगवा हू रे जी ॥ १५ ॥

नाहिँ हम कुरुरा नाहिँ रे बिलरिया ।

नाहिँ रे सहर सभ लोगवा हू रे जी ॥ १६ ॥

हम जूँँ तैं बसती सिद्ध रजवा हू रे जी ।

मोर बसती जुझले लड़िया हू रे जी ॥ १७ ॥

कहवाँ मारले कहवाँ लड़ीले ।

कीना बिरछिया ओठँघीले हू रे जी ॥ १८ ॥

बनहो मरले बनहीं लड़ीले ।

चनन बिरछिया ओठँघीलोँ हू रे जी ॥ १९ ॥

छोड़ि भसुह बनकर ना होइवों ।

प्रक सोधिया देखाव° ह रे जी ॥ २० ॥

ले आव° ह रे जी ॥ २१ ॥

भसुह आगि आने गेले ।

नी से निकसे चँगरवा ह रे जी ॥ २२ ॥

भेली बरि हरवा ह रे जी ॥ २३ ॥

*Translation.*

ing the leaves of betel, I made a savoury mess,<sup>1</sup>  
as,<sup>2</sup> and fragrant scents to it.

aking *sāthi*,<sup>3</sup> I cooked boiled rice, and over it  
e of *mūg*.<sup>4</sup>

o<sup>5</sup> mother-in-law, seated on your stool, how  
inner to my husband's elder brother ?'<sup>6</sup>

law, modestly<sup>7</sup> cover your form with your  
your dinner with one hand.'<sup>8</sup>

able elder brother of my husband sat down to  
hard at me from head to foot.<sup>9</sup>

er of my husband, have I spoiled your dinner?  
siderately<sup>10</sup> put in (too much) salt ?'<sup>11</sup>

ager brother's wife, you have not spoiled my  
e you inconsiderately put in too much salt.'

te my husband's elder brother had the drum  
) ' Let every one small and great come out to

ut to hunt, and) all the others kill deer and  
alas ! he kills his own brother.<sup>12</sup>

able mother-in-law, seated on your stool, my  
is falling to the ground.'<sup>13</sup>

law, say not such words. My Bas'ti has  
t.'

e's horse (returns) prancing<sup>14</sup> and running,  
e (returns) mourning.

's sword (comes back) gleaming and flashing,  
d (comes back) drowned in blood.

When an hour of the night, yea, when a watch of the night has passed, my husband's elder brother knocks at my door.

15. 'Away with you, if you are a dog ; away with you, if you are a cat ; away with you, if you are the people of the town.'<sup>15</sup>

'I am not a dog, nor am I cat, nor am I of the people of the city. I am Bas'ti Singh the Rāj'pūt.'

('Tis false.) My Bas'ti has been killed<sup>16</sup> in battle. Where did you kill him ? Where did you fight with him ? Against what tree have you left his body lying ?'

'In the forest died he. In the forest fought he with me. Against a sandal tree did I leave his body lying.'

20. 'Of no other save thee, O elder brother of my husband, will I become (the leman) ; only show me his dead body.'

(So he took her to the forest where her dead husband lay).<sup>17</sup> 'Bring fire (so that I light his funeral life).'

But while her husband's elder brother went to fetch the fire, lo, from the bosom of her dress<sup>18</sup> issued flames, and together with (her lord) was she burnt to ashes.

<sup>1</sup> भजिया (lg. f. of भाजी) is a kind of vegetable curry.

<sup>2</sup> लौंग is pl. of लौंग. छुसरवा is long form of छुसार.

<sup>3</sup> Sāṭhi is a peculiar kind of rice, which grows in sixty days. Hence its name. See Bihār Peasant Life, § 966.

<sup>4</sup> Mūg is *phaseolus mungo*, a kind of vetch. Out of it, and other similar pulses, is a kind of brose made. दलिया is long form of दास. मुँगीआ is contracted from मुँगववा, which is redundant form of मुँग.

<sup>5</sup> बढेतिन is fem. of बढिता. See l. 5.

<sup>6</sup> It is a universal custom in Northern India, that while a wife may joke with her husband's younger brothers, she must always veil herself before, and may not speak even a word to, his elder brothers. The heroine of the song is proving her chastity and showing that she is not inviting the latter's criminal attentions. Hence she asks her natural protector, her husband's mother, to save her from the necessity of even appearing before him. The mother-in-law, however, does not understand, and insists on the girl serving the meal.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. 'Having twisted your eight limbs, cover them,' etc. The eight limbs (अष्टाङ्गानि) are well known to students of Sanskrit and need not be detailed here.

your hand appear through the veil, as you serve the  
is long form of **सरीखा** 'like.' Secondly it  
'by.' **सुलुहा** is the hand from the tips of the fingers

ow upwards.

i forgetfulness.'

g form of **नून** 'salt.'

nd. This verse is a good example of the very loose  
number of the Bhoj'pūrī verb is used. Here the  
a singular verb after it, because it is non-honorific,  
subject has a plural verb because it is honorific. In  
ranslated **ह रे जी** by 'alas, alas.'

omen when a woman's *ṭikulī*, or forehead spangle,  
married, it is supposed to prognosticate the death  
Note the peculiar use of **हमरी**, genitive of **हम**, with  
tion. The word has in fact reverted to its original  
easive adjectival pronoun = Ap. Pr. **अन्हार**(मदीयः  
. Cf. introductory remarks, p. 213.

r a rhyming repetition of **दौरत**. So also **असकत**  
**कत**.

f the stock lines which appears continually in poems

'to be killed in a fight.' The idea is that the  
r having killed her husband, tries to gain admittance  
der pretence that he is the murdered man. The  
e Ap Pr. locative.

missing in the original here.

end of a woman's sheet, where it is gathered up  
**छरवा** is long form of **छार** 'ashes.'

four songs are sung in the month of Chāit  
and are called *chāitār* or *ghāṭṭ*. They are all  
a melody. Bulākī Dās was a great writer of

#### XLVI.

ese alludes to the custom that it is not con-  
r a husband to be seen entering or leaving  
ent. He may only enter it

night, and stealthily. In the present case, the husband has overslept himself. The sun has already risen, and the wife fears that he will be disgraced. The metre is founded on 6+4+4+2 instants, with the word *rām* at the commencement of every second line, and the words *hō rāmā* at the end of every line.

### ॥ घोटो ॥

राम सौँझहिँ के सुतल, फूटलि किरनिया ॥ हो रामा ॥

तबो नाहिँ जागेले हमरो बलमुआ ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥

राम चुर-घीँची मारलीँ परिया-घीँची मारलीँ ॥ हो रामा ॥

तबो नाहिँ जागेले सेँथीँ अभागा ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥

राम गोड़ तोरा सागीला लड़रि ननदिया ॥ हो रामा ॥

रचि प्रख आपन भैया देह ना जगार ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥

राम कैसे के भौबी भैया के जगैबी ॥ हो रामा ॥

हमरो भैया मिँदिया के मातल ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥

राम तोरा खेले नगदी तोर भैया निनिया के मातल ॥ हो रामा ॥

मोरा खेले चान मुख दूगो छपित भेले ॥ हो रामा ॥ ५ ॥

राम चहले पैत घोटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥

गाह गाह बिरहिन सखि समुझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ६ ॥

### Translation.

*Refrain.*—*Rām. Hō Rāmā.*

1. Ah Rām, he went to sleep at even, and now the day has dawned,<sup>1</sup> but still my husband does not wake.

2. I thrust him with my bracelets, I thrust him with my anklets, but still my luckless lord does not wake.

3. 'I fall before your feet, O young sister-in-law. Kindly\* awake your brother.'

4. 'Wife of my brother, how shall I awake him? My brother is drunk with sleep.'

5. Sister-in-law, in your opinion, your brother may be

drunk with sleep,<sup>3</sup> to me it seems as if both sun and moon were hidden from me.

6. Chāit has commenced, and people sing the *Ghāṭō*, and, as they sing, they console desolate maidens.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* 'the rays have burst forth.'

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* 'having contrived a (means).'

<sup>3</sup> निंदिया and निनिया are different forms of the same word. See No. 4, note 2.

## XLVII.

The next *Ghāṭō* is very similar to a rhyme familiar to every Anglo-Indian, '*Hili mili paniyā*' (vulgo '*Hilly milly punniow*.)' It is current in many versions. One has been given in my Bhoj'puri Grammar, p. 146. Metre as in the last.

### चाँटो

रामा ननदी भोजिया दुनु पनिहारिन ॥ हो रामा ॥

मिलि जूलि सागर पानि भरे चखली ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥

रामा भरि घूठि पनिया घरिखनो ना खूबे ॥ हो रामा ॥

खीने रसिकेवैं घरिख जुठिखीसे ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥

रामा घरिखा भरि भरि खररा चढ़ीखी ॥ हो रामा ॥

केहू नाहिँ घरिखा मोर खसगावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥

रामा घोरवा चढ़ख आवे हंसराख ॥ हो रामा ॥

रखि एक घरिखा मोर खसगावै ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥

रामा एक हाथ हंसराख घरिखा खसगीसे ॥ हो रामा ॥

दूखा रे हाथें खींचर धि बेसमावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ५ ॥

रामा खींचै खींचै हंसराख मोर खींचरवा ॥ हो रामा ॥

मोरा घरे सासु ननदि बाढ़ी दाखन ॥ हो रामा ॥ ६ ॥

रामा खीँ तोर सुन्दरी, सासु ननदि घरवा दाखन ॥ हो रामा ॥

काहे खानि सागर पनिया के ऐलू ॥ हो रामा ॥ ७ ॥



रामा देवरा मुखारख चारे भिया पाऊन । हो रामा ।

ओहि खाति सागर पनिया के ऐसी । हो रामा ॥ ८ ॥

रामा चढ़ले चेतवा पैत-घाँटो नावे । हो रामा ।

गाइ गाइ बिरहिन सखि समुझावे । हो रामा ॥ ९ ॥

*Translation.*

*Refrain.*—*Rāmā. Hō Rāmā.*

1. The husband's sister, and her sister-in-law (*i.e.* his wife), each with a water-jar on her head,<sup>1</sup> went together to fetch water from the tank.

2. The water is only up to our ankles, even the jar will not sink (enough for me to fill it), who is the swain that has polluted my vessel by drinking out of it ?<sup>2</sup>

3. As I filled my jar, I lay it on the bank,<sup>3</sup> and no one sets it on my head.

4. But Hans'rāj comes mounted on his horse, (and I say to him) 'Kindly<sup>4</sup> place my jar upon my head.'

5. With one hand<sup>5</sup> Hans'rāj placed the jar upon my head, and with the other he (catches me by) the border of my garment, and detains me.

6. 'Let go, let go, O Hans'rāj, the border of my garment; at home<sup>6</sup> my mother-in-law and sister-in-law are my enemies.'

7. 'If, fair one, your mother-in-law and sister-in-law are your enemies at home, why did you come to the tank for water ?'

8. 'My husband's younger brother was hungry,<sup>8</sup> and my brother (has come) as a guest. Therefore did I come to the tank for water.'

9. Chāit has commenced, and (people) sing the *ghāṭī* peculiar to that month, and, as they sing, console desolate maidens.

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* 'both water carriers.' डुनु is shortened from डूनु for the sake of metre.

<sup>2</sup> √कुठिआव 'to pollute a vessel by touching it' = √कुठार, see Bir'hā, No. 15. रसिकवेँ is a bye-form of रसिकवा, long form of रसिक, see Bh. Gr. § 4.

<sup>3</sup> अररा is oblique form of अरार or अरारि 'a bank.'

of the last song.

दूस 'second,' and हाथै is instr. of हाथ 'a hand.'

घर 'a house.'

Active use of the word दाखन.

Initial passive.

### XLVIII.

This is very popular, and is sung almost everywhere in various versions. A somewhat different version on p. 121 of my Bhoj'pūrī Grammar. It is sung by young Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids in the same Metre as in the last.

#### घाँटो

मालिनि सिर के मटुकिया ॥ हो रामा ॥

मथुरा नगर दहि बेचन ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥

मालिनि धरेले मटुकिया ॥ हो रामा ॥

असर तमुआ तनावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥

आगू होखे<sup>०</sup> राजा के कुँअरवा ॥ हो रामा ॥

हि के छिटकवा ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥

मालिनि दहि के छिटकवा ॥ हो रामा ॥

अगर चनन देन बरिसे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥

1, घेत-घाँटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥

बेरहिन सखि समुझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ५ ॥

#### Translation.

##### 1. *Hō Rāmā.*

<sup>1</sup> milkmaid, with a milkpail on her head,  
rā town to sell curds.

The milkmaid lays down her pot, there the  
tent.

re,<sup>2</sup> go on before, my prince (and do not  
of curd will fall upon you.'

4. 'My milkmaid, you may consider<sup>3</sup> them as drops of curds, but they seem to me as if the gods were raining down fragrant aloe and sandal.'

5. Chāit has commenced, and (people) sing the *ghāṭō* peculiar to that month, and, as they sing, they console desolate maidens.

<sup>1</sup> मूटि is simply a rhyming repetition of छोटी, in an endearing sense.

<sup>2</sup> होखं° is 2nd imperat. of √होख, a strengthened form of √हो. See Bh. Gr. § 58b.

<sup>3</sup> लेखे is loc. of लेख 'opinion.'

### XLIX.

The next *ghāṭō* bears the name of Bulāki Dās as the author. Metre as in the last.

#### घाँटो

रामा नदिया किनरवा मुँगिया बोझवली ॥ हो रामा ॥

से ऋ मुँगिया फरेले घवधवा ॥ हो रामा ॥ १ ॥

रामा प्रब फाँड़ तुरली दोसर फाँड़ तुरली ॥ हो रामा ॥

आइ भेले खेत रखवरवा ॥ हो रामा ॥ २ ॥

रामा प्रब छड़ी मारले दोसर छड़ी मारले ॥ हो रामा ॥

लूटि लेले हस्त परेउआ दूगो जोवन ॥ हो रामा ॥ ३ ॥

रामा दास बुलाकी चैत-घाँटो गावे ॥ हो रामा ॥

गाइ गाइ बिरहिन सखि समझावे ॥ हो रामा ॥ ४ ॥

#### Translation.

Refrain.—*Rāmā. Hō Rāmā.*

1. I caused *mūg*<sup>1</sup> pulse to be sown on the bank of the river, and that very *mūg* bare bunches (of pulse).

2. I filled<sup>2</sup> one bundle<sup>3</sup> (with the pulse), and filled another, when the keeper of the field arrived.

3. One blow he struck me with his stick, and another did he strike me, and ravished the swan and the dove, my bosom.

4. Bulāki Dās sings the *ghāṭō* peculiar to Chāit, and as he sings it, consoles desolate maidens.

. 45, v. 2.

used to mean 'to complete, finish,' (Anglo-American)  
h.' Cf. No. 25, Note 2.

le made up of anything contained in one's loin-cloth,  
ngs are carried in an apron. It is specially used for  
-cloth for holding money, etc.

## INDEX.

This index contains all the words occurring in  
songs. The words are shown as they are pro-  
nounced, and not as in poetry. Hence the imperfect  
middle of a word is indicated by an apostrophe.  
When it is necessary to show specially when *i* and  
*u* are perfect, as every final short *i*  
in this index is imperfect, and to use special  
marks has been unnecessary.

Plural forms of verbs are not distinguished.  
*irī*, the plural is often used for the singular,  
the difference being rather one of honour.

Gender is distinguished, when a feminine  
form is used as a rule the masculine forms, whether of  
nouns or verbs, are used for the feminine as well; see  
Introduction, § 35.

Derivatives are given under the original ones, with  
cross-references. Thus, long and redundant  
nouns and adjectives are given under the  
causal and potential passive forms of verbs  
in their root.

The transliteration adopted is that followed in  
the Dictionary of the Bihārī Language. Anu-  
merals by the sign ~ over a vowel; thus ॐ = ā,

has two sounds, a short (flatter than *o* in  
English) and a long (flatter than *ough* in 'ought'). These are

See Dictionary of the Bihārī Language, Introduction.  
and to Bihārī Dictionary.

represented in Nāgarī by अ and अँ, and in transliteration by *a* and *ā* respectively.

So also the vowel आ has two sounds, a short (like *a* in Italian 'ballo'), and a long (like *a* in Italian 'baco'). These are represented in Nāgarī by आ and आँ, and in transliteration by *a* and *ā* respectively.

The following letters are transliterated as shown opposite them.

ऊ ū, च ch, छ chh, ञ ñ, व w, श sh, ष ṣ.

श is represented by sh, and not by ś or ś, because in Bihārī it almost invariably represents the Persian letter ش, and not the Sanskrit श, which becomes in Bihārī स. In transliterating Sanskrit words श is represented by ś.

The following contractions are used :

acc.=accusative.	masc.=masculine.
adj.=adjective.	m.c.=metri causā.
adv.=adverb.	neut.=neuter.
caus.=causal.	nom.=nominative.
cond.=conditional.	O.=old.
conj.=conjunctive or conjunction.	obl.=oblique.
dat.=dative.	part.=participle.
dir.=direct.	pass.=passive.
emph.=emphatic.	perf.=perfect.
explet.=expletive.	periphr.=periphrastic.
fem.=feminine.	poten.=potential.
gen.=genitive.	pres.=present.
imperat.=imperative.	pret.=preterite.
instr.=instrumental.	pron.=pronoun.
interj.=interjection.	red. f.=redundant form.
interrog.=interrogative.	rel.=relative.
lg. f.=long form.	resp.=respectful.
loc.=locative.	str. f.=strong form.
	subst.=substantive.

- ān; *gen. dir.*, an'kar, 45, 20; *gen. obl.*,  
 an'kā, 12, 3.  
 √ān; 1 *v.n.*, *obl.*, āne, 45, 2.  
 2. ām; *lg. f.*, ām'wā, 18, 1; *lg. f., instr.*,  
 am'wē, 38, 3.  
 √āw; *O. pres.* 3, āwē, 47, 4; *prat.* 1,  
 āli, 11, 3; 47, 8; 2, ālē, 6, 3;  
 ālā, 44, 15; 2 *fem.*, ālū, 47, 7; 3  
 ālē, 12, 3; 3 *fem.*, āli, 22, 1; *im-*  
*perat.*, 2, āwā, 45, 21; 2, *fem.*, āū,  
 10, 4; *perf.*, 3, ālē hā, 23, 2; 1  
*v.n.*, āi (gāl), 49, 2; 2 *v.n.*, *loc.*,  
 ālē (gāle), (*from* āil (gāl)), 44, 9.  
 āre, 47, 8.  
 atināi, 23, 3. āho, 43, 18, 19.  
 an, 17, 3 (āpan i.  
 5, 9; 46, 3; *gen.* iūṭī chiūṭī, 20, 1.  
*gen. obl.*, ap'nā, ichi, 45, 20. See *Addenda*.  
 2. is'rī, 8, 7.  
 ihe, see i.  
 , 44, 7 (*bis*), 13 i.  
 3. ī (*emph. particle*), 23, 3; 41, 2 (*bis*).  
 ī (*pron.*); *adj. dir.*, ihe, 44, 7 (*bis*), 8  
 (*bis*), 9 (*bis*), 10 (*bis*); *adj. obl.*, ehi,  
 , °gāwē, 47, 3; 1, 3; 30, 4; ē, 1, 3.  
 5; *imperat.* 2, u.  
 , 44, 2. √ughāt; *ful.*, 3, ughāṭihē, 44, 9.  
 rā, 28, 4; *fem.*, √uṭh; *pres.*, 3, uṭhēlā, 19, 1; *perf.*,  
 3, uṭh'lē hā, 18, 3.  
 riṃā, 45, 11. uṭh'kā, 27, 3.  
 √uṭhar; *perf.*, 3, uṭhar'le bā, 32, 4.  
 √utar; 1 *v.n.*, utari (āū), 10, 4.  
 ud'rāchh, 32, 2.  
 upar; *obl.*, up'rā, 45, 2; *lg. f.*,  
 upar'wā, 45, 5.  
 12, 4, √umag; *pres.*, 3, umagelē, 42, 4.  
 10. ul'tā, 27, 3.  
 , 45, 21. u.  
 ich'rā, 43, 2; u (*pron.*); *subst. obl.*, ohi (lāgi), 47  
 8; oh, 44, 5, 6 (*bis*).  
 udhō, 43, 1, 2, 3, etc.

- e.  
e (*interj.*), 3, 1, 3; 15, 1; 30, 1; 33, 1, 3; 35, 1, 3; 36, 1, 3; 39, 3; 40, 3; 41, 1; 42, 3; 43, 1, 2, 3, etc.; 44, 1, 2, 12, 13 (*bis*), 14 (*bis*), 15.  
ek, 13, 1; 20, 1, 2, 3; 45, 20; 46, 3; 47, 4, 5; 49, 2, 3; *emph.*, ĕkō, 22, 4.  
ehi, *see* ĩ.
- ē.  
ē, *see* ĩ.  
ēkal, 7, 1.  
ēkō, *see* ek.
- ū.  
ūlā, ūli, ūli, ūlū, ūlē, ūlē hā, ūlē gālē, *see* √āw.  
āisan, 16, 3; *fem.*, āisani, 45, 11.
- o.  
√othāghāw; *pret.*, 1, °ghāulō, 45, 19; 2 °ghāulē, 45, 18.  
oh, *see* ū.  
√ohār; *resp. imperat.*, 2, ohārihā, 45, 4.  
ohi, *see* ū.
- ō.  
ō (*emph. particle*), 12, 4; 22, 4; 26, 3; 45, 4; 46, 1, 2; 47, 2.  
ōt; *loc.*, ōtē, 43, 9 (*bis*).  
ōri, 40, 2.
- ū.  
ūūa, 44, 3.  
āurat dāurat, 45, 12.
- k.  
kaī, 39, 1, 2, 3.  
√kachar; *pres.*, 1, °rīlā, 25, 4.  
kachchū; *lg. f., masc.*, kachuā, 30, 1; *fem.*, °ui, 30, 1.  
kañhin, 44, 15.  
kat, 43, 16 (*bis*).  
kan'wā, *see* kñn.  
kanhāiyā, *see* kñh.  
kar (*sign of gen.*), 28, 4; 42, 1; 45, 12, 13.  
√kar; *pres.*, 3, karelē, 25, 3; *pret.*, 2, *fem.*, kailū, 3, 1; 3, kālē, 44, 10; *perf.*, 3 *resp.*, kūlt hā, 1, 4.  
karihāw, 28, 4.  
karēj, 16, 2; *lg. f.*, karēj'wā, 2, 2; 44, 15.  
kal; *lg. f.*, kalaū, 15, 4 (*see note, l.c.*).  
kal'wār, 15, 4.  
kawanā, *see* kē.  
kāwal, 31, 1.  
√kah; *pres.*, 3, kahelū, 26, 2; *fem.*, kaheli, 6, 1; *imperat.*, 2, kahā, 44, 12; *imperat.*, 2, *resp.*, kahihā, 44, 7, 8, 9, 10; *pres. part.*, 26, 1; *poten. pass.*, *pres.*, 3, kahālē, 28, 1.  
kahā, 4, 4; 43, 6; *lg. f.*, kah'wā, 45, 18 (*bis*).  
kā, *see* ke.  
kā (*neut. interrog. pron.*); *subst. dir.*, kā, 35, 1, 2, 3, 4; *obl.* ('why?'), kāhe, 8, 2, 3, 4; (k° lāgi), 47, 7.  
kāch; *emph.*, kāchē, 41, 2.  
kādh, *see* kñh.  
kñn; *lg. f.*, kan'wā, 34, 1.  
kñh; kādh, 4, 2; *str. f.*, kñhā, 43, 15; kanhāi; *lg. f.*, kanhāiyā, 12, 1.  
√kāp; *pres.*, 3, kāpelā, 2, 3.  
kām, 3, 1.  
kūwar, 31, 4.  
ki ('or'), 9, 3; kia (*interrog. particle*), 45, 6 (*bis*).  
kinār; *lg. f.*, kinar'wā, 49, 1.  
kirin; *lg. f.*, kiriniyā, 46, 1.  
kūar, 48, 2; *lg. f.*, kūar'wā, 48, 3.  
kukur, 44, 6; *str. f.*, kukurā, 45, 15, 16.  
kumh'lālē, *see* √kūmbhal.  
kus'lāi; *lg. f.*, °lāiyā, 44, 12.  
kusum; *instr.*, °mē, 38, 4.  
√kūt; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), kūti kūti, 45, 2.  
kūtan, 44, 4.  
√kūmbhal; *poten. pass.*, *pret.*, 3, kumh'lālē, 31, 1.

*pres.*, 1, garhō, 14, 3.

gar'wā, 32, 1.

11, 3.

2, 3.

*lg. f.*, gāwan'wā, 26, 4.

20, 2; *lg. f.*, gāiyā, 12, 1; 27,

1; 29, 1.

giyan, 33, 1, 3; 36, 1, 3.

gāw; *O. pres.*, 1, gāō, 1, 1, 2, 3; 3,

gāw, 42, 4; gāwē, 46, 6; 47, 9;

48, 5; 49, 4; 1 *v.n.* (used as conj.

part.), gāi gāi, 46, 6; 47, 9; 48,

5; 49, 4.

gāw; *lg. f.*, gāūā, 26, 3.

gīr; *pres.*, 3, girelā, 45, 10; girelē,

21, 4.

gir'hi, 27, 2.

guru, 33, 1; 34, 1; 35, 1; 36, 1; 37,

1; 38, 1; guru-bhāi, 33, 2; 34,

2; 35, 2; 36, 2; 37, 2; 38, 2.

gullari, 18, 2.

guh; 6, *pres.*, 3, guhē, 8, 4; *caus.*,

conj. part. (with final vowel lengthened

*m.c.*), guhāi, 21, 2.

geruā; *lg. f.*, geruawā, 25, 2.

gāiyā, see gāi.

gāi, gāli, gāli, gālē, gālyā, see √jā.

god'nā, 16, 1, 3.

god'nāri; *lg. f.*, °nariyā, 16, 3.

gōkhul; *obl.*, gokhulā, 4, 2.

gōr, 46, 3; gōr, 43, 12.

√gōd; *imperat.*, 2, *fem.*, gōdū, 16,

3; *caus.*, *pres.*, 3, godāwelē, 16, 1.

gōd; *lg. f.*, god'wā, 29, 3.

gōpī, 4, 2.

gōr ('a leg'), see gōr.

gōr ('fair'): *fem.*, gōri, 19, 1, 3;

16, 1 (3 times); *lg. f.*, *fem.*, goriyā,

18, 3; 21, 1; 25, 1.

gāūā, see gāw.

gwāl; *fem.*, gwālini, 43, 1, 2, 4.

gh.

gharī, 45, 4.

ghar; *loc.*, gharē gharē, 12, 2; 47,

6; *lg. f.*, ghar'wā, 22, 4; 43, 1;

47, 7.



gharil, 47, 2; *str. f.*, gharilā, 47, 3 (*bia*), 4, 5; *lg. f., emph.*, gharil'bō, 47, 2.

ghawad; *lg. f.*, ghawad'wā, 49, 1.

ghāṭō, *Title of 46-49*; 46, 6; 47, 9; 48, 5; 49, 4.

√ghīch; 1 *v.n. (used as conj. part.)*, ghīchi, 43, 4.

ghīchī, 46, 2 (*bia*).

ghughurū, 20, 4.

ghūṭhi, 47, 2.

ghūn; *m.c.*, ghūnā, 43, 17.

√ghōr; 1 *v.n.*, ghōri (dēli), 5, 3.

ghōr; *str. f.*, ghōrā, 13, 1; *lg. f.*, ghor'wā, 45, 12 (*bia*); 47, 4.

ch.

√charḥ; *O. pres.*, 3, charḥē, 7, 4; 8, 3; *pret.*, 3, charḥ'lē, 46, 6; 47, 9; 48, 5; 1 *v.n.* charḥi (āilē), 11, 3; (gāilē), 13, 4; *past part.*, charḥal, 47, 4; *caus., pret.*, 1, charḥāulī, 47, 3.

chatur, 13, 4.

chanan, 38, 1; 44, 1, 12; 45, 19; 48, 4.

chamūr, 15, 2.

√char; *caus., pres.*, 3, charāwelē, 12, 1.

√chal; *pret.*, 3, chal'lē, 5, 1; *fem.*, chal'li, 21, 1; 47, 1; *perf.*, 3, *fem.*, chalali hā, 5, 2; *imperat.*, 2, chalasū, 45, 8; 1 *v.n.*, chali (bhāli), 48, 1.

chūkar, 39, 1; 40, 1.

chūchā, 44, 10 (*bia*).

chān, 13, 3; 46, 5.

chīṭi, 20, 1.

√chinh; *pret.*, 1, chinh'lī, 34, 1, 3; *perf.*, 2, chinh'lē hā, 33, 1, 2, 3, 4.

chur-ghīchī, 46, 2.

chūch; *loc.*, chūchē, 20, 4.

chūdari, 16, 4; chūnari; *lg. f.*, chunariyā, 44, 11.

chelikā; *lg. f.*, 'k'wā, 21, 3; 22, 3.

chēri; *lg. f.*, cheriyā, 44, 6.

chāit, 46, 6; *lg. f.*, chait'wā, 47, 9; 48, 5; chāit-ghāṭō, 47, 9; 48, 5; 49, 4.

√chōr; 1 *v.n. (used as conj. part., with final vowel lengthened m.c.)*, chōri, 43, 3, 7.

chāukī, 14, 3.

chh.

√chhachā; *pret.*, 3, *fem.*, chhachāilī, 44, 14. *See Addenda.*

chhārī, 49, 3 (*bia*).

chhatiṭyā, *see* chhāti.

chhapit, 46, 5.

chhar'wā, *see* chhār.

chhāti, 18, 3; *lg. f.*, chhatiṭyā, 19, 1.

chhār; *lg. f.*, chhar'wā, 45, 23.

chhiṭ'kā; *lg. f.*, 'tak'wā, 48, 3, 4.

√chhūt; *pret.*, 3, chhut'lē, 27, 2, 3;

*fem.*, chhūṭali, 27, 1; *caus., imperat.*, 2, chhōrā, 47, 6 (*bia*); 1 *v.n.*, chhōri (āilā), 44, 15; chhōri (*used as a preposition meaning 'except,' cf. German 'ausgenommen'*), 45, 20; *double caus., pret.*, 3, chorawālē (*for chhōrāilē*), 27, 4.

√chhēwar; 1 *v.n.*, chhēwarī chhēwarī, 45, 1.

chhorawālē, *see* √chhūt.

chhōt, 45, 8; *fem.*, chhōṭī, 30, 3; 48, 1.

chhōrā, chhōri, *see* √chhūt.

j.

jagāi, jagāibī, *see* √jāg.

jāghiyā, *see* jāgh.

jat'sār, *title of 45*.

jatan; *lg. f.*, 'n'wā, 19, 4.

jan, *see* jani.

janam; *lg. f.*, 'm'wā, 2, 1 (*bia*).

√janam; *pret.*, 3, jan'mal, 2, 4.

jani (*neg. part.*), 44, 7, 8, 9, 10; jan, 45, 11.

janitō, *see* √jān.

√jap; *pres.*, 3, japelā, 15, 4.

jab, 42, 4; 45, 22; jab lē, 29, 4.

jamunā, 48, 19.

jamhuāi; *lg. f.*, jamhuāiyā, 22, 1.

√jar; 1 *v.n.*, jari, 45, 23; *caus., pret.*, 1, jār'lī, 38, 1, 3; 2 jār'lā, 37, 1, 3.

- 41, 3. jōban, 49, 3; *str. f.*, job'nā, 17, 3;  
*lg. f.* joban'wā, 18, 3; 19, 1, 3;  
 43, 13.
- jāē, 39, 4; 40, 4; √jōr; *pres.*, 3, jōrelē, 12, 2.  
 4; *pres.*, 3, jālū, 7, jāū, 29, 2; 43, 3; 47, 7.  
 , gailyd, 24, 1, 2; jāuni, *see* jē.  
 5, 14; gailē, 4, 4;  
 3; 43, 17; 45, 22;  
 45, 14; gāli, 36,  
 48, 3; jāihē, 43,  
 gāl bārē, 45, 11;  
 4; *pres. part.*, jāṭ,  
 4., jāe, 14, 1; 2  
 4, 9.  
 lē, 46, 1, 2; *caus.*,  
 46, 4; 1 *v.n.*,  
 3.  
 , 34, 3.  
 4.  
 jā. √tār; *fut.*, 1, tārāb, 45, 3; *imperat.*,  
 2, *resp.*, tārīhā, 45, 4.  
 dē, 26, 3; 44, 2; tīkulī; *lg. f.*, 'liyā, 45, 10.  
 iḍ, 43, 3. tīkōr; *lg. f.* tīkor'wā, 18, 1.  
 ur. √tūt; 1 *v.n.*, tūṭi (jāhē), 43, 5;  
 1, tur'li, 49, 2 (*bis*); 1 *v.n.*, tur tur,  
 71, 3.  
 i, 45, 1-23. √to; *fut.*, 3, tōihē, 31, 4.  
 ē.
- th.
- fem.*, juṭhārali,  
 juṭhāulē, 47, 2.  
 h'lē, 45, 17.  
 (*conj. part.*), jūli,
- ḍ
- ḍagā; *lg. f.*, ḍag'wā, 45, 8.  
 √ḍasāw; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*,  
 with final vowel lengthened m.c.),  
 dasāi, 48, 2.  
 ḍahar; *lg. f.*, ḍahariyā, 43, 7, 8.  
 √ḍahar; *pres.*, 3, ḍaharelā, 20, 1;  
 ḍaharelē, 20, 2; *fem.*, ḍahareli, 20, 3.  
 ḍār; 42, 2.  
 √ḍār; *pres.*, 3, dār'lē, 33, 1, 2.  
 ḍih'wār; *lg. f.*, 'war'wā, 11, 1.  
 ḍih, 11, 2; *lg. f.*, ḍih'wā, 11, 1 (*bis*), 3.  
 √ḍūb; *O. pres.*, ḍūbē, 47, 2.  
 ḍōr, 24, 2, 4; *lg. f.*, doriyā, 43, 4, 5.

- dh.  
 dhōl, 2, 2.
- t.  
 ta (*explet.*), 4, 1; 5, 3; 12, 4; 29, 2;  
 tā, 6, 2, 4; 30, 3; 45, 17.  
 tanāwē, *see* √tān.  
 tab, 42, 4; *emph.*, tabō, 46, 1, 2.  
 tamuā, *see* tābū.  
 tar, 27, 3.  
 tar'wāri; *lg. f.*, °wariyā, 45, 13 (*bis*).  
 tal'wā, *see* tāl.  
 tahā, 48, 2 (*bis*).  
 tān, 25, 2.  
 √tān; *caus.*, *O. pres.*, 3, tanāwē,  
 48, 2.  
 tābū; *lg. f.*, tamuū, 48, 2.  
 tāl; *lg. f.*, tal'wā, 31, 1.  
 tiriya, *see* tirī, tīr.  
 tirī; *lg. f.*, tiriya, 6, 3; *cf.* triyā.  
 tīn; *emph.*, tīnō, 27, 4.  
 tīr ('bank'), 6, 4.  
 tīr ('arrow'); *lg. f.*, tiriya, 44, 1.  
 tirath, 14, 1.  
 tur, tur'li, *see* √tūt.  
 tul'sī, 15, 3.  
 tus'rī; *lg. f.*, tusariyā, 17, 1.  
 tū; *nom.*, tū, 6, 2; 37, 1, 3; tūhū, 6,  
 3; *voc.*, tūhū, 45, 3, 10, 15; *gen.*  
 dir., tōr, 35, 1, 3; 44, 15; 45, 6;  
 48, 5; 47, 7; tōrā, 48, 3, 5; 48,  
 4; toh'rā, 11, 3; *obl. base*, tōrā,  
 19, 4; toh'rā, 10, 3; 45, 20.  
 tūrelē, *see*, √tūt.  
 tū, tēkar, tāūni, *see* sē.  
 triyū, 43, 15; *cf.* tirī.
- th.  
 √thar; 1 *v.m.*, thar thar, 2, 3.  
 thōr, 23, 2.
- d.  
 dam'wā, *see* dām.  
 daliyā, *see* dāl.  
 das, 40, 1.  
 dah; *lg. f.*, dah'wā, 7, 2.  
 dahi, 48, 1, 3, 4.
- dām; *lg. f.*, dam'wā, 19, 3.  
 dārun, 47, 6, 7.  
 dāl; *lg. f.*, daliyā, 45, 2.  
 dās, 49, 4.  
 diāulē, *see* √dē.  
 din, 43, 18; *lg. f.*, din'wā, 41, 4.  
 dih'lu, dih'lō, *see* √dē.  
 duārikā, 14, 1.  
 duār; *obl.*, duarā, 43, 10.  
 dukh, 44, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10.  
 dunu, *see* dū.  
 dur, 45, 15 (3 times).  
 dularū; *lg. f.*, dularuā, 3, 3.  
 dū; *emph.*, dūnō, 10, 1; 13, 3; 20,  
 3; 48, 5; 49, 3; *m.o.*, dunu, 47, 2.  
 dūj; *obl.*, dūjā, 47, 5.  
 dūdh, 9, 2; *lg. f.*, dudh'wā, 10, 3;  
 17, 2; 34, 4.  
 dūnō, *see* dū.  
 dūr, 9, 4.  
 √dūh; *cond. pres.*, 1, dūhō, 9, 3.  
 dekhāwā, *see* √dēkh.  
 debiyā, *see* dēbi.  
 dew'rā, *see* dēwar.  
 dehiyā, *see* dēh.  
 √dē; *pret.*, 1, dih'lō, 45, 1; 3, *fem.*,  
 dēli, 5, 3; *fut.*, 1, dēbō, 10, 4; 2,  
*fem.*, dēbū, 19, 3; *imperat.*, 2,  
*fem.*, dēhū, 48, 3; *perf.*, 2, *fem.*,  
 dih'lu hā, 3, 4; *caus.*, *pret.*, 2,  
 diāulē, 45, 8.  
 √dēkh; *caus.*, *imperat.*, 2, dekhāwā,  
 45, 20.  
 dēb, 48, 4.  
 dēbi, 10, 1, 2, 3; *lg. f.*, debiyā, 9, 1;  
 10, 1 (*bis*).  
 dēw'tā, *lg. f.*, dewat'wā, 8, 3.  
 dēwar; *str. f.*, dew'rā, 47, 8.  
 dēh; *lg. f.*, *fem.* (*see note*), dehiyā,  
 22, 2; 26, 1.  
 dokāchh; *lg. f.*, °kachh'wā, 27, 3.  
 dōsar, 49, 2, 3.  
 √dūūr; *pres. part.* (*used as periphr.*  
*pres.*), dūūrat, 45, 12.
- dh.  
 dhani (*Skr.* dhanya), 44, 15.

- 'wā, 14, 4. p.  
 'a, 44, 1.  
 , 43, 2; im- pairiyā-ghīchi, 46, 2.  
 21, 1 v.n. pak'ri, 27, 3.  
 hāi, 47, 5; pak'lē, see pākal.  
 used as conj. pag'ri; *lg. f.*, 'riyā, 32, 3.  
 paṭukā; *lg. f.*, 'kawā, 44, 11.  
 3. pat'wā, see pāt.  
 patra, 43, 14 (*bie*); 15 (*bie*).  
 15, 1. pan'wā, see pān.  
 paniyā, see pāni.  
 1. panihār; *fem.* 'hārin, 47, 1.  
 √par; *prot.*, 1, *fem.*, par'lyū, 7, 2;  
 3, *fem.*, par'li, 21, 3; 22, 3; *imperat.*,  
 3, pari, 30, 4; 1 v.n., pari (jāhē),  
 43, 3.  
 par (*sign of loc.*), 19, 1; 25, 2.  
 par'ti, 29, 2.  
 parikal, 17, 1, 2.  
 16, 5; *lg. f.*, parēū; *lg. f.*, parēnwā, 49, 3.  
 ; 47, 1. pahar, 45, 14.  
 √pahir; *O. pres.*, 1, pahirō, 43, 16.  
 pahil, 11, 4; *fem.* pahili, 44, 5.  
 pākal; *emph.*, pak'lō, 41, 2.  
 26, 4. pāt; *lg. f.*, pat'wā, 7, 3.  
 pātar; *fem.*, 'ri, 24, 1 (*bie*).  
 (*bie*); 14, 3; pān, 25, 4; 43, 14; *lg. f.*, pan'wā,  
 9, 4; 30, 4; 45, 1.  
 2; 46, 3. pāni, 47, 1; *lg. f.*, paniyā, 24, 3; 47,  
 , 4; 19, 4; 2, 7, 8.  
 20; 47, 2; pāyak, 13, 3.  
 √pāw; *fut.*, 1, pāibō, 43, 6.  
 pāhun, 47, 8.  
 44, 3. piās; *lg. f.*, piāsiyā, 5, 3.  
 (*bie*), 16 (3) pīr-rōg, 26, 2.  
 ; nāhi, 3, 1. piṛhai; *lg. f.*, piṛhāiyā, 44, 1, 12.  
 , 45, 22. pitā, 1, 3; 33, 3; 34, 3; 35, 3; 36, 3;  
 37, 3; 38, 3.  
 + piyan'wā, see piyan.  
 piyawalyū, see √pi.  
 , 45, 5. piyā, 6, 1; 18, 4; 26, 1 (*bie*); 43, 2,  
 , 4; *lg. f.*, piyawā, 43, 6.  
 piyā, 46, 5. piriti, 12, 2.  
 piā'nā, 17, 1.  
 4. √pi; *pres. part.*, piyat, 34, 4; *caus.*,  
 , 43, 3. *prot.*, 1, *fem.* piyawalyū (*for* pi-  
 yawālyū), 24, 3.  
 3. piar; *fem.*, 'ri, 26, 1.

pīyan; *lg. f.*, piyan'wā, 9, 4.

pīsan, 44, 4.

√pukār; *O. pres.*, 3, pukārē, 10, 1;

11, 1; *pres.*, 3, pukārelē, 4, 1; 3,

*fem.*, pukārelī, 4, 3.

purukh, 43, 15.

puruwāi; *lg. f.*, °wāiyā, 22, 1.

purāin, 7, 1.

pūtā, 44, 12 (*bis*), 15.

pēt, 30, 4.

paibō, *see* √pāw.

### ph.

√phar; *O. pres.*, 3, pharē, 42, 2;  
*pres.*, 3, pharelē, 18, 2; 49, 1.

phar, 43, 14.

phariwāh, 27, 2.

√phūt; 1 *v.n.*, phāṭi (jāuhē), 43, 5.

phār, 49, 2 (*bis*); *instr.*, phārē, 43,  
12.

√phūn; 1 *v.n.*, phūni (jāē), 39, 4;  
40, 4.

phuphunī, 45, 22.

phul'wā, *see* phūl.

phulāulī, *see* √phūl.

√phūk; *pres. part.*, phūkat, 34, 1.

√phūt; *pret.*, 3, *fem.*, phūṭali, 46, 1.

phūl, 7, 1; *lg. f.*, phul'wā, 8, 2, 3.

√phūl; *pres.*, 3, phūlelē, 44, 13;  
*poten. pass.*, *pret.*, 3, *fem.*, phulāulī,  
44, 13.

phēr; *lg. f.*, pher'wā, 8, 1.

phōr, 18, 2.

### b.

bagiyā; *see* bāg.

bagh'sar, 21, 1.

bachan, 43, 6.

bajar, 30, 4.

bāṭ'bo, *see* √bāṭ.

bāṭ'lohī; *lg. f.*, °lohiyā, 24, 1.

√baṭur; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*),  
baṭuri, 28, 4.

bar, 45, 8; *fem.*, bari, 9, 4; *adv.*, bar,  
29, 1, 3.

barhātā, 45, 5; *fem.*, °tin, 45,  
3, 10.

ban; *lg. f.*, ban'wā, 5, 1; 22, 4; *O.*

*loc.*, ban'hī, 45, 19 (*bis*); *loc.*, banē

banē, 12, 1; banē, 20, 1, 2, 3; han-  
bās, 3, 4.

√ban; *caus.*, *pret.*, 1 banāulō, 45, 1.

√bandh; *caus.*, *conj.*, *pret.*, 1, bādhitō,

43, 4; *past part.*, bānhal, 43, 6; 1

*v.n.*, bādhi (lēhū), 43, 12; (*used as*

*conj. part.*), bādh, 43, 4; *conj. part.*,  
bānh ke, 32, 3.

babur, 33, 2.

bar; *lg. f.*, bar'wā, 9, 3.

bar'tan, 44, 3.

bar'hām, 13, 2.

√baris; *O. pres.*, 3, barisē, 43, 4.

barēū; *lg. f.*, barēuwā, 32, 1.

barūhī; *lg. f.*, barohiyā, 9, 3.

balak'wā, *see* bālak.

balamuā, *see* bālamu.

√bas; *O. pres.*, basē, 6, 1; *pres.*, 3,  
baselō, 42, 3.

bas'ti, 45, 11, 12, 13, 17 (*bis*).

bas'har, 43, 1.

basulā, 14, 2.

√bah; *O. pres.*, 3, bahē, 22, 1; *pret.*,  
3, bah'lē, 39, 1; *perf.*, 3, *hom.*,  
bahal bārī, 40, 1; 1 *v.n.*, bahi (jāī),  
41, 4.

bahar, 43, 11.

bahini, 44, 11, 12, 15; *lg. f.*, bahiniyā,  
44, 13, 14.

bāhiyā, *see* bāhī.

bahuri; *lg. f.*, bahuriyā, 45, 11.

bahū; *lg. f.*, bahuā, 45, 4.

bāg; *lg. f.*, bagiyā, 43, 8, 9.

bāj; *pres.*, 3, bājelā, 2, 2; 43, 11.

√baṭ; *pres.*, 3, bā, 17, 4; 22, 4; bārē,  
45, 11; 3. *fem.*, *hom.*, bārī, 31, 3;  
40, 1; 47, 6.

√bāṭ; *fut.*, 1, bāṭ'bo, 23, 3.

bāti, 43, 1.

bādh, bādhi, bādhitō, *see* √bandh.

bān, 3, 2; 14, 4.

bānh, bānhal, *see* √bandh.

bāhā, 44, 8 (*bis*).

bālak; *lg. f.*, balak'wā, 22, 4.

- 10, 1. √bōl; *imperat.*, 2, *fem.*, bōlū, 45, 11.  
 1. bōli, 45, 11; *lg. f.*, boliyā, 11, 4.  
 brij-nārī, 43, 20.  
 1, 45, 6; 2, bh.  
 15, 7, 1. bhagat, 15, 2.  
 bhag'wān, 37, 4.  
 yāli hā, 30, bhajiyā, *see* bhāji.  
 √bhaṣ'kāw; *O. pres.*, 3, 'kāwē, 45, 14.  
 bhat'wā, *see* bhāt.  
 √bhan; *O. pres.*, 3 (*O. form*), bhanahī, 43, 20.  
 5; 49, 4. √bhar; 1 *v.n.*, bhari, 21, 2; 44, 4  
 45, 18, 19. (*bie*); 47, 2, 3; *v.n.*, oḍī, bhare,  
 riyā, 44, 5; 47, 1; *past part.*, bharal, 44, 3.  
 'mādhā, 45, bhāwar; *lg. f.*, bhāwar'wā, 33, 1.  
 bhawahī, 45, 7.  
 bhasurū, 45, 3, 5, 8, 9, 20, 22; bhasurā, 43, 10.  
 2, 6, 7. *See* √bhah'rāw; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*,  
*final vowel lengthened m.e.*), bhah'rāi, 21, 4.  
 bhāi, 33, 2; 34, 2; 35, 2; 36, 2;  
 37, 2; 38, 2; *lg. f.*, bhāiyā, 1, 1;  
 9, 1; 42, 1; 44, 1 (*bie*), 2 (*bie*), 3,  
 4 (*bie*), 5, 6 (*bie*), 7 (*bie*), 8 (*bie*), 9  
 10 (*bie*), 11 (*bie*), 12; 45, 9;  
 46, 3, 4 (*bie*), 5; 47, 8.  
 bhāji; *lg. f.*, bhajiyā, 45, 1.  
 bhāt; *lg. f.*, bhat'wā, 45, 2.  
 bhin'sar; *str. f.*, 'sarā, 45, 8.  
 √bhTj; *pret.*, 3, bhTjal, 44, 11.  
 bhūl; *lg. f.*, bhūiyā, 29, 2; 44, 3;  
 45, 10.  
 √bhūkh; *poten. pass.*, *pret.*, 3,  
 bhukhāū, 47, 8; *fem.*, bhukhāūi,  
 9, 1.  
 bheyāwan, 43, 19.  
 √bhej; *pret.*, 1, bhej'li, 23, 1.  
 bhāl, bhāli, bhāli, bhālē, *see* √hō.  
 bhoj'ni; *lg. f.*, bhojaniyā, 44, 5.  
 bhōj; bhoj'sar; *lg. f.*, bhoj'sar'wā,  
 7, 3.  
 bhāuji, 44, 9 (*bie*); bhāuji, 46, 4; *lg.*  
*f.*, bhauiyā, 47, 1.  
 49, 1.

m.

machiyā, 44, 7; 45, 3, 10.  
 maṭuki; *lg. f.*, maṭukiyā, 48, 1, 2.  
 mathurā, 48, 1.  
 madhe, 43, 14.  
 man, 44, 4 (*bis*); *loc.*, manō man, 8, 1.  
 mandōdari, 6, 1.  
 √mar; *pret.*, 3, mar'lē, 45, 19; 1 *v.n.*, mari (gālē), 36, 1, 2, 3; (gūli), 36, 4; *caus.*, *O. pres.*, 3, mārē, 28, 3; *pres.*, 2, *fem.*, mārelū; 3, mārelā, 45, 9; mārelē, 28, 2; 45, 9; *pret.*, 1, mār'lī, 48, 2 (*bis*); 2 mār'lē, 45, 18; 3, mār'lō, 49, 3 (*bis*); 1 *v.n.*, mārī (ālē), 12, 3.  
 mar, 41, 2; mar-khāūki, 41, 2.  
 mar'm; *fem.*, *lg. f.*, *emph.* (*see note, l.c.*), mar'miō, 28, 3.  
 mal'wū, *see* mālū.  
 maliya, maliniyā, *see* māli.  
 mahūdēb, 7, 4.  
 mahāl; *lg. f.*, mahaliyā, 4, 3.  
 √mahiyā; *O. pres.*, 3, mahiyāē, 22, 2.  
 mūi, 33, 4; 34, 4; 35, 4; 36, 4; 37, 4; 38, 4.  
 māḡ, 21, 2.  
 √māḡ; *pres.*, 3, *fem.*, māḡeli, 9, 2.  
 √māḡ; *pres.*, 1, māḡilō, 44, 3.  
 mātal, 46, 4, 5.  
 mātā, 1, 3; 31, 3.  
 mār'lī, mār'lē, mārī, mārelū, mārelū, mārelē, mārē, *see* √mar.  
 māla; *lg. f.*, mal'wū, 15, 3.  
 māli; *lg. f.*, maliyā, 8, 4; *fem.*, mālin, 44, 2; *lg. f.*, maliniyā, 44, 2.  
 √mil; *fut.*, 3, milihē, 43, 21; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), mili, 47, 1.  
 mili, 43, 1.  
 mūḡiyā, mūḡāūā, *see* mūḡ.  
 muṭi, 48, 1.  
 mudai; *lg. f.*, mudaiyā, 2, 4.  
 murāri; *m.c.*, murāri, 43, 21.  
 mus'ri; *lg. f.*, 'riyā, 17, 1.

mūḡ; *lg. f.*, mūḡiyā, 49, 1 (*bis*); *rad. f.*, mūḡāūā, 45, 2.  
 √me'rā; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), me'rāi, 10, 2.  
 meh'ri, 29, 3.  
 mē, *nom.*, mē, 43, 2; *gen. dir.*, mōr, 2, 4; 8, 2; 23, 4; 26, 4; 31, 4; 44, 2; 45, 7, 11, 17; 47, 3, 4, 6 (*bis*); *fem.*, mōri, 9, 4; 21, 4; 43, 18, 19; *gen. obl.*, mōrā, 48, 4; *acc. sg.*, mōrā, 22, 4.  
 mē (*sign of loc.*), 2, 2; 3, 2; 4, 2; 7, 2; 10, 4; 17, 4; 23, 3; 22, 1 (*bis*); 39, 1, 2, 3; 40, 1; 43, 3; 44, 5, 6 (*bis*).  
 mōti; *lg. f.*, motiyā, 21, 2, 4.  
 √mōr; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), mōri, 45, 4.  
 mōr, mōrā, *see* mē.  
 mōri, *see* mē, √mōr.  
 māugi, 12, 3.

y.

yār; *lg. f.*, yar'wā, 9, 1; 32, 3.

r.

rakat; *instr.*, rak'tē, 45, 13.  
 rakh'wār; *lg. f.*, °war'wū, 49, 2.  
 rāḡ'rēj, 16, 4.  
 raghu-nandan, 4, 1.  
 √ragg; *pres.*, 3, rangelā, 16, 4.  
 √rach; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), rachi, 46, 3; 47, 4. *See Addenda.*  
 raj'wū, *see* rājū.  
 ram-rēkhā; *lg. f.*, °rekh'wā, 22, 1.  
 ras; *lg. f.*, ras'wū, 23, 1, 2, 3.  
 rasik; *lg. f.*, rasik'wū, 47, 2.  
 rasoi; *lg. f.*, rasoiyā, 44, 4.  
 √rah; *pret.*, 1, rah'lī 14, 1; *fem.*, rahul'yū, 24, 1; *caus. O. pres.*, 2, rākhē, 11, 14.  
 rahari, 17, 4.  
 rākhē, *see* √rah.  
 rājā, 48, 3; *lg. f.*, raj'wā, 45, 17; °rāj, 47, 4, 5, 6.

- (*bis*); *m.c.*, *rāti*, √lāg; *pres.*, 1, lāgīā, 48, 3; 3, lāgelē, 18, 1; 29, 1, 3; *pret.*, 3, *fem.*, lāgali, 5, 3; *perf.*, 3, lāgal bū, 17, 4; 1 *v.n.*, lāgi (gāilē), 43, 17; *caus.*, *O. pres.*, 1, lagāḍ, 43, 8; 3, lagāwē, 28, 1; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), lagāi, 20, 4; *m.c.*, lagāi, 43, 13.
- f.*, rawan'wā, 2, lāgi, 47, 7, 8.
- rīdhāulḍ, 45, 2, lām, 39, 2; 40, 2.
- 18, 1, 4; 22, 2; lāl, 48, 2; *lg. f.*, *fem.*, lal'ki, 33, 3.
- 45, 16 (*bis*), 16, √lāw; *pret.*, 1, lāuli, 45, 6; 2 *fem.*, lāulā, 45, 7; 1 *v.n.* (*used as conj. part.*), lāi, 43, 9.
- nā, 44, 1-15; 45, līpan, 44, 3.
- rā, 32, 1, luluhā, 45, 4.
- √lūt; 1 *v.n.*, lūti (lēlē), 49, 3.
- √lē; *pret.*, 3, lēlē, 49, 3; *fut.*, 2, *fem.*, lēbhū, 19, 3; *imperat.*, 2, *fem.*, lēhū, 43, 12; 1 *v.n.*, lē (āilē), 6, 3; (āilē hā), 23, 2; (āwā), 45, 21 (*used as conj. part.*), 43, 2, 16; 43, 1.
- lē (*sign of abl.*), 4, 3; 10, 4; 40, 2; 45, 5.
- lē ('with'), 43, 2.
- lē; jāb lē, 29, 4.
- lēkh; *loc.*, lēkhē, 43, 18 (*fem.*), 19 (*fem.*); 43, 5 (*bis*) (*maso.*); 43, 4 (*bis*) (*maso.*).
- lōg, 19, 2; log'wā, 45, 15, 16; 26, 2, 3.
- lōṭā; *lg. f.*, loṭ'wā, 24, 2, 4.
- lōth; *lg. f.*, lothiyā, 45, 20.
- √lāg, lōri, 5, 2.
- lāūg; *pl.*, lāūgan, 45, 1.
- lāūrī; *lg. f.*, lāūriyā, 44, 6.
- laṅk'wā, 6, 2; lāuli, lāulū, *see* √lāw.
- 1, 3. w.
- laṣāulē, 45, 18; wāis; *loc.*, wāisahī, 44, 13, 14.
- 45, 17.
- larik'wā, 29, s.
- sakal, 1, 2.
- 3; 46, 3. sakhi, 46, 6; 47, 9; 48, 5; 49, 4.
- sag'rā; *fem.*, sag'rī, 23, 4; *emph.*, sag'rē, 3, 3.



sagz : *loc.*, sagzāhī, 45, 23 ; *lg. f.*,  
 sāg'wā, 34, 2 ; sagz-lōri, 5, 2.  
 sagzi : *lg. f.*, sāgiyā, 18, 1 : 23, 1.  
 sāthiyā, *see* sāthī.  
 sābh, 45, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16.  
 sābhā : *lg. f.*, sābh'wā, 44, 8.  
 'samujh : *O. pres.*, 1. samujhō, 43,  
 16 ; *caus.*, *O. pres.*, 3. samujhāwē,  
 48, 6 ; 47, 9 ; 48, 5 : 49, 4.  
 same, 13, 1.  
 'samhār : *imperat.*, 2, *resp.*, sam-  
 hārihē, 17, 3.  
 sar'g : *O. obl.*, sar'gē, 10, 2, 4.  
 sar'jū, 6, 4.  
 sar'wan, 31, 3.  
 sar'wā, *see* sār.  
 sarikhā : *lg. f.*, sarikh'wē, 45, 4.  
 sa-sur, 43, 10.  
 sahar, 45, 15, 16 ; *lg. f.* (*see note*),  
 sahariyā, 19, 2.  
 sāī *lg. f.*, sāiyā, 25, 3 : 48, 2.  
 sāgar, 47, 1, 7, 8.  
 'sāj : *pres.*, 3, sājelē, 25, 1.  
 sājh : *loc.*, sājhahī, 46, 1.  
 sāthī : *lg. f.*, sāthiyā, 45, 2.  
 sāth, 34, 2.  
 sān (*Skr.*, sajña), 12, 3.  
 sān, 14, 2.  
 sāmi : *lg. f.*, sāmiyā, 24, 3.  
 sār : *lg. f.*, sār'wā, 7, 3.  
 sār'dhā, 10, 1.  
 'sāl : *pres.*, 3, sālē, 16, 2.  
 sāwaj : *lg. f.*, sāwaj'wā, 45, 9.  
 sā-u, 45, 3, 10 ; 47, 6, 7.  
 sāgh, 45, 17.  
 sādhorā : *lg. f.*, sādhor'wā, 43, 17.  
 simar'wā, *see* simar.  
 sir, 49, 1.  
 'sijh : *pres.*, 3, sijhelē, 44, 4.  
 sitā, 4, 3 ; 5, 2, 4 : 14, 3.  
 simar : *lg. f.*, simar'wā, 8, 1.  
 suari, 15, 1.  
 suyā, *see* sūi.  
 sujan, 14, 4.  
 'sun : *imperat.*, 2, sunā, 6, 1 ; *fem.*,  
 sunā, 43, 20.  
 47, 7.  
 3 ; 48, 5.

'sumir, 1 *r.m.* (*used instead of samj.*  
*part.*) 'm.c.', sumirī, 1 (*bis*'), 2, 3.  
 'sūt : *pret.*, 1, sūt'lō, 43, 2 ; 3, sūtal,  
 46, 1 : *perf.*, 3, sūt'lē hā, 11, 2.  
 sūi : *lg. f.*, suiyā, 16, 2.  
 seān, 1, 4.  
 sē ; *nom.*, empā., sē hū, 6, 4 : 48, 1 ;  
 sē hō, 43, 6 ; *subst. obl.*, sē, 3, 3 :  
*adj. fem.*, tāūni, 43, 8 ; *gen. dir.*,  
 tēkar, 7, 4.  
 sē (*sign of obl.*), 1, 4 : 44, 7, 8, 9,  
 10 : 45, 22.  
 sāiyā, *see* sāī.  
 'sohāw : *O. pres.*, 3, sohāē, 23, 4.  
 sōn, 43, 17.

h.

har-phōr, 18, 2.  
 hath'wā, *see* hāth.  
 hans, 31, 2 ; 49, 3 ; hans-rāj, 43, 4,  
 5, 6.  
 ham : *nom.*, ham, 25, 4 : 34, 1 ; 33,  
 1, 3 ; 43, 3 ; 45, 16 ; *empā.*, ham  
 hū, 45, 17 ; *gen. dir.*, hamār, 25,  
 3 ; 36, 1, 3 ; *empā.*, ham'rō, 48, 4 ;  
*fem.*, hamari, 44, 5 ; 45, 10 ; *fem.*,  
*lg. f.*, hamariyā, 9, 1.  
 'har : 1 *r.m.*, hari (*le āile*), 6, 3.  
 hari, 13, 1.  
 harin ; *str. f.*, harinā, 45, 9.  
 haliwant, 40, 4.  
 'hūw : *pres.*, 2, hāwā, 6, 2 ; 3 hāwā,  
 39, 2, 3 ; 3 *hon.*, hāwī, 41, 1, 3 ;  
 3 (*forming perf.*), hā, 1, 4 : 3, 4 ; 5,  
 2 ; 9, 4 ; 11, 2 ; 16, 3 : 23, 2 ; 39,  
 1, 2, 3 ; 33, 1, 2, 3, 4.  
 'has : *pres.*, 3, haselā, 19, 2.  
 hāth, 47, 5 ; *lg. f.*, hath'wā, 14, 3 ;  
 15, 3 ; 32, 1 ; *instr.*, hāthē, 47, 5.  
 hār, 8, 4.  
 hārin, 47, 1.  
 hit, 23, 4.  
 hiridayā, 43, 3 ; hriday ; *loc.*, 'yē, 43,  
 13.  
 hū (*emph. particle*) ; 45, 17.  
 hūpār, 17, 4.

6, 4; 46, 1-23.	1, hōibḥ, 45, 20; <i>fut.</i> , 3, hōi, 13, 4; 19, 4; 1 <i>v.n.</i> , hōi (gāilyū), 44, 1; <i>pres. part.</i> , hōt, 45, 8.
3, hōe, 29, 2, 4; 1; bhāilē, 13, 1,	hō ( <i>emph. part.</i> ), 43, 6; 43, 1-6 ( <i>bis</i> ); 47, 1-9 ( <i>bis</i> ); 48, 1-5 ( <i>bis</i> ).
4; 35, 1, 2, 3; <i>em.</i> , bhāili, 26, 1;	√hōkh; <i>pres.</i> , 1, <i>fem.</i> , hōkhyū, 43, 11; <i>imperat.</i> , 2, hōkhā, 48, 3 ( <i>bis</i> ). 4; 45, 20; <i>fut.</i> , hāū, 19, 3.

## ADDENDA.

*bir'hā* refers to the legend of Tripura, the city which was burnt in a war with the gods. Led by Dāityas, who had obtained a boon to which they could not be destroyed until the Hindū assumed the shape of animals. They had a drinking *amṛita*, and when any of them was quarrelling with the gods, his body was dipped in it, and he was killed. Thereupon Çiva assumed the form of a snake, and the reservoir dry, while Viṣṇu became a horse, and the *mā* the bridle and whip. The sun and moon were the wheels of the chariot to which the horse was harnessed. In which Çiva rode, and destroyed the demon. According to this legend, Çiva was the clever and victorious hero in the song.

The √कहा means literally, 'to be very eager after anything'; hence, 'to run eagerly after'. Thus, ऊ बड़ कहाइल बाटे 'he is very eager.' Similarly, it is used as a synonym of √फका 'to run'.

√बिसभोर is common in vulgar speech, and √साव here means 'to put.'

रहि, रवे, or रहि are said to be corruptions of रहि, 46, note 2. रहि प्रक, रहि प्रक, or रहि प्रक (etc.), commonly mean like तनि प्रक or तनि प्रक; hence 'kindly,' or 'be good enough to' please. This note must be taken as qualifying 46 referred to above.

ART. XIII.—*Observations on the various Texts and Translations of the so-called "Song of Meysūn"; an Inquiry into Meysūn's claim to its Authorship; and an Appendix on Arabic Transliteration and Pronunciation.*<sup>1</sup> By J. W. REDHOUSE, M.R.A.S., Litt.D., C.M.G., etc., etc.

DR. CARLYLE's book, "Specimens of Arabic Poetry," may be somewhat scarce, and Captain, now Sir R., Burton's "Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah" gives only an English version, without the Arabic text, of the little piece of poetry attributed to Meysūn, the mother of the second Damascus Caliph of the house of 'Umeyya, Yezid son of Mu'āwiya son of 'Ebū-Sufyān Ṣakhr son of Ḥarb, etc.

Mr. Freeland has, therefore, rendered a real service to the many lovers of old Arabian literature by printing in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. XVIII. p. 90, a complete and fully-vowelled text of the ditty, as this allows them to compare it with the very free rhymed and metrical versions made by himself, by Sir R. Burton, and by Dr. Carlyle. Their talented, but somewhat florid productions disguise altogether the real form and the simplicity of the little poem. I have imagined, therefore, that a closer verbal prose translation of its distichs would not be a disservice to the cause of Arabic studies in England.

A valued and talented friend, one of the Members of our Society, Mr. E. J. W. Gibb, has kindly put my prose trans-

<sup>1</sup> As this paper may be considered illustrative of its author's method of Arabic transliteration, the native names are left precisely as spelt in the MS.; not modified to be in accordance with the orthography usually adopted in the Journal. The author, however, prefers a straight stroke under the letters *h* and *z*, instead of the dot (*h* & *z*) as used throughout this article; see his reasons on p. 308.—En.

metrical form, with the same kind of monotone used in the Arabic original,—a system of which he expresses a great attachment, and which he had much experience.

I request our readers of our Journal to compare these five versions with another, I here copy those of Dr. Carlyle, while Mr. Freeland's rendering, with his Arabic text, can be studied at p. 90-91 of the same volume.

He says (according to Mr. Clouston's "Arabic English Readers") :

THE SONG OF MAISUNA.

In russet suit of camel's hair,  
With spirits light and eye serene,  
Dearer to my bosom far,  
Than all the trappings of a queen.

The humble tent, and murmuring breeze,  
That whistles through its fluttering walls,  
By unassuming fancy please,  
Better than towers and splendid halls.

I' attendant colts, that bounding fly,  
And frolic by the litter's side,  
Are dearer in Maisuna's eye,  
Than gorgeous mules in all their pride.

The watch-dog's voice, that bays whene'er  
A stranger seeks his master's cot,  
Sounds sweeter in Maisuna's ear,  
Than yonder trumpet's long-drawn note.

The rustic youth, unspoiled by art,  
Son of my kindred, poor but free,  
Will ever to Maisuna's heart,  
Be dearer, pampered fool, than thee."

Dr. Carlyle's "Pilgrimage," vol. iii. p. 262, has :

Take these purple robes away,  
Give back my cloak of camel's hair,  
And bear me from this tow'ring pile  
To where the Black Tents flap i' the air.

The camel's colt with falt'ring tread,  
 The dog that bays at all but me,  
 Delight me more than ambling mules—  
 Than every art of minstrelsy.  
 And any cousin, poor but free,  
 Might take me, fatted ass! from thee."

From a comparison of these two versions, it is evident that Dr. Carlyle and Sir R. Burton have used the same Arabic recension, in five distichs, for their renderings, however widely these two differ in form and in words. Sir R. Burton's is less diffuse than that of Dr. Carlyle. The latter uses the expression 'pampered fool' where Sir R. Burton has 'fatted ass.' I had imagined, with only Mr. Freeland's Arabic text to judge from, that these two offensive variants were perhaps either poetic licences, or that the text or texts they had used had the word عَجَل 'a calf,' in the last hemistich, where Mr. Freeland gives the anagram عِلْج. In that case, عَجَلٌ عَلِيفٌ would have meant, correctly rendered, 'foddered calf,' easily turned by poetic licence into both 'pampered fool' and 'fatted ass.'

My friend Mr. Gibb has, however, latterly favoured me with a copy of Dr. Carlyle's Arabic original, from the second edition of his "Specimens," London, 1810; and this has the same word, عَلِج, given by Mr. Freeland. Neither of their translations has, unfortunately, a trace of either of the two real meanings of the term عَلِج, viz. 1st, 'an ass, wild or domestic, strong and fat;' 2nd, 'a man, foreign and non-Muslim' (i.e. an outlandish barbarian). But, as its accompanying adjective, عَلِيف, means, 'home-fed, foddered, not pastured or pasturing,' the two words combined can only indicate 'a fodder-fed domestic ass,' the alternative signification, 'an outlandish barbarian,' being, consequently, out of the question. Neither Dr. Carlyle nor Sir F. Burton is quite right, therefore, in this respect, as Dr. Carlyle's 'pampered fool' and Sir R. Burton's 'fatted ass' are somewhat wide of the original expression, 'a fodder-fed ass.'

re Dr. Carlyle's Arabic text for comparison. The text contains some variants from the recension. Omitting the fifth and sixth lines for the present, the two texts follow the same verses.

قالت ميسون بنت بحدل  
 للبس عبا وتقر عينى \* احب الى من لب  
 وبيت تخفق الارواح فيه \* احب الى من قد  
 وبكر يتبع الاطعان صعب \* احب الى من  
 وكلب ينهم الاضياف دونى \* احب الى من

وخرق من بنى عمى فقير \* احب الى من

Gibb has again informed me, Messrs. Henry and Co. published some part of an Arabic work, but translated and annotated by a lady, I think, in which the song of Meysūn is given as, like that of Mr. Freeland; evidently the same but arranged in a different order. Her text thus:

that the winds make tremble  
 dearer to me than a noble palace;  
 a dish of crumbs on the floor of my home  
 dearer to me than a varied feast;  
 the sighing of the breeze through every crevice  
 dearer to me than the beating of drums;  
 a camel's wool abâh which gladdens my eye  
 dearer to me than filmy robes;  
 a dog barking around my path  
 dearer to me than a coaxing cat;  
 a restive young camel, following the litter,  
 dearer to me than a pacing mule;  
 a feeble boor from midst my cousinhood,  
 dearer to me than a rampant ass.

The numbers in parentheses show Mr. Freeland's order of the distichs, for the sake of comparison. The words of each distich are mainly, essentially, the same in the two versions. Mrs. Clerk's translation is much closer to the Arabic text than either Dr. Carlyle's, or Sir R. Burton's, as a whole; though several words are incorrectly rendered, and many of the ideas incorporated in the lady's imagery are taken from Western life, not redolent of the Desert.

Mrs. Clerk's notice of Meysūn is to the following effect: "Mīsūn, the daughter of Bahdal, was married to Mu'āwiyah, and he brought her from amongst the wandering Arabs into Damascus. But she sorrowed exceedingly for her people at the remembrance of her home; and one day, whilst he was listening to her, he heard her reciting and saying" the verses given above. "Upon hearing these lines, Mu'āwiyah exclaimed, 'The daughter of Bahdal was not satisfied until she had likened me to a rampant ass!' And he ordered her to be packed off again to her family in the desert."

In a note, Mrs. Clerk says further: "She had an excellent genius for poetry; and at Mu'āwiyah's command, took her son Yezid (Mu'āwiyah's successor) with her into the desert among her own relations, in order to inspire him with poetic sentiments."

A foot-note in Sir R. Burton's "Pilgrimage" informs us as follows: "The British reader will be shocked to hear that by the term 'fatted ass,' the intellectual lady alluded to her husband. The story is, that Muawiyah, overhearing the song, sent back the singer to her cousins and beloved wilds. Maysunah departed, with her son Yezid, and did not return to Damascus till the 'fatted ass' had joined his forefathers."

Dr. Carlyle (in Mr. Clouston's book) gives the same story, but in more reserved terms, ending thus: "As a punishment for her fault, he ordered her to retire from court. Maisuna immediately obeyed, and, taking her infant son Yezid with her, returned to Yemen; nor did she revisit Damascus till after the death of Mowiah, when Yezid ascended the throne."

writes "Misûn" instead of Meysûn. But, he's ميسون, though he transliterates 'Maisuna,' ; Mr. Freeland's مَيْسُون, transliterated by him as the true name, as is confirmed in the Qāmūs al-Arab al-Fuṣṣalī, where it is said : مَيْسُونُ أَسْمٌ وَهِيَ بِنْتُ بَحْدَلٍ "and Meysûn is the name of the mother of Yezid son of Mu'āwiya.' The name's 'Maysunah' is, therefore, quadruply correct, the first vowel being, correctly, the soft *e*, not the hard *a*; while the second vowel is long, *û*; and the third is a noble interpolation.

As to Mr. Freeland's text, p. 90, any one may see that if entirely uninstructed in Arabic, that it is a right-hand side of the left-hand column of the page, he looks at the page, a perpendicular row of seven times repeated, once in each line, *أَحَبُّ إِلَيَّ مِنْ*. These words simply mean: (were) lovelier . . . This one reiterated expression, then, in each clause, the second hemistich, of each verse without the alteration of a single letter or vowel, libly stamps the type of the whole poem in a simple, remarkable manner.

The reader next examine the versions of Dr. Burton, and Mr. Freeland, comparing them with the original's rendering. He will perceive that they have systematically shunned this sevenfold, characteristic words; they have striven to give a variety of expression, as uniformity,—they have attempted "to gild and paint the lily," and they have merely overthrown simplicity with a series of Western em-

metrical prose translation offered below for comparison gives as close an approximation to the original as I have been able to compass, in about the same number of syllables; and my friend Mr. Gibb's version which follows it, without losing sight of the metre, will be found, I trust, by our readers, to exhale,



like the sweet wood-violet, an aroma as delicately poetic as the very simple ideas, clothed in the artless words of the poem, can well be made to furnish.

#### MEYSUN'S DIRTY.

To dress in camlet smock, with tearless, cheerful eye,  
 Were lovelier to me than gauzy webs to wear.  
 A tent through which the winds should waft their fluttering breeze,  
 Were lovelier to me than sumptuous princely bower.  
 A wayward camel-colt, behind the litter-train,  
 Were lovelier to me than nimbly-pacing mule.  
 A dog that bayed the coming guests not yet at hand,  
 Were lovelier to me than fondly-coaxing cat.  
 To eat a crumblet in a tent's retiring nook  
 Were lovelier to me than eating breadcake bun.  
 The hoarse, loud roarings of the winds in every glen,  
 Were lovelier to me than timbrels' clattering pulse.  
 A generous, slender youth, one of my uncle's sons,  
 Were lovelier to me than any foddered ass.

Mr. Gibb's versified rendering is as follows :

#### MEYSUN'S DIRTY.

To dress in camlet smock with cool and placid cyne,  
 Were liefer far to me than robes of gauze to wear;  
 A tent, wherethrough the winds in gentle wafts should breathe,  
 Were liefer far to me than palace haught and fair;  
 A wayward camel-colt behind the litter-train,  
 Were liefer far to me than hinny debonair;  
 A dog that bayed the guests ere yet they came me nigh,  
 Were liefer far to me than cat with fondling air;  
 To eat a scantling meal aside within the tent,  
 Were liefer far to me than feast on dainties rare;  
 The soughing moan of winds that blow through every glen,  
 Were liefer far to me than sounding tabors' blare;  
 A slim but generous youth from 'mong my uncle's sons,  
 Were liefer far to me than foddered ass, I swear.

now in a position to choose for himself which versions given of this little Arabian song, he may think best adapted to convey its real variants in Dr. Carlyle's text, as compared with Mr. Freeland, of عبا for عَبَّاقُو, of تَحْتَقِق for زَكُوف, are not of much consequence, the latter being probably a printer's error. His هز الدفوف, states that the sixth line of Mr. Freeland's is altogether unknown to some copyist through whom Dr. Carlyle's text was derived, as that distich ends with which the نَقْر is a synonym with Dr. Carlyle's نَقْر, again, is apparently a clerical substitute for هَز, two distichs having been thus erroneously substituted. The substitution of مَحْفِيْف for فَاقِيْر accounts for Mr. Freeland's expression of 'poor,' where Mr. Freeland's rendering of 'slim,' 'thin,' 'slender,' or the like. Mr. Freeland's free-and-easy rendering suggests this kind.

In the distichs of Mrs. Clerk's version in the order of Dr. Carlyle's text, it may be remarked that she has substituted the expression in No. 1 about the eye. It is 'ah' that is to gladden the eye; but it is 'a' together with a cool, i.e. an unreddened, careless, cheerful eye; or, in other words, "a happiness of mind were lovelier, dearer to me than No. 2, again, it should not be that 'the winds flutter the tent; but that the winds flutter as they pass the tent. In No. 3, 'litter' should be *litters*, several or many litters. In No. 4, "around the tent" is a thoroughly Western misconception of what is meant *in front of me*, i.e. between them and me, &c. In No. 5, "varied feast" is too far from the truth words; the comparison is between a dry morsel, "a crumble," and a fresh-baked, soft

cake of bread, usually eaten in Syria, etc., with other food at meals. In No. 6, "crevice" is not right; and in No. 7, the *خَرَقُ* of the text is the very reverse of "a boor," and really means *a fine, noble fellow*; while "rampant" is wrong altogether, unless we are to read, as is given further on, in Ziyā Pasha's recension, *عَلِيف* for *عَنِيف* after *عَلِج*.

The text given by Ziyā Pasha (then Ziyā Bey) in a three-volume collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish poems, to which he gave the name of *خَرَائِبَات*, is found in vol. ii. p. 442, of the collection. It does not agree in the sequence of the distichs with either of those of Mr. Freeland or Mrs. Clerk, except as to the last, and only important one. This occupies the same place in all three, as also in the versions of Dr. Carlyle and Sir R. Burton. Several variant words occur, too, in the distichs. No vowels are given. In the following copy Mr. Freeland's order of the distichs is again shown in the parentheses.

- 1 بيت تخفق الريح منه \* احب الى من قصر منيف (2)
- 2 ولبس عباءة وتقرعيني \* احب الى من لبس الشفوف (1)
- 3 واكل كسيرة في كسريتي \* احب الى من اكل الرغيف (5)
- 4 واصوات الرياح بكل فج \* احب الى من نقر الدفوف (6)
- 5 وكلب ينبع الطراق دوني \* احب الى من قط الوف (4)
- 6 وبكر يتبع الاطلال معب \* احب الى من بغل ردوف (3)
- 7 وخرق من بنى عى نحيف \* احب الى من علج عنيف (7)

The variant words are, in 1, *الارواح* for *فيه* *الرياح* منه; in 3, *بيتي* for *بيتي*; in 5, *الاضياف* for *الطراق*, and *قط* for *هر*; in 6, *الاطلال* for *الاطلعان*, and *ردوف* for *زفوف*; and in 7, the last word, *عنيف* for *عليف*.

Of these variants, *الارواح* and *الاضياف* are both correct and synonymous plurals of *الريح* *the wind*; *فيه* means *in it*, while

from it; in 3, *بَيْتِي* my tent, is for *بَيْت* of a *الطَّرَاقُ* the sudden, unexpected droppers-in by ace of *الْأَصْيَافُ* the guests; while *هَرَّ* and *فَطَّ* are cat; in 6, *الْأَطْلَالُ*, pl. of *طَلَّلَ*, means the erectures (of men), while *الْأَظْعَانُ*, pl. of *ظَعَنَ*, litters in which women sit when travelling; to be a misprint; and in 7, *عَلِمَجْ عَنِيفٍ* a coarse tiresome lout, is a much more apposite converse *عَلِمَجْ عَلِيْفٍ* a slender, generous youth, than is *عَلِمَجْ عَلِيْفٍ* is. Were the poem to be edited anew, this should be adopted as the better and probably

The distich could then be rendered :

der, generous youth, one of my uncle's sons,  
ovelier to me than any tiresome lout."

Considering that, as none of the distichs except imposed of two rhyming hemistichs, it would tter if this distich also were deprived of its ic might feel inclined to prefer Dr. Carlyle's of the first hemistich, and the distich might ranslation :

s youth, though poor, one of my uncle's sons,  
lier to me than rude, offensive lout."

" and "generous," again, are not very usual tants; and a word such as *شَفِيفٌ* tender-hearted, te, *نَمِيلٌ* noble, etc., if met with in any variant ould make a better antithesis to *عَنِيفٍ*, and ll more preferable alternative to *مُحِيفٌ* or *فَقِيرٌ* h here treated of.

le, very artless poem, it may be said that the *كَبِيرٌ* in distich No. 1, and of *اَكْلٌ* in distich No. s blemishes. The repetition of *بَيْتٌ* in distichs the virtual repetition of *أَرْيَاحٌ* and *أَرْوَاحٌ* in

distichs 2 and 6, are still open to objection, though less so than the former. The variation of the rhyming long vowels, by the use of four letters, *ج*, and three letters, *ى*, is at best a permissible licence in Arabic verse, is not tolerated in Persian or Turkish, and cannot be taken as adding beauty to the poem. The sevenfold repetition may be taken, perhaps, as a very effectual mark of individuality in the composition, which thus stands unparalleled, very likely, and can therefore be held to constitute a kind of beauty not advisable to imitate. We may, therefore, look upon "Meysūn's Poem" as a somewhat faulty, though striking, artless ballad, well adapted to captivate the rude, uncultivated children of the desert and villagers, so as to elicit their applause on being recited. We shall then have said as much in its praise as its subject admits of; and this preference for desert-life shown in its words may, it seems, have given to our own poet, Moore, the germ of the idea from which he evolved his charming little gem of "Fly to the desert, fly with me!" which is as untrue, in reality, as it is specious and captivating to young, ardent minds, unacquainted with the hard lot of incessant toil, frequent starvation, and ceaseless blood-feuds, of which the life of the desert is chiefly made up.

But a much more serious question arises with reference to the supposed authorship of this little Arabic ditty; more especially since it is known that Ziyā Pasha, himself a poet of high standing and research, avows himself ignorant of its composer. In a marginal note he has laconically marked the poem as being "by an author unknown." One would imagine that he must certainly have known that common rumour has for ages attributed it to Meysūn; and he may, therefore, in his judgment, have deliberately and definitively rejected this parentage. Before I had heard of his marginal note, I had myself felt inclined to doubt, urged by considerations of the status and known or probable precedents, respectively, of the *dramatis personæ* of the little burletta. Did, then, Meysūn

ose or even sing these verses? Did Mu'āwiya,  
 r sing them on a chance occasion, dismiss her  
 m his home—from his mansion of governor, for  
 overeign until many years later? His son and  
 d, from his recorded age of 34 at his accession,  
 a born not many years after Mu'āwiya became  
 amascus for the second caliph 'Umer; and  
 r the two foregoing questions with any degree  
 we must trace the history, not of Mu'āwiya  
 e rise and early progress of Islām, as follows :  
 father, 'Ebu-Sufyān Ṣakhr son of Ḥarb son  
 whence the name of the 'Umeyyid dynasty),  
 57 (A.D. 565), being Muḥammed's senior by  
 s. He was a rich, travelling merchant, became  
 ain of the Qureysh tribe (from a branch of  
 ḥimida, Muḥammed also sprang), and a kind  
 ayor, Sheykh of Mekka. He bravely, sternly  
 mmed in the field for some years, but failed,  
 success. When Muḥammed, in the eighth  
 nigration (Hijra) from Mekka to Medīna, and  
 f his age, advanced at length with a resistless  
 ived the submission of his native place, he was  
 distance from the holy city, first by his own  
 'Abbās, slightly his superior in age (who had  
 endly to him, and whose descendants eventually  
 bbāsīd caliphs), and then by his hitherto deter-  
 'Ebu-Sufyān, aged sixty-five (and whom 'Umer  
 ed, had not Muḥammed restrained him). These  
 ie made their profession of 'Islām, were accepted  
 d, and followed him into Mekka. There and  
 rife of 'Ebu-Sufyān, with her two sons, Yazīd  
 ie) and Mu'āwiya (aged thirty), also avow their  
 am. Mu'āwiya even professed to have secretly  
 hith two years earlier, when Muḥammed made  
 udeybiyya with the Mekkans. 'Ebu-Sufyān's

daughter, Mu'āwiya's sister, 'Ummu-Ḥabība Remla, had already been married in that sixth year of the Hījra (A.D. 628), as a widow, to Muḥammed, having, with her first husband, early adopted 'Islām, and with him joined the former emigration to Abyssinia. There he died, and there she was betrothed by proxy to Muḥammed, joining him later at Medīna. Mu'āwiya was therefore Muḥammed's brother-in-law.

'Ebu-Sufyān, with his two sons, Yazīd and Mu'āwiya, as well as 'Abbās, fought for 'Islām under Muḥammed in the battle of Huneyn after the conquest of Mekka, in the same year, A.H. 8 (A.D. 630). They each received from Muḥammed, as a share of the spoil captured through the victory, one hundred camels and forty ounces of silver. 'Ebu-Sufyān was present, later in the same year, at the siege and capture of Tā'if, where he lost an eye by a wound.

Mu'āwiya, the younger of the two sons of 'Ebu-Sufyān, was henceforward employed by Muḥammed as one of his secretaries, scribes, or amanuenses; being one of twenty-three whose names are recorded as having served in that capacity, some more, some less. Zeyd son of Thābit was the most usual scribe, and Mu'āwiya stands next; having served so more than any of the remaining one-and-twenty, although the whole of the first four caliphs, 'Ebu-Bekr, 'Umer, 'Uthmān, and 'Aliyy, are included among them by history.

Muḥammed died in A.H. 11 (A.D. 632) at Medīna, and was succeeded by 'Ebū-Bekr, "the Most Faithful," as guide and ruler of young and orphaned 'Islām; spontaneously elected by his peers, the acknowledged leaders of the infant community. He took the title of Khalīfa (substitute; whence our "caliph"). He had first to recall to their faith and allegiance many of the tribes of Arabia. Then, in A.H. 12 (A.D. 633), he sent an army to oppose the Romans in southern trans-Jordanic Syria. He gave the chief command to Yazīd, Mu'āwiya's elder brother, son of 'Ebu-Sufyān. Yazīd re-

the Roman levies opposed to him, and sent Medina, the "City of the Prophet," where he was buried; his grave, with those of his three predecessors, being piously visited to this day. He accompanied his brother Yazid in this expedition, and attended him as long as they both lived. They returned to Arabia from Syria.

These successes paved the way to the further despatch of reinforcements to Medina; and these were put under the command of 'Āṣi (written also 'Āṣ). In his younger days he persecuted Muḥammed with insulting jeers and taunts. He now showed himself a zealous and good general, and, later on, a no less skilful

more numerous levies were gradually forwarded coming from all Arabia, 'Amr was directed to Palestine, while Yazid advanced on the road to Damascus, and other captains were sent to different quarters. The chief command was entrusted to 'Ebū-'Ubeyda, . . . . . Though eminently prudent, he lacked all celerity, and ability. Success now seemed to the Romans, conquest came to a standstill. 'Ebū-'Ubeyda, recalled from Babylonia, where he had begun his career, felt, the redoubtable Khalid, son of Welid, "Sword of God," to infuse new vigour into the army. In a short time Busrā (Bostra) fell to his hands, Damascus was besieged.

The emperor Heraclius, then holding his court at Constantinople, sent a large force to relieve Damascus. The siege suspended to go and meet these reliefs. The Roman succours defeated in the field, twice the second time at 'Ejnādeyn (Aznadin), near Damascus.

After this, Damascus did not long hold out against Muslim hosts. But on the very day of its fall, 'Ebū-Bekr breathed his last at Medina,



when sixty-three years of age, in A.H. 13 (A.D. 634). He was succeeded by 'Umer, son of Khattāb, now fifty-three years old. This caliph reappointed 'Ebu-'Ubeyda to the chief command, and Baalbek was taken in A.H. 15 (A.D. 636). Emessa (Hims) was next occupied, after Resten and Sheyzer had surrendered.

'Ebu-'Ubeyda now went southwards to meet a fourth Roman army under the emperor's son Constantine, who was at Cæsarea (Cæsarea Philippi, Banyās?) with fifty thousand men. They were met, however, by a still larger force of eighty thousand, under a general named Manuel, who had been further reinforced by sixty thousand Christian Arabians from the trans-Jordan regions, under Jebela, son of 'Eyhem, the last king of the line of Gassān, who later embraced 'Islām, but again apostatized. The two opposing forces met on the banks of the Yermūk river, the Hieromax of classical authors. A battle ensued and lasted several days, the Romans being at length utterly defeated, and Manuel killed in A.H. 15 (Nov. A.D. 636). The victors returned to Damascus.

The caliph 'Umer now ordered the siege of Jerusalem. Yezīd son of 'Ebu-Sufyān led the van from Damascus, and 'Ebu-'Ubeyda followed with the main force. After four months' siege, Jerusalem offered to capitulate on condition that the caliph should come from Medina to take possession. He did so, and the surrender took place in A.H. 17 (A.D. 638).

Aleppo and Antioch next fell to the Muslim arms that same year, and from this latter city the Roman emperor Heraclius fled to Constantinople.

On the other hand, the caliph 'Umer, after the capture of Jerusalem, ordered 'Amr son of 'Āṣi to proceed to the conquest of Egypt. He first laid siege to Cæsarea, and sent Yezīd son of 'Ebu-Sufyān to attack Tyre, which was given up to him by treachery, as Tripoli of Syria had been delivered to the Muslims before. Constantine now left his

ated to Cæsarea Palæstinæ on the sea-coast; tely fled thence by sea, and this town was 'Amr son of 'Āsi. Other places fell in suc- conquest of Syria was completed in the fifth iph, and latter part of A.H. 17 (A.D. 639). A broke out at Emmaus, and spread all over hich both 'Ebu-'Ubeyda and Yezid son of ed in A.H. 18 (A.D. 640), the latter leaving no ointing his younger brother Mu'āwiya to his command over Damascus and Syria. He popular name of Yezid the Good.

A.H. 20 (A.D. 641) the caliph 'Umer made of 'Ebu-Sufyān governor of Syria, as he had ns until then of his deceased brother. He was r-two years of age, and continued governor for during the caliphates of 'Umer, 'Uthmān, and ad 'Aliyy at first, and next he and 'Aliyy's an, were rival caliphs during the last five or at period; but 'Aliyy being murdered at Kūfa n A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), and Hasan resigning āwiya was at length universally acknowledged ph of 'Islām in A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), being then s old.

a son of 'Ebu-Sufyān died in A.H. 60 (A.D. son and successor Yezid was thirty-four years ter was, consequently, born in A.H. 26 (A.D. here is no mention made of his having had any e, his father most probably took Yezid's mother e in A.H. 25 (A.D. 645), the year after he was is government by the third caliph 'Uthmān. likely, at that time from twelve to fourteen d Mu'āwiya was forty-seven.

d asked permission of the caliph 'Umer to fit e coast; but 'Umer was averse from the project. murdered in A.H. 24 (A.D. 644), and 'Uthmān

succeeded him, 'Uthmān gave the required sanction. In A.H. 26 (A.D. 646), then, the very year of his son Yazīd's birth, he sent his first ships to sea, and the firstfruits of the expedition was the capture of Aradus and Cyprus. The defeat of a Roman fleet was the next exploit. Then Crete and Malta were visited, and Rhodes captured. Old Phenician days had returned. Another Roman fleet was beaten on the coast of Asia Minor; every port in those parts was thrown into a state of alarm, and the harbour of Constantinople itself was the scene of naval hostilities. Such was Mu'āwiya at and about the time of Yazīd's birth.

The caliph 'Uthmān now dismissed the conqueror and governor of Egypt, the talented 'Amr, son of 'Āṣi. He appointed in 'Amr's stead his own foster-brother, 'Abdu-llāh son of Sa'd. Troubles broke out in Medina itself, ending in the assassination of the caliph in A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), and the proclamation of 'Aliyy, son of 'Ebū-Ṭalib, Muḥammed's cousin-german and son-in-law. He had married the youngest of the prophet's daughters, Fāṭima, and by her was the father of Ḥasan and Ḥuseyn, who were about seven and six years of age, respectively, when Muḥammed and also their mother died in one year. From these five, Muḥammed, Fāṭima, 'Aliyy, Ḥasan, and Ḥuseyn, are descended, through fathers or mothers, all the Seyyids and Sherifs of 'Islām. The five are known as "*the holy mantle family*, 'ehlu'l kisā'."

But Mu'āwiya accused 'Aliyy of being privy to, if not of covertly instigating, the murder of 'Uthmān. He proclaimed himself the avenger of the slaughtered ruler, and his party saluted him as caliph. He called to his councils the talented 'Amr son of 'Āṣi, promising to reinstate him in Egypt. Armies were levied on each side, and in A.H. 37 (A.D. 657) the two conflicting Muslim hosts, 'Aliyy's from Babylonia, and Mu'āwiya's from Syria, came in sight at Siffin, on the bank of the Euphrates, and fought several severe battles with balanced success. Negotiations were set on foot; and it was

for the peace of 'Islām and avoidance of further rivals should defer the question of the caliphate and should meanwhile retire, each to his own iwiya named as his umpire the astute and son of 'Āṣi, and 'Aliyy another. These met, ay, at Dumetu-'l-Jendel (the biblical Dumah, cf, Palgrave's 'Djowf'), on the south border of art. By a stratagem, 'Aliyy was deposed by e, and 'Amr son of 'Āṣi proclaimed Mu'āwiya and rightful caliph.

rivals, notwithstanding, kept possession of what in A.H. 40 (A.D. 660), 'Aliyy was murdered in l. His eldest son Ḥasan, then 36 years old, his place by his party. Difficulties arising, n made terms with Mu'āwiya, abdicated, and na with his younger brother Ḥuseyn.

us became at length, in A.H. 41 (A.D. 661), the iph of 'Islām. His father 'Ebū-Sufyān had earlier, in A.H. 31, at the age of eighty-six. was now fifteen years old. His dynasty, the yya, the 'Umayyids, vulgarly denominated by Ommiads, ruled for ninety-one years, until 749), when they were exterminated by the 'Abbās, the 'Abbāsids. They conquered all avaded Spain, and pushed on, in the east, to a.

rrounded himself with men of talent; and ices Roman or Greek science began to be he Arabian Muslims, in addition to their own and the various nascent branches of Muslim sophy, tradition, law, etc. This is not to be hen we reflect what numbers of Roman citizens abraced 'Islām, many of them persons of rank, arning. Faithful to his promise, Mu'āwiya ediatly the able 'Amr son of 'Āṣi in his

government of Egypt, where he died and was buried in A.H. 43 (A.D. 663).

Mu'awiya now, A.H. 44 (A.D. 664), made an effort to obtain possession of the capital of the eastern empire of Rome, the city of Constantine the Great. His general was the veteran Sufyān son of 'Abdu-'llāh, who had under his command Mu'awiya's only son Yazīd, aged 18, the younger son of the murdered caliph 'Aliyy, Huseyn, aged 46, and the venerable 'Ebu-'Eyyūb Khālīd son of Zeyd, who, forty-four years before, at Medina, had been the host of Muḥammed for a month, on his first arrival as a fugitive from Mekka; besides other warriors of renown or promise. Six years were unavailingly consumed in this distant enterprise. 'Ebu-'Eyyūb was one of its victims. His death occurred about the year A.H. 50 (A.D. 670); and a mausoleum was built over his grave in later days, having by its side the cathedral mosque where the Ottoman Sultan-Caliphs now assume the sabre at their ceremonial accession.

Mu'awiya's only son Yazīd, born, as before mentioned, in A.H. 26 (A.D. 646), had married, when only sixteen years of age, in A.H. 42 (A.D. 662), and had become a father the year following, A.H. 43 (A.D. 663), before he went to seek renown at the siege of Constantinople. After his return from thence, when Ḥasan, the eldest son of the former caliph 'Aliyy, was poisoned at Medina, as was said, in A.H. 49 (A.D. 680), Yazīd, then twenty-three years old, was accused or suspected, perhaps by sectarian or family enemies of his line, of having instigated Ḥasan's murder by one of the wives of the victim, so as to clear the way to his own succession. But the murdered man left a brother; and they both had several sons. Moreover, Yazīd did not succeed his father until eleven years later, A.H. 60 (A.D. 679), as Mu'awiya lived to be eighty years old, or more. Yazīd was then thirty-four, reigned but five years, in A.H. 65 (A.D. 684), and had for his successor his only Mu'awiya II., aged twenty-two. He abdicated after a

ix months, and died soon afterwards, the direct at Mu'awiya thus becoming extinct, and the ssing to collaterals.

ursory survey we see that history is silent id son of Mu'awiya and his mother Meysun of his birth until his father sent him to the ntinople when he was eighteen years old, and 7a was an undisputed and mighty monarch. efore, be directly disproved that Meysun was inging her song, or that she took her son away may be remarked that the words said to have to her on the occasion by Mu'awiya, "Rejoin e," do not constitute a full divorce *a vinculo* Islām, but are recallable.

se that she was dismissed to her own kin s about a year old, he may have been recalled as soon as was deemed necessary for his is was, apparently, completed when he was rry at the age of sixteen, and was sent to the ntinople when eighteen. If he remained with he was eight or ten, he may have imbibed rom her kindred, sufficient to be improved by eachers provided by his father, a man of mark ning of the period. His training by such hat time till he was sixteen, and even eighteen, le must by then have acquired enough of the ity of diction and poetic eloquence to warrant he has left of being an accomplished orator extemporiser of verse. The Arabian tribesmen, med's advent, as they are still, were, many of ribes and first-rate oral poets, whose verses de over the whole peninsula, to be repeated at gs even to our day. Almost all the early im were famed as poets also.

the possibilities, what, on the other hand, .

the probabilities that common sense may educe out of the meagre details that must serve as the premisses to any conclusion as to Meysūn and the poem attributed to her?

We learn, in short, from the historical fragments given above, that 'Ebu-Sufyān, and also his two sons, Yezīd the Good and Mu'āwiya, were men of talent and learning. Verses by the father have come down to us; Yezīd was a successful leader; and Mu'āwiya excelled in all the qualities that go to make up a great ruler. They all three went to Syria after Muhammed's death, aided in the conquest of that country, and died there. Mu'āwiya, more especially, after he became governor of that province, made himself so beloved or feared that he ultimately became the greatest potentate of his time, as he was also a most generous patron of talent and learning.

Was he, then, the man, the prince, in the early years of his delegated governorship, when he must have been most prudent and circumspect, most careful of all his words and actions, when Meysūn was newly united to him, and his only son Yezīd was an infant, when all his powers of body and mind were at their prime, or in their early maturity; was he a man likely to take to himself, in the first place, as his wife, a raw, untutored child of the desert, and was the young lady he selected as his partner likely to have preserved in her mind so lively a preference for the desert life as to long for it in the midst of the splendour with which he doubtlessly surrounded her? Even had she been so, she was a mother as well as a wife and a great princess. Would she, then, be likely to look upon the grand, wise, brave, learned, generous, and generally beloved father of her infant son as a "foddered ass," or, taking Ziyā Pasha's version, as a "coarse barbarian," "outlandish miscreant," or "tiresome lout"? Spoiled, haughty, even enervated, he may have possibly grown in far later years; but at the time of his life in question he must have been in the constant habitual practice

of all the noblest and most considerate punctilios natural to a rising prosperous statesman, trusted by his distant sovereign, loved by and relied on by those around and under him, respected or feared by his neighbours. "Ass," "barbarian," "boor," "clown," "lout" he certainly could not have been, save in the eyes of a sectarian or personal jealous enemy, and reckless vituperation.

Is there not then, even on these considerations alone, a certain weight, a preponderating importance, to be attached to Ziyā Pasha's marginal remark that the author of the verses attributed to Meysūn is unknown? He most likely was well aware that they commonly pass as the production of the fretting petulancy of Yezid's talented but untamed mother, Mu'āwiya's Bedewiyy wife. But, weighing the crucial expression of the poem, "foddered ass" or "coarse barbarian," as has been done here, Ziyā Pasha may well have concluded in his own mind that the case was "not proven," as far as Meysūn and Mu'āwiya are concerned; and thereupon curtly recorded his conviction that the verses, though worth insertion in a miscellany, are the production of some unknown author. The words of the poem would far better suit the case of some recently captured and enslaved desert girl, held as his mistress by some "coarse," unfeeling, well-to-do citizen or petty governor.

A far more improbable detail in the story about the dismissal of Meysūn by Mu'āwiya when he chanced to overhear her singing her ditty, beyond the likelihood, even, that he should apply the offensive expression to himself, is that, on going away from him to join her own kin, she should be allowed by him to take his infant son Yezid, the sole hope of his line, with her, according to Sir R. Burton, "to her cousins and beloved wilds," as Mrs. Clerk says, "into the desert," but, as Dr. Carlyle more definitely puts it, "to Yemen."

Now Yezid appears, as has already been stated, to have



been Mu'āwiya's first and only child. He may possibly have had other offspring before his union with Meysun, and he may have begotten other children from other wives or concubines after her departure, if he really did dismiss her. But history makes no mention whatever of any such; and the first authentic notice of Yezid in active life, after his birth, that I know of, is the account of his being sent with the fleet and army that fruitlessly besieged Constantinople, after Mu'āwiya had become sole caliph, and when Yezid was already eighteen years old; for his marriage at the age of sixteen is a mere computation backwards from the age of his son and successor, Mu'āwiya II., at the date of his accession.

Let us now contemplate the complexion of the times at and after Yezid's birth, in A.H. 26, until his father had become sole caliph, in A.H. 41, and his own marriage the year following, A.H. 42, at the age of sixteen, when he must have been at Damascus with his father.

At the very time of Yezid's birth, Mu'āwiya was fitting out his first ships and personally conducting his maritime expeditions against Cyprus, the islands of Aradus, Rhodes, Malta, etc.; and it was nine years before the murder of 'Uthmān, in A.H. 35, called Mu'āwiya to declare against 'Aliyy, and to become his competitor for the caliphate. If Yezid ever was allowed to leave Damascus with his mother, it must have been during a portion or the whole of the last seven or eight of those nine years.

But all the reported facts of Mu'āwiya's life, including his maritime expeditions, besides the character that history has recorded of him for moderation, generosity, perseverance, and astuteness, seem to make it in the highest degree improbable that he should have sent away for so frivolous a cause the mother of his only son; much less that he should have allowed her to take that only son of his into the desert, and least of all to distant Yemen, fifteen hundred miles from Damascus.

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Colonies and families of the Kelbite race are met with in all parts, as conquest extended. Baḥdel, Meysūn's reported father, may have been an officer, a subordinate governor, a merchant, a man of letters, a functionary of the new worship, a professor in a college, etc., as these were quickly founded. He may have been established in Damascus, in any of these capacities, before Mu'āwiya returned there as governor-general. Meysūn may have been born in Damascus, or brought there an infant by her father and mother; for she married Mu'āwiya twelve years after Damascus was taken. Her mother may have been a Roman or Syrian captive. Girls are married young in those parts, and mothers of twelve and thirteen are not uncommon. Admitting, then, for argument's sake, that Meysūn composed, or only sang, the ditty; admitting that Mu'āwiya overheard her, applied the one offensive word to himself, grew angry in consequence, and

instantly dismissed her to her own people; admitting that she went, then and there, to her own family, her father's kith and kin, taking her infant son with her under Mu'awiya's sanction, and retaining him until he was of an age to do without her maternal care; it by no means follows that she went herself and took her child to the desert, still less to Yemen. She would most likely go to her father's house in Damascus; and Mu'awiya could consent to this, as he was now frequently absent in his naval expeditions. The child would still be under the supervision of any one he might appoint. His father could assure himself that Yezid was duly taken care of, properly tended in sickness (for he was attacked by smallpox at some unknown period of his life), properly schooled when of the requisite age, and recallable to his own guidance when he saw fit, or when danger loomed in the distance, as it did so soon as the tortuous policy of the caliph 'Uthmān raised troubles in Egypt first, and then at Medina, ending in his assassination in A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), when Yezid was nine years old. Now, if not before, Mu'awiya would assume the personal supervision of his son's training.

It is true that Muḥammed himself, when a poor orphan-suckling after the death of his father, was given to a foster-mother of a stranger tribe, with whom he remained two years, until he was weaned; as most of the children of Mekka were so put out to nurse with rustic women of the neighbourhood, trusted by their parents. But the story of Meysūn's being allowed by Mu'awiya to take Yezid into the desert or to Yemen from Damascus, so recently captured and occupied, is utterly incredible, as it would always be difficult or impossible to recall him when old enough, and equally impossible to watch over him if allowed to remain longer with his mother. It may, therefore, almost with certainty, be concluded that Ziyā Pasha gave a true and correct judgment when he recorded his marginal note to this little poem: "By an unknown author." According as tastes vary, this

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instantly dismissed her to her own people; admitting that she went, then and there, to her own family, her father's kith and kin, taking her infant son with her under Mu'awiya's sanction, and retaining him until he was of an age to do without her maternal care; it by no means follows that she went herself and took her child to the desert, still less to Yemen. She would most likely go to her father's house in Damascus; and Mu'awiya could consent to this, as he was now frequently absent in his naval expeditions. The child would still be under the supervision of any one he might appoint. His father could assure himself that Yazid was duly taken care of, properly tended in sickness (for he was attacked by smallpox at some unknown period of his life), properly schooled when of the requisite age, and recallable to his own guidance when he saw fit, or when danger loomed in the distance, as it did so soon as the tortuous policy of the caliph 'Uthmān raised troubles in Egypt first, and then at Medina, ending in his assassination in A.H. 35 (A.D. 655), when Yazid was nine years old. Now, if not before, Mu'awiya would assume the personal supervision of his son's training.

It is true that Muhammed himself, when a poor orphan-suckling after the death of his father, was given to a foster-mother of a stranger tribe, with whom he remained two years, until he was weaned; as most of the children of Mekka were so put out to nurse with rustic women of the neighbourhood, trusted by their parents. But the story of Meysūn's being allowed by Mu'awiya to take Yazid into the desert or to Yemen from Damascus, so recently captured and occupied, is utterly incredible, as it would always be difficult or impossible to recall him when old enough, and equally impossible to watch over him if allowed to remain longer with his mother. It may, therefore, almost with certainty, be concluded that Ziyā Pasha gave a true and correct judgment when he recorded his marginal note to this little poem: "By an unknown author." According as tastes vary, this



simple ditty may be pronounced sublime or commonplace, but that it was not indited or sung by Meysūn the mother of Yazīd son of Mu'āwīya, is a moral certainty, though sectarian or dynastic rancour has succeeded in commonly coupling her name with it.

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#### APPENDIX.

A study of the variously transliterated names connected with the so-called "Poem of Meysūn," coupled with long-continued former tentatives on my part to elaborate a satisfactory system for the rational rendering of Arabic names, words, and sentences in English letters, as far as possible, has revived in me a desire to lay before the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society a tolerably complete view of my present matured system, adapted to an approximatively correct scientific method of writing Arabic in our characters, so to say, as it is pronounced by professed reciters of the Qur'an, on the basis of the special science called 'Ilmu-'t-*Tejwīd* عِلْمُ التَّجْوِيدِ, which may be translated *Kalophonesis* 'good enunciation.'

This definition of the system naturally excludes any consideration of the ever-varying local, provincial modes of pronouncing vernacular Arabic, as practised by nations inhabiting different parts of the extensive regions, from Arabia to Morocco, where that language is the mother-tongue; and still more so, forbids any reference to the variously modified methods of pronouncing Arabic words and names by East Indians, Malays, Persians, Turks, etc. Of Ottoman pronunciation I have fully treated in my *Ottoman Grammar* recently published by Trübner and Co.

Each one of such provincial dialects of Arabic, and each one of such national adaptations of Arabian words and letters, would require a special treatise for its elucidation in a

ner, of which each would be perfectly capable in a competent master. But when to these we add the trouble resulting from attempts to transliterate these modes of pronunciation by one unvarying hap-hazard, one is apt to sink down in despair. In one essay to write all the languages of Europe the methodical English mode of spelling.

Confusion worse confounded is created by writers who, without reading the language, and casually visiting one or more Arabic-spoken countries, try their skill at writing with English letters or books, and guided by their own fancy alone, not only what they fancy the provincial mode, but also the vile composites that pass from mouth to mouth among ignorant *laquais-de-place*, self-styled interpreters or dragomans, of many a nationality; and when in the guidance of their own, they add a medley of incongruous Arabic words or names copied from other sources, the other nationality, the *ne plus ultra* is reached of empiricism. Our newspapers and periodicals, official correspondence, and our East-Indian correspondence afford ample proof of this, which need not here be dwelt upon.

A singular aberration of a highly-gifted mind, when no ready, though erroneous, rule had been enounced for such transliterations, viz. "all consonants as in English, all vowels as in Italian," that a great scholar should attempt to teach English university men, and others, to write the horizontal straight stroke used over the long vowel in school and college prosodial exertations, and to put the right-to-left-downward sloping "*dash*" of the French (*e aigu*), for the purpose of marking a long vowel (the eastern) vowel; informing them at the same time, that this is the Italian method. There is no such usage. They never mark their long vowels any way whatever. What they really do is to

mark with that accent, in dictionaries only, the vowel of that syllable of a word on which the stress falls; and never do they use it in ordinary books or in writing. But, when such vowel is final, with the stress on it, they mark it in print and in writing with a dash sloping down from left to right, the French *accent grave*; as in *facoltà, appiè, cio è, oggidì, verrò, virtù*, etc.

It amounts almost to a national sin, to a crime of *lèse majesté*, when English scholars, men of truly profound learning, condescend, in English publications, to adopt the French method of transliteration;—with its diphthongs, which do not exist in Arabic; with its *accent circonflexe*, ^, unknown in English, to mark the Arabic long vowels; with their erroneous *o* instead of the Italian *u*; and with their erroneous *e* in place of the Italian *i*. There is no vowel *o* in the whole Arabic language; though the consonant-ended combination *aw* or *ev* (as the word or syllable is hard or soft) is vernacularly uttered by provincials in such a way that unaccustomed foreign ears take it for a vowel *o*. Still, this is a different thing to the systematic misrepresentation of the Arabic vowel *u*, which, short or long, is always pure, as in Italian. It must have been originally given to Jewish teachers of Arabic from Spain, whose pronunciation always has been abominable in every respect, to mislead Italian students in the middle ages, and make them sound the *damma* vowel as an *o*; and it is full time that so pernicious a practice were discontinued, both here and on the continent. The *e* instead of Italian *i*, above spoken of, has no basis whatever, except perversely erroneous and general French usage. The “*accent circonflexe*” of French orthography has a special history of its own, quite different from that of a true long vowel; but, as their writers have chosen to make this *accent* the sign of an Arabic long vowel, we need not complain, for we are under no compulsion to adopt their unscientific makeshift. To mark an Arabic long vowel in a





to the left, the other to the right. The apostrophe is wanted in transliterating Arabic compound names and clauses, to represent a different incident that befalls some letters initial to words. Three signs of elision are therefore used in the present or proposed system, the ordinary apostrophe, ', indicating the omission of an initial letter in pronunciation; the inverted apostrophe turned to the left, ' , showing the place of a consonant which we do not possess in our alphabet, the *hemza*; and the inverted apostrophe turned to the right, ' , to represent the harsh consonant 'ayn, which also our alphabet does not contain. All three are perfectly distinct; each represents a distinct Arabic letter; and retransliteration back into Arabic characters is kept free from all doubt. For, any system of transliteration, to be considered perfect, must represent unmistakably to the eye of the scholar the original letters, while it enables a reader who is unacquainted with the written characters of the original text, to read the words with a fair approximation to correctness, with a little practice. It is a lamentable error, propagated in our Hebrew grammars to the effect that the Hebrew equivalents to the Arabic ء and ع, namely *aleph* and *ayin*, have no value, and go for nothing, etc. In ordinary books and newspapers, the apostrophe might be used for all three purposes; though the two inverted forms of it would always be preferable, in their respective places.

As is well known, the three Arabic *short* vowels are usually omitted in ordinary print and handwriting, having to be supplied in reading and speaking by the person who reads or speaks. He must know what vowels are omitted, or he cannot read; and of course he cannot converse unless he knows the vowels of his words. But in books used by learners, and in copies of the Qur'an, etc., the vowels are marked, in whole or in part. They are called collectively *hareka* حَرَكَه 'movement, motion'; by us, "vowel-points." The three are, respectively, named *fet-ha* فَتْحَة, *kesra* كَسْرَة, and *damma* ضَمَّة, which names mean, in their order, an

breaking," a "folding"; and their marks are َ, ِ, ُ. Their values are, respectively, *a* or are fully explained further on; thus: مُتَحَرِّكٌ *mutaḥarrik*, مُتَعَسِّرٌ *mutaḥarrik*, مُتَعَبِّرٌ *mutaḥarrik*, the vowels that, in theoretic grammar, follow ant of a word, whether they be the mark of a or of a result of conjugation in a verb, are ted in the vernacular; and when the word is final in a sentence, they are omitted even Qur'an, subject to rules that are beside our

Arabic "long" vowels that correspond with the ones mentioned above are the three letters (all other circumstances): ا, ي, و, then called "elongation," حُرُوفُ الْمَدِّ *ḥurūfu 'l-medd* (sing., حَرْفُ الْمَدِّ). They are also said to be "prolonged"; thus, long ا is called 'elif *memdūda* long ي is *yā memdūda*, يَاءٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ; and long و is *wā memdūda*, وَاءٌ مَمْدُودَةٌ. To become a long vowel, any of these three letters, otherwise consonants, must follow the homogeneous short vowel-points; *fet-ḥa*, ي must follow *kesra*, and و must follow *ḥa*; as in بَابٌ *bāb*, بَيْضٌ *bīḍ*, حُورٌ *ḥūr*.

When ا is a consonant, it is usually marked with the *hemza* sign being placed over it, ٱ. It is then called *hemza*, *hemza*-'elif, or simply, for brevity, *hemza*. It is really one and the same thing with *hemza*, in all cases is written as *hemza* alone, without a support, as in جَاءَ *jā'a*, شَاءَ *shā'a*, etc.

When ا is a consonant, this *hemza*, is capable, like every other letter, of taking every one of the three vowels, after it in pronunciation; as it is also capable, of being *quiescent* (as it is called); i.e. of being thus ending a syllable. The subject of the

various conditions of *hemza*, or consonantal 'elif', is somewhat intricate, as is shown in the following paragraphs.

1. When *hemza* is initial to an ordinary word (i.e. when it is not a *hemza of junction*, which see further on), and is followed by any one of the three *short* vowels, it always keeps the one, unchanging written form, like every other consonant. Thus, *أَرْضُ* 'arḏ, *أَلَمَ* 'elem, *أَنَّ* 'in, *إِنْسَانٌ* 'insān, *أُصُولٌ* 'uṣūl. With *kesra* vowel, the *hemza* sign is more generally placed, with the vowel-point, below the ا; as *إِنْسَانٌ*, etc.

2. When *hemza* is initial to an ordinary word, but is followed by a *long* vowel, it still follows the foregoing rule of no change in its written form, so long as the vowel is *heterogeneous* to the *hemza*; i.e. when the vowel is either *kesra* or *ḍamma*, as in *إِرَادٌ* 'irād, *أُولَى* 'ūlā. But, with the *homogeneous* long vowel, the two letters, consonantal initial *أ*, and long-vowel ا, coalesce into one sole letter *آ*; and this one *آ* is then marked in writing with a special symbol, *medd* مَدَّ, or *medda* مَدَّة ("prolongation"); generally without, but sometimes, optionally, with the *hemza* sign; thus, *آل* or *آلٌ* stands for *أَل*, and is transliterated 'āl.

3. When *أ* is not initial to a word, other rules have to be observed. It may then be either *movent* or *quiescen*, i.e. followed or not, accompanied or not, by its own vowel in pronunciation; and this is tantamount to saying, in other words, that non-initial *أ* may either begin or end a non-initial syllable in a word (exactly like every other consonant). Its rules in these cases vary greatly.

4. When *أ*, non-initial to a word, is initial to a syllable, whether its own vowel be short or long, we have to take notice of the vowel that accompanies the consonant preceding the *أ* in the word, as well as its own vowel.

5. If that preceding vowel, as well as its own, be the homogeneous short *fet-ḥa* َ, then *أ* suffers no change in

m. Thus, *ثَارَ* *the'era*, *جَاشَ* *je'esha*, *رَأَسَ* but if its own homogeneous vowel be long *أَ*, being short *fet-ha*, then *آ* is written instead of *أَ*; *إِفا*, *مَآلَ* *ma'al*, etc.

initial *hemza* be preceded in the word by a short vowel, *kesra* or *dzamma*, its own vowel being homogeneous and short, the *أَ* undergoes a change in its written form, and becomes *إِ* and *وُ* after *dzamma*; as, *رِئَا* *ri'a*, *طِئَا* *ti'a*, *ثِئَا* *thu'ebā'*, *جِوَرُ* *ju'er*, *رُؤْسَا* *ru'esā'*, etc.

In case, its own vowel be long, it then takes either of the two forms given in the preceding section, and is followed by that one of the three long-vowel letters, which is homogeneous with its own long vowel; as, *رِئَا* *ri'āsa*, *رِئِي* *ri'iyi*, *رِئِيسَ* *ri'is*, *رِئُونُ* *ri'un*, *دِوَا* *dhu'āba*, *رُؤَا* *ru'ā*, *ثِوُرَا* *thu'ūra*, etc.; sometimes written *آ*; as, *آرْتِئَا* for *رِئِئَا* *irti'ās*

if the *hemza's* vowel in such case be short, and the preceding vowel be short *fet-ha*, it still changes its written form, and

thus, *بِئِيسَ* *be'isa*, *بِئِيسَا* *be'usa*, *دِئِيبَا* *dhe'iba*, *رِئِيفَا* *re'ifa*, *رِئِوْفَا* *re'ufa*, etc.

If the preceding vowel be short *fet-ha*, while its own vowel be long and heterogeneous, the change in written form is the same as in the preceding case, but the long-vowel letter is added; as, *تِئِيمَا* *ti'im*, *دِئِوْبَا* *de'ūb*, *رِئِوْفَا* *re'ūf*, etc. The second, *وُ*, is mistakenly, omitted in writing and printing these last two, even in copies of the Qur'an, and is not for ancient use.

If the preceding vowel be long *fet-ha*, and the vowel of the *hemza* be short, it takes the written form of *أَ*, *إِ*, or *وُ*, which vowel belongs to it; and the *أَ* of the *hemza* is marked with the *medd* sign *آ*; thus, *تَفَآءَلَا* *tefā'ela*, *مُتَآءَمَّ* *mutā'em*, *مُتَبَآئِيسَ*



*mutēbā'is*, مُتَعَابِلٌ *mutefā'il*, مُتَائِمٌ *mutā'im*, مُرَائِلٌ *mura'il*, مُدَائِرٌ *mudhā'ir*, ثَائِرٌ *thā'ir*, رَائِفٌ *rā'if*, زَائِرٌ *zā'ir*, نَائِلٌ *qā'il*, تَبَاوُسٌ *tebā'us*, تَفَاوُلٌ *tefā'ul*, etc. In this last case, زُ, the vowel is sometimes long, as in زَاوُلٌ *zā'ul*. In some of such words the *hemza* is radical, as in رَائِفٌ *rā'if*, etc.; in others it is servile and formative, as in بَهَائِمٌ *bahā'im*, etc.; and in others again it is a commutative substitute for a radical consonant ي or و, as in زَائِرٌ *zā'ir*, سَائِرٌ *sā'ir*, نَائِلٌ *qā'il*, etc. This is a very difficult part of Arabic grammar.

11. There are some, comparatively few, words in which أ is the second radical, and has short *kesra*, ا, for its vowel, while it is preceded by a short *damma* vowel ُ. It does not then conform in writing to that preceding 'vowel', but is written ُ; thus, دُئِلٌ *du'il*, دُئِبٌ *dhu'iba*, سُئِلَ *su'ila*, etc.

12. Non-initial *hemza* in a word, when initial to a syllable, may be immediately preceded by a quiescent consonant, marked in writing, when necessary, with the *jezm* جَزْم sign over it ْ, which is also called *sukūn* سُكُونٌ; the quiescent consonant then ends the preceding syllable of the word. The *hemza*, in such case, figures, in writing, as ا, ئ, or وُ, according to its own vowel, if short: thus, جَيَّأَلَةٌ *je'y'ela*, أَدْعُو *'ej um*, مُتَّئِمٌ *mut'im*, مُرَّئِلَةٌ *mur'ila*; بَوَّرٌ *'eb'ur*, أَجْوَمٌ *'ej um*, أَدْعُو *'ed'ur*, etc.; or as آ, ئِ, or وُ, if its own vowel be long; thus, مِتَّأَمٌ *mit'ām*, تَرَّئِيسٌ *ter'is*, مَثْوَوْبٌ *meth'ab*, etc. But مَسْئُولٌ and مَسْئُولٌ are sometimes found written for مَسْئُولٌ *mes'ul*.

13. When medial (non-initial) *hemza*, being the second radical in a derivative word, is reduplicated, exactly in the same way with any other consonant of the alphabet, it ends one syllable, and also begins the next. It then still follows, in writing, the rules given above, whether its vowel in the second of those two syllables be short or long. Thus, تَفَّأَلٌ *tefe'ela*, تَفَّأُلٌ *tefe'ul*, مُتَفَّأِلٌ *mutefe'il*, مُدَّأَبٌ *mudhe'ib*, جَأَّأَبٌ *ja'āb*, جَأَّأَرٌ *ja'ār*, etc.

medial *hemza*, not being reduplicated, ends a written form depends entirely on the vowel of the *hemza*, being written <sup>أ</sup> after *fet-ha*, <sup>إ</sup> after *kesra*, and <sup>و</sup> after *damma*. Thus, <sup>بَاسْ</sup> *be's*, <sup>دَابْ</sup> *de'b*, <sup>ثَاثْ</sup> *the'r*, <sup>جَاسْ</sup> *ja's*, <sup>رَافَا</sup> *re'fa*; <sup>بِيرْ</sup> *bi'r*, <sup>بِيسَا</sup> *bi'sa*, <sup>ذِيبْ</sup> *dhi'b*, <sup>رِلَانْ</sup> *ri'lān*, <sup>زَبَقْ</sup> *zi'baq*; <sup>بُوسْ</sup> *bu's*, <sup>لُولُؤْ</sup> *lu'lu'*, <sup>دُؤُنُونْ</sup> *dhu'nūn*, etc.

*hemza* is final in a word, it must form a syllable by its own short vowel (or case-ending nunnation, <sup>ة</sup>, <sup>ا</sup>, <sup>و</sup>), then follow, either a quiescent consonant, or a consonant accompanied by its following short or long vowel. Thus, <sup>دِفْ</sup> *dif*, <sup>جُزْ</sup> *juz*, <sup>دَفَا</sup> *defe*, <sup>دَفِيْ</sup> *defi*, <sup>جَزَا</sup> *jezā*, <sup>دَفِيْ</sup> *defi*, <sup>مَجْزُوْ</sup> *mejzu'*, etc. The *hemza* here given, exclusive of the case-endings, are words are pronounced when they stand alone, or as a full stop in a phrase or sentence. The *hemza* <sup>بَدْ</sup> *bed'in*, <sup>بَدِ</sup> *bed'i*, <sup>بَدَا</sup> *bed'an*, <sup>بَدَا</sup> *bed'a*, need not be pronounced without detail, as there is nothing else to be pronounced from the other final consonants.

The *hemza* beginning of certain well-defined words only, when any one of those words follows any other word in a phrase or sentence, becomes elided in pronunciation and is not written. It is then called the '*elif of connection*' <sup>أَلِفُ</sup> *'elifu 'l-waṣl*; and is marked with a *waṣla* <sup>وَصْلَةٌ</sup>, placed over it thus, <sup>آ</sup>. The question are of four classes; viz. 1, the *hemza* alone; 2, the ten following nouns: <sup>أَبْنٌ</sup> *abn*, <sup>أُمٌّ</sup> *um*, <sup>أَخٌ</sup> *akh*, <sup>أُمٌّ</sup> *um*, <sup>أَخٌ</sup> *akh*, <sup>أُمٌّ</sup> *um*, <sup>أَخٌ</sup> *akh*, <sup>أُمٌّ</sup> *um*, <sup>أَخٌ</sup> *akh*, <sup>أُمٌّ</sup> *um*, and 3, the imperatives regular of verbs of the first or second conjugation; and 4, every word of the seventh and following forms of verbs that begin with *hemza*, with the exception of the first person singular of the aorist tenses.

In transliterations of all these words, our apostrophe is the fitting sign of such elision.

17. But, with regard to the definite article and this elision of its *hemza* when not initial in a sentence or solitary word, the further observation is needed that, in this respect, the Arabic alphabet of twenty-eight letters is divided equally into two classes of fourteen letters each, denominated respectively the "lunar" and the "solar" letters; because the words قَمَرٌ *qamer* (the moon), and شَمْسٌ *shems* (the sun) have their initial letters in the two classes respectively. The lunar letters, الْحُرُوفُ الْقَمَرِيَّةُ 'el *hurūfu 'l-qameriyya*, are, ا, ب, ج, د, هـ, و, م, ن, ي, ر, ز, س, ش, ص, ط, ظ, ق, ك, ل, while the solar letters, الْحُرُوفُ الشَّمْسِيَّةُ 'el *hurūfu 'sh-shemsiyya*, are, ت, ث, ج, ح, خ, د, ذ, ر, ز, س, ش, ص, ط, ظ, ق, ك, ل. The difference seen above in the two class-names is that when a noun, the initial of which is a lunar letter, هَارْفُنْ قَمَرِيٌّ *harfun qameriyy*, is shown to be definite by the article that precedes it, no further change occurs in the group beyond the simple elision of the initial آ of that article in its pronunciation; thus, هَارْفُنْ قَمَرِيٌّ قَالَ الْقَوْلُ *qāla 'l-'enlād*, هَارْفُنْ شَمْسِيٌّ *daqqa 'l-bāb*, هَارْفُنْ شَمْسِيٌّ خَسَفَ *khasefa 'l-qamer*, etc.; but, when the initial letter of the noun is a solar letter, هَارْفُنْ شَمْسِيٌّ *harfun shemsiyy*, then, not only does the elision of the initial آ of the article take place as before, but the ل also of that article is transformed, in pronunciation, though not in writing, into the initial solar letter of the noun, which is then marked by the sign of reduplication ˆ, the *jezm* sign ˘ of the ل disappears in writing, and the *wasla* sign ˆ is extended (in handwritings only, not in print) so as to cover the whole article هَارْفُنْ شَمْسِيٌّ قَالَ الرَّسُولُ *qāla 'r-resūl*, هَارْفُنْ شَمْسِيٌّ شَقَّ الثَّوْبَ *shaqqa 'th-tharb*, هَارْفُنْ شَمْسِيٌّ كَسَفَ *kesefe 'sh-shems*, etc.

18. A penultimate long vowel in any Arabic word must

y a consonant with its short vowel, or its id this consonant may be *hemza*, radical or as any other of the letters of the alphabet, all consonants originally. Thus, بَاب *bāb*, قَالَ *qāl*, سُر *sūr*, دَا *dā*, حَمْرَاء *hamrā*, جَاء *jā'a*, مَبْدُوء *mebdū*, etc.

ort-vowel radical or commutative ʾ occurs in as لا *la*, ما *ma*, غَزَا *gaza*, etc. It should never a grave accent in transliteration. But there -vowel servile ʾ in Arabic, originally written d by *fet-ha* ى, and then termed "shortened" اَلِفٌ مَقْصُورَةٌ *z*, which should be so marked accent in transliteration, because it bears the of the word; as بُشْرَى *bushrā*, حُبْلَى *hublā*. طُوبَى *ṭubā*, etc. This is the real, true Italian ing the final short vowel of a word, when the h final short vowel. But, when this short vowel ʾ, ceases to be final to the eye in writing, n pronunciation, by reason of a pronominal nity or femininity being added after it in the vowel is written in Arabic with ى, and no . It cannot, then, by mere inspection or stinguished from the final radical ʾ above this is probably the reason why it is called thus, بُشْرَاء *bushrā-hu*, بُشْرَاهَا *bushrā-hā*, بُشْرَاكَ *bushrā-ka*, etc.; حَمَاء *hamāt*,

rel ى after *kesra* is elided in ordinary writing e word is an indefinite noun; but is written becomes definite; as قَاضٍ *qāḍi*, الْقَاضِي 'el-اَلْقَاضِي *ālī*, etc. It is omitted at the end of a lefinite words, exceptionally; as اَلْمُعَالِ for اَلْمُعَالِى or اَلْعَالِى for اَلْعَالِى, etc.

Short-vowel final *و* is perhaps not met with; for *دُو* *dhū*, probably, and the apocopated regular plural nominatives, certainly, as, *بُكُو*, etc., end in long-vowel *و'*.

The third person plural masculine of preterite verbs regular, and some persons plural masculine of subjunctive and conditional aorist verbs, as well as the imperative plural, also end in long-vowel *و'*; but, when such verbs are not followed by a pronominal suffix, the *و* has a silent *ا* added after it in writing; thus, *كَتَبُوا* *ketebū*, *كَتَبُواْ* *ketebū-hu*, etc.

The foregoing remarks may be regarded as fairly sufficient, if not exhaustive, for the subject of the Arabic short and long vowels, as also of the *hemza* consonant. This appendix is not an Arabic grammar. It may, however, be usefully added as a fundamental axiom of the Arabic written and spoken language, that *no Arabic word or syllable can really begin with a vowel*, whatever European ears and minds may think; for, the initial *hemza* of a word or syllable is always a consonant, and represents the gentle but perceptible opening of the vocal passage. The *ع*, the hard or harsh analogue of the soft, gentle *hemza*, represents the strong, guttural hiatus or gulp of such opening or closing; and initial *ي* or *و*, in word or syllable, is always a consonant, *y* or *w*.

Before leaving the question of the Arabic vowels, it is essential to press home the conviction of the utter erroneousness, the mischievous misleadingness of the system adopted by our transliterators, that of using the combinations *ah* or *eh* to represent the Arabic feminine termination of nouns, which is, in fact, a consonant letter *t* *ة*, and not a letter *h* *ه*, at all. What has led to this serious European mistake, servilely adopted by so many unreflecting English scholars of incontestable merit, is that when a full stop follows such feminine noun,—and every isolated word is naturally followed by such full-stop,—its final *ة*, called *تَاءُ الْفَائِيَةِ* *tā' al-fā'iyyih* 't-te'nīth, *t* of femininity, as well as its case-vowel, disappears

pronunciation. Thus, كَلْبَةٌ *kelbetun*, كَلْبَةٍ *kelbetin*, كَلْبَةٍ *kelbetu*, كَلْبَةٍ *kelbeti*, كَلْبَةٍ *kelbeta*, are all pronounced *kelba*. But this pronunciation will be written كَلْبٌ; only, this كَلْبٌ, with its *ta* marked, is not differentiated in any respect from the definite of the masculine كَلْبٌ; and for the same reason, as in the parallel case of the termination *la*, *sa*, a difference of terminal form, spoken and written, is devised, to show the feminine noun without its final *sa*, when the word was followed by a full stop. The form was, as said above, to drop the feminine *sa* vowel, saying, for instance, *kelba*. The written drop the dots, the diacritical points, of the final *ba* which thus became, in form, a *s*; mimicking the *sa* when written, but never pronounced as one. The aspirate *s* is always a radical letter, whereas the servile *s*, and its undotted representative, unaspirated *s*, is a servile formative letter. A knowledge of this enables one to distinguish between such feminine nouns really ending with radical, aspirated *s*. It should always be, as scrupulously and as consistently as at the end of a word, in Arabic, as at the end of the middle; exactly as is the case with its analogue *h*. Thus, حُبُوبٌ *hubub*, حُبُورٌ *hubur*, حُبٌّ *hubb*; رُحْمٌ *ruhm*; تَنْبِيْهُ *tenbih*, تَقْوِيْهِ *taqwih*, etc. The *s*, standing really for servile *sa* at the end of a noun, is never aspirated; and, as it is always accompanied by the *fet-ha* vowel accompanying a preceding syllable, the same, final syllable of the word, it has, of time, if not from all antiquity, to be a visible sign of a final unmarked *fet-ha* feminine noun. It is, virtually, a fourth Arabic letter used in Arabic at the end of feminine nouns (for بَرَكَهٌ, etc.) *bereka*, بِرْكَةٍ (for بِرْكَةٍ) *birka*,

تُرْبَة (for تُرْبَة) *turba*, فُرْشَة (for فُرْشَة) *fursha*, مَدِينَة (for مَدِينَة) *Medina*, مَكَّة (for مَكَّة) *Mekka*, جِدَّة (for جِدَّة) *Jidda*, حُدَيْدَة (for حُدَيْدَة) *Hudeyda*, فَاطِمَة (for فَاطِمَة) *Fatima*, خَدِيجَة (for خَدِيجَة) *Khadija*, etc. This peculiar use of final (virtually) vowel *s* may be compared to the French usage of not pronouncing the final consonant or consonants of most words, when not followed by an initial vowel in the next word of the phrase or sentence, as in "c'est lui," compared with "c'està lui," etc. Europeans are misled by the similarly erroneous transliteration of feminine Hebrew Biblical names, such as Rebekah, and the like; but the true origin and value of the (virtually-vowel) final feminine *s* for *ṣ*, and its not being an aspirate, is correctly set forth in the present paragraph; and thus comes to a close the discussion of the Arabic vowels.

The consonants, that is, *all* the letters, of the Arabic alphabet, twenty-eight in number, have their isolated written forms, and their values, as nearly as our letters and combinations of letters (never more than two letters in one combination) can represent them, as follows:

أ (أ, ؤ, ء), ب *b*, ت *t*, ث *th*, ج *j*, ح *h*, خ *kh*, د *d*, ذ *dh*, ر *r*, ز *z*, س *s*, ش *sh*, ص *s*, ض *dz*, ط *t*, ظ *ts*, ع *g*, ف *f*, ق *q*, ك *k*, ل *l*, م *m*, ن *n*, و *w*, ه *h*, ي *y*.

As may be readily seen above, seventeen out of the twenty-eight Arabic consonants have letters in our English alphabet that exactly correspond with them in value, viz. ب *b*, ت *t*, ج *j*, د *d*, ر *r*, ز *z*, س *s*, غ *g*, ف *f*, ق *q*, ك *k*, ل *l*, م *m*, ن *n*, و *w*, ه *h*, ي *y*. None of these require any mark to distinguish them from others; but it may be here noticed that ج *j* is pronounced like hard *g* in Egypt; that غ *g* varies in pronunciation, softer or harder, and in a peculiar manner, in different places, and is frequently, but needlessly, represented by *gh*; and that ق *q* also varies in special ways. Those special peculiarities can only be learnt by ear, like our own

1. The ق *q*, again, is by some still, and was, all, written with a *k* in transliterations, and later distinguished from the ك, also shown by a *k*, by placing under it, *k*. But the very Arabic letter, both our capital and small letters *Q*, *q*, are but of one original Phœnician, old Hebrew, or old whence old Greek *Q* and Latin *Q*, *q*. As pronounced by Semitics with the same *k*, also directly derived from the Phœnician; as were the first to confuse *q* and *k*, as they did every letter of the primitive alphabet; much did the Etruscans and Latins. Some writers represent ق; but our *c* is the descendant, as is and the Greek *Γ*, of the Phœnician. It is useless so to use a *c*, and as we now know the letters, as well as that of the Semitic characters, are gradually becoming unanimous in the use of ق, without putting the needless *u* after it. قَابِلٌ *qābil*, قَبُولٌ *qabūl*, قَيْرَاطٌ *qīrāt*, قِرْبٌ *qireb*, قُرْآنٌ *qur'ān*, etc.

In remaining Arabic consonants, three, ح *h*, distinguished, in transliteration, from three of the fifteen, by a short stroke placed under them. has been used for this purpose; but as it is indistinct, a bold short stroke is preferable, and for handwriting; especially as a long for the letters of the class here following, as the long vowels, as explained above, when put

Arabic letters now left for explanation, our no equivalent single character. But our *th* combination, each, that exactly represents the Arabic letter, viz. ث *th*, ش *sh*. There is our *th*. It has in our language two val



soft in *thee*, sharp in *three*. The latter alone is the value of the Arabic ث; as in ثَرْبٌ *thərb*, مِثْلٌ *mithl*, بَثٌّ *bethk*. We are therefore driven, in order to avoid doubt and ambiguity in transliterating, to adopt the modification *dh* to represent our value of *th* in *thee*, etc., which is the power of the Arabic ذ (a modified *d*); thus, ذَاكٌ *dhāka*, ذَيْبٌ *dhi'b*, ذَوَابَةٌ *dhu'āba*. Fitting examples of the power and transliteration of ش are found in شَمْسٌ *shems*, تَشْدِيدٌ *teshdid*, حَشِيشٌ *hashish*. It may be useful here to point out that ث is, in some parts, provincially sounded like *s*, and in other parts like *t*; while ذ is here sounded like *d*, there like *z*, just as French tyros sound our *th*.

Three Arabic letters, again, **خ** *kh*, **ض** *dz*, **ظ** *ts*, have no English equivalents in single or double letters, though we can manage to represent them in transliterations. The value of **خ** *kh* can be learnt from a Scotchman when he says *loch*, or from a German when he says *ach*. The reason for not taking *ch* to represent **خ** is, that *ch* is, in French, equivalent to our *sh* and German *sch*; also, that our *ch*, the equivalent of French and English *tch*, as of German *tsch*, is a useful representative of Sanskrit, Persian, and Turkish letters which do not exist in Arabic. But, the student must never pronounce **خ** *kh* as *k*, though this is natural in ordinary English and French readers. Until the correct sound is learnt, it would be far better to pronounce *h*, and not *k*, in such words as **خُرُوج** *khurūj*, **خَارِج** *khārij*, **فَخْر** *fakhr*, **فَاحِر** *fāhir*, **سَلَك** *selkh*, etc. (pron. *hurūj*, *hārij*, *fakr*, *fāhir*, *selk*).

The ض *ḍ* is sounded as a *d* in some parts, and as a *z* in others. But it is the most characteristic letter in the Arabic language. A good professional or amateur reciter of the *Qur'ān* is as proud of his perfect pronunciation of this letter ض, as is a Parisian of his *r grasseyé* or as an Englishman of his accuracy in sounding such a medley as "though thou think the thing thine, this threefold thong thrown through

shall thoroughly thwart thee." Hence, فَضَاءَ *faḍāʾ*, قَابِضٌ *qābīẓ*, فَاضِلٌ *faḍīl*, ذَابِتٌ *dzābit*, مَضْبُوتٌ *maḍbūt*.

requently sounded provincially as a very hard *z*, the most disputable letter, as to its correct sound, Arabic alphabet. It is a sibilant modification of *z* is the only possible value. Thus, ظَلَمٌ *ṭulm*, مَظْلُومٌ *maṭlūm*, نَظَرَ *natsar*, نَازِلٌ *nātsir*, مَظْطُورٌ *maḥṭūṭ*.

x double consonant combinations for one Arabic must carefully be marked with a long line under them, in Arabic words, the single letters composing them occur separately in succession, and must be treated independently.

remain the *hemza* ٱ, ٲ, ٴ, already sufficiently represented, and the 'ayn ع, also mentioned above, for which no letter or combination of letters, is available. As the 'ayn, they both represent the *hiatus* that introduces or separates two vowels, in a word, by opening or creating an aperture of the vocal passage, and thus being syllable without the aid of an ordinary consonant and also the *hiatus* that closes a syllable after it without such aid of an ordinary consonant or aspiration. As the 'ayn being soft and gentle, the *hiatus* being harsh and natural. To represent such *hiatus* without a letter, iterations, the reversed apostrophes, ' for *hemza*, appear the most appropriate symbols, as they separate two following vowels in two following words, by beginning the second syllable, as they do in any syllable, and also admit of reduplication.

l. Thus, أَمْرٌ *'emr*, أَمِيرٌ *'emir*, أَمِيرٌ *'āmir*, رَأْسٌ *re"ās*; عَمْرٌ *'umr*, عَامِرٌ *'āmir*, مَعْمُورٌ *fa"āl*.

Two passing remarks, even three to an Englishman, may be useful. 1. In Arabic writing, two separate letters never combine to form such combinations as our *ch*, *tch*, *sh*, *ph*, *rk*, *lh*, or as French *dj*, or as German *ch*, *sch*, *dsch*, *tseh*, etc. But, on the other hand, juxtapositions occur commonly that are unknown in our tongue; such as *فَسَحٍ* *sub-h*, *فَسَحٍ* *fel-h*, *فَسَحٍ* *ses-h*, *قِدَحٍ* *qid-h*, *كُنَّ* *kun-h*, *نَبِيَّ* *nebîh*, *تَنْبِيَّ* *tenbîh*, *مُنْتَبِيَّ* *mutenebbîh*, *أَبْلَه* *'ebleh*, etc. 2. In Arabic, an aspirate must always be aspirated, wherever placed in a word, whether as an initial, as a medial, or as a final. The preceding words are instances of final aspirates, and they may be reduplicated when medial or final, like any other consonant; thus, *مُصَحِّحٍ* *muṣahḥih*, *مُصَحِّحٍ* *muṣahḥah*, *مَحَافٍ* *sahḥāf*, *مُكْهَلٍ* *mukehḥel*, *كَهَلٍ* *kehhāl*. Initial and simple medial aspirates abound; as, *حَقِيرٌ* *haqîr*, *حِكَايَةٌ* *hikāya*, *هَدَمَ* *hedm*, *هَادِزٌ* *hādzim*, *سَهَبَ* *sahb*, *سَهْمٌ* *sehm*, *صَاحِبٌ* *ṣāhib*, *سَهْلٌ* *sehîl*, *مَضْحُوبٌ* *mas-hub*, etc. Whenever an aspirate occurs in a transliteration so as to be preceded in the word by a consonant that, in English, would make a combination having the value of a single Arabic letter, the aspirate should, by way of precaution, be separated from the other consonant by a hyphen, to mark that they belong grammatically to two syllables. Several examples are seen above. 3. An Englishman should never allow letter *r* at the end of a syllable in an Arabic word to modify and debase the vowel that precedes it in the syllable, as is so general in English words. All Arabic vowels must always be kept pure in pronunciation, as vowels are always kept pure in Italian, and most other languages; no modification of their one sound each is in any case permissible.

The twenty-eight Arabic consonants are further divisible as to pronunciation, into two very distinct, but numerically unequal classes, "soft" and "hard" (or "harsh"). Nineteen are soft, ك, ف, ش, س, ز, ر, ن, د, ج, ث, ت, ب, أ,

ض, ص, ذ, ح, ع, ق, ي, هـ ; while only nine are hard, ض, ص, ذ, ح, ع, ق, ي, هـ, ق.

result of this division of the consonants is that the 'fet-ha vowel', when following one of the former in a syllable, generally takes the value of our short *e* in *men*, *ten*, etc.; whereas, in accompanying a consonant of the hard class, it invariably takes the sound of our vowel *a*, as heard in the first syllable of the word *man* in the indefinite article of the phrase *a man*. The vowel *ha* is also affected in an analogous manner to be lengthened on; but the vowel *dzamma* is not so, always having the Italian *u* value, short or long.

It is frequently experienced by an English student of Arabic, in transliterating the vowels, does not arise from the vowels themselves, but from the uncertain, inter-changing sound of our vowel-letters. Every vowel takes, at times, the short surd value of *a* in *as*, *her*, *fir*, *actor*, *but*. Our East-India service uses the use of this *u* of *but*, *us*, etc., to represent the short *fet-ha* vowel in *all* cases invariably; and so. Thus we meet with *Mohummud*, *Syud*, etc.

Our English vowels, moreover, has several equivalents: *fat*, *fate*, *father*, *fall*, *above*; *me*, *met*, *her*; *fir*; *go*, *got*, *shove*; *purity*, *pudding*, *gut*. By this uncertainty, the deceptive, incorrect rule: "the vowels as in Italian," the *a* to be as in *father*, *e* as in *pet*, *i* as in *pin*, *o* as in *go*, &c. If this rule is incorrect, how are the three vowels to be correctly represented in our characters? What is the incorrect part of the rule?

The Italian *a*-sound *does not exist in Arabic* as a short

Our English short surd sound of *a*, unknown in Arabic, is the only true equivalent of Arabic short *fet-ha* vowel of the nine hard consonants; as, *ح*, *ض*, *ص*, *ذ*, *ع*, *ق*, *ي*, *هـ*, *ك*.

خَبَثٌ *khabth*, صَدْرٌ *sadr*, ضَبَطٌ *dzabt*, طَبْعٌ *tab*, ظَفَرٌ *tsafer*,  
عَبَثٌ *'abeth*, غَدْرٌ *gadr*, قَلْبٌ *qalb*.

2. With any one of the nineteen soft consonants, short *fet-ḥa* is generally equivalent to Italian *e*, as in our *men*, *met*, etc. Thus, أَمَدٌ *'emed*, بَرٌّ *berr*, تَلٌّ *tell*, ثَنَبٌ *themb*, جَلْبٌ *jelb*, دَفَنٌ *defn*, ذَنَبٌ *dheneb*, رَسَمٌ *resm*, زَجْرٌ *zejr*, سَمَتْ *semt*, شَجَرٌ *shejer*, فَمٌ *fem*, كَلْبٌ *kelb*, لَزَمٌ *lezm*, مَرٌ *mer*, نَسَجٌ *nesj*, وَتَرٌ *weter*, هَزَلٌ *hezl*, يَمَنٌ *yemen*. But, the occurrence of any one or more of the nine hard consonants in a word, wherever placed in it, has a tendency to cause the short surd *a* value to be assumed by the *fet-ḥa* of the nearest soft consonant, or even of any soft consonant in the word. This detail can be learnt only by hearing correct readers and speakers pronounce the words.

3. Long *fet-ḥa* ٲ has two different values, also, with the two classes of consonants. With the soft class, it has the Italian sound of *a*, lengthened as in our word *fāther* (like French *â* in *pâtre*); but with the hard class, it no longer has the Italian or French sound, but becomes very similar to our broadest long *a* in *wall*, *fall*, *call*. We have no method to distinguish these two values in writing, and continental scholars are usually ignorant of their difference; neither can they mark it in any way. The class of the Arabic consonant marks the difference effectually, indubitably; and English scholars should emphasize this difference in their pronunciation of Arabic. Thus, بَارِزٌ *bāriz*, تَاسِيٌ *tāsi*, جَارِيٌ *jāri*, etc., as *fāther*; but حَامِلٌ *hāmil*, خَاطِرٌ *khāṭir*, صَادِرٌ *sādir*, ذَالٌ *dzall*, طَاهِرٌ *tāhir*, ظَافِرٌ *ṭāfir*, غَاطِرٌ *'ātir*, غَابِنٌ *gābin*, قَادِرٌ *qādir*, etc., almost like our broad *a* in *hawk*, *vault*, etc. There are a few well-known words in which the Arabic long-vowel *fet-ḥa* ٲ is dispensed with in writing, though still fully pronounced; such as رَحْمَنٌ for رَحْمَانٌ; and مُعَوِّذَةٌ is sometimes met with

The forms حَيَوٌ and صَلَوٌ are much used, from an archaic usage found in the *Qur'ān*.

The nineteen soft consonants, the short-vowel gain exactly represented by the Italian sound of *fin*, *pit*, etc. Thus : اِدْ *'idh*, بِنْتٌ *bint*, جِسْمٌ *lirāya*, رِيْدَةٌ *ridya*, لِسَانٌ *lisān*, etc. With the *esra* ي the sound is the same, but prolonged as *ravine*, *fascine*. Thus : سِيْرَةٌ *sira*, فِيلٌ *fil*, دِيْنٌ

The nine hard consonants, the short and the long-requires a sound of which we have no conception and which does not exist in French, Italian, or is well known in Russian, where it is represented by the vowel letter ы. Until its true sound can be ascertained, a student must of necessity pronounce it as the short *a*, and as the French *i* when long. Thus : اَنْ *ān*, خِدْمَةٌ *khidma*, صِبْغَةٌ *ṣibga*, طِبْقٌ *ṭibq*, عِلَّةٌ *āl*; قِيْرَاطٌ *qirāṭ*, عَيْسَى *isā*, فَيْفَانٌ *fīfān*, صِيْغَةٌ *ṣīga*.

Short or long-vowel *dzamma* ' or وُ, the two consonants make no difference of sound in Arabic, quantity, Italian *u* being always the model of *u*, بُرٌّ *burr*, حُورٌ *hūr*, etc.

Some remarks may usefully be added :

In transliterating and pronouncing Arabic, never re-duplicate a consonant unless to represent a *teshdid* ّ, in the which we always reduplicate such letter in writing and in pronunciation as in رَبٌّ *rabb*, رَبَّانِيٌّ *rabbāniyy*, سَكِّينٌ *sikkīn*, مُتَعَسِّفٌ *mute'essif*, etc. This rule is strictly followed in Arabic. Englishmen, slaves to French double letters in words, and then pronounce *command*, *sunny*, *turret*, etc. And yet we say *if fair*, *in nature*, etc., correctly, sounding t

two successive consonants ; and it is just as easy to do so in the middle or at the end of one word.

2. It will not have escaped the reader, that, in transliterating Arabic words that end with a short-vowel *fet-ha* after a soft consonant, the letter *a* has constantly been used in the present paper. This is merely a compliance with the necessities of English orthography, since we do not possess the French *é* or the German final value of *e* ; and final *e* in an English word is always dropped in pronunciation, producing an effect on the preceding vowel instead. A final *a* has not this effect, though it does not truly represent the sound of Arabic *fet-ha* after a soft consonant. It is a vowel, one of the equivalents to *fet-ha*, and is more correct, by far more preferable, than the erroneous and objectionable *ah* or *eh* used by so many. It is an unfortunate necessity, and may sometimes be evaded in compound expressions, such as *قَالَ الرَّسُولُ qāla-r-resūl*, etc.

3. A very erroneous method of transliterating Arabic compound terms and sentences, prevalent all over the continent, as well as among English scholars, is, to sink the final vowel of a word, leaving its consonant bare ; and then to treat the next word, commencing with an *'elif of union* *آ*, as though it were the initial word of a sentence, or an isolated word. Thus they write, for instance : *Jemāl-ed-dīn*, etc., instead of *Jemālu-'d-Dīn* (*Jemāli-'d-Dīn*, *Jemāla-'d-Dīn*), etc. It is a most reprehensible practice, and a careful student should break himself of it as speedily as possible. De Sacy (Gram. Ar. vol. i. pp. 79-81, seconde édition) transliterates correctly in this respect ; and Wright (Gram. of Arab. Lang. vol. i. pp. 19-22) gives the correct rules on this point.

4. When a word commencing with an *'elif of union* stands alone, begins a discourse, or comes after a full stop or pause, or after a word ending with a quiescent consonant, a vowel must be borrowed for that initial *آ*, as is said, from our own

4  
تَبَيَّنَ  
بَيَّنَ  
2.  
'et-  
me'  
س  
س  
س  
of  
w  
a  
c  
c  
f

pocket, or mind. It is always *fet-ha* with the initial definite article, which then becomes pronounced as **أَلْ** 'el; and so it is with **أَيْمَنُ**, which becomes **أَيْمَنُ** 'eymen. But with the other nine nouns, if initial, **أَبْنُ**, **أَبْنَةُ**, etc., *kesra* is borrowed, and they become **أَبْنُ** 'ibn, **أَبْنَةُ** 'ibna, etc. For the **آ** of the verbs, too many rules exist to be given here. But, when these various classes follow a word ending with a quiescent consonant, it is this consonant that borrows the vowel required, and then becomes movent. The special rules must be studied in a grammar.

The following words and names are offered as examples of the system advocated, with instances (in parentheses), gathered from various sources of great authority, of different kinds of erroneous transliteration :

**أَبْ** 'eb (ab).

**أَبْرَهَة** 'Ebreha (Abrahah).

**إِبْنُ الْمُغَاوِرِ** 'Ibnu 'l-Mugāwir (Ibn el-Moghāwir).

**إِبْنُ جُبَيْرٍ** 'Ibnu Jubeyr (Ibn Jubair).

**أَبُو** 'ebu (abû).

**أَبْوَا** 'Ebwa' (Abwa).

**أَبُو سُفْيَانَ** 'Ebû-Sufyān (Abû-Sofyān, Abu Sufiyan).

**أَبُو لَهَبٍ** 'Ebû-Leheb (Abu Laheb).

**أَبُو هُرَيْرَةَ** 'Ebû-Hureyra (Abu Horeira).

**إِكْهِمِيمٌ** 'Ikhmim (Akmim).

**أُسْوَانٌ** 'Uswān (Assouan).

**أَشْمُونَيْنٌ** 'Ushmūneyn (Ashmuneim).

**أَلْقُدْسُ** 'el-Quds (Al-Kods).

**أَوْطَاسٌ** 'ewṭās (Autas).



أَوْقَافَ 'ewqāf (aukaf, efkaf, evcaf).

بَصْرَةَ Baṣra (Bassorah, Basrah).

بُصْرَى Buṣṣā (Bostra).

بَكْرُ بْنُ وَائِلَ Bekru 'bnu Wā'il. } (Bakr-Wā'il).  
 بَكْرُ وَائِلَ Bekru Wā'il.

بَيْدَاءَ Beydā' (Baidā).

تِلُّ الْكَبِيرِ 'Et-Tellu 'l-Kebīr (Tel el-Kebir).

تَيْمَاءَ Teymā' (Teymah).

جَبَلَيْنَ jebeleyn (obl. of جَبَلَيْنِ jebelān, dual of جَبَلٌ a mountain) *two mountains* (gebelēn).

جِدَّةَ Jidda, جُدَّةَ Judda (Jeddah).

جُدَيْدَةَ Judeyda (Jedaydah).

جِزَّةَ Jizza (*Egypt*. Gizza), (Ghizeh).

جَعْفَرُ Ja'fer (Jaafar).

حَائِلَ Hā'il (Hayel).

حِجَازَ Hijāz (Hejaz).

حُدَيْدَةَ Hudeyda (Hodeidah).

حَرَمَ Harem (Haram).

حَمِيدُ اللَّهِ Hamīdu-'llāh (Hameed-Ullah).

خُرْطُومَ Khurṭūm (Khartoum).

خُلُجَ Khuluj (Kholoj).

خُلَفَاءَ Khulefā' (Kholefā).

خَلِيفَةُ Khalīfa (Khalifah).

دَرِيعَةَ Der'iyya (Derey'eeyah).

دُوَيْمَ Duweym (Duem).

دَهْنَاءَ Dehnā' (Ḍahnā).

*a monastery* (dêr).

kwân (Dhakwân).

(rami).

idz (Ri'ad).

yr (Sebehr, Zebehr).

Zeydu 'l-Khayl (Zaid al-Khail).

' (Zeilah).

neb (Zainab).

a (Ceuta).

(Said).

wâhil (Suahil, Saouâhil, Souahhel).

wâhiliyy (Suahili, Saouâhili, Souahbéli).

ikin (Suakin, Suakim).

ân (Soudan).

veys (Suez).

l (Seid, Syud).

س Seyyidu 's-Selâtin (Saiyidu-selâtîn).

qat (Chefkât).

ba (Shaybah).

ba'ïdu Mişr (Saaïd-Miṣr).

zen (daizan).

if (Taïf).

î (Tangiers).

yyq (Toweyk).

î ('Aared).

ha (Ayesha, 'Aisha).

- عَبْدُ الْحَقِّ 'Abdu 'l-Ḥaqq (Abd-el-Hakk).  
 عَبْدُ الْحَمِيدِ 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd (Abd-el-Hamid).  
 عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَانِ 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān (Abd-el-Rahman).  
 عَبْدُ الرَّحِيمِ 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm (Abd-el-Rahim).  
 عَبْدُ الْغَفَّارِ 'Abdu 'l-Gaffār (Abd-el-Ghaffar).  
 عَبْدُ الْقَادِرِ 'Abdu 'l-Qādir (Abd-el-Kader).  
 عَبْدُ اللَّهِ 'Abdu-'llāh (Abdallah).  
 عَبْدُ الْمَجِيدِ 'Abdu 'l-Mejīd (Abd-el-Mejid).  
 عَبْدُ الْمُطَّلِبِ 'Abdu 'l-Muṭṭalib (Abd-el-Mottalib, —  
 Muttaleb).  
 عَبْدُ الْوَهَّابِ 'Abdu 'l-Wehhāb (Abd-el-Wahab).  
 عُثْمَانُ 'Uthmān (Othman, Osman, Othoman, Ottoman).  
 عَدَسٌ 'ades (Adas).  
 عَدَنُ 'Aden (Aden).  
 عُدَيْنٌ 'Udeyn (Odden).  
 عِلْمُ الْعَرُوضِ 'ilmu 'l-'arūḍz (ilm el aruz).  
 عُمَانُ 'Umān (Oman, Omman).  
 عُمَرُ 'Umer (Omar).  
 عَمْرُو 'Amr (Amrou).  
 عِنَايَةُ اللَّهِ 'Ināyetu-'llāh (Inyatullah).  
 غَازِي gāzi (ghāzi).  
 غَزَاةٌ gāzā' (ghazā').  
 غَيْرَةٌ gayra (ghairah).  
 فَرْزَدَقٌ ferezdaq (Farazdac).  
 قَاضِي qāḍzi (cadi, cauzee).  
 قَاهِرَةٌ qāhira (Cairo, le Caire).

- (cobba).  
 ḥṭān (caḥṭān).  
 ʔ (cods).  
 ʔ (cozaḥ).  
 ʔr (Cosseir, Kosseir).  
 ʔzā'a (Codā'a).  
 (Keneh).  
 Goos).  
 a (Coniah, Konieh).  
 ʔ (K'hawah).  
 ʔeysha (Kobaisha).  
 ḥammed (Mahomet, Mohammad, Mohummud).  
 ʔdda'iyya (Maddey'yeeyah).  
 dīna (Medinah).  
 ʔ Medīnetu 'n-Nebiyy (Medīnah ar'rasūl).  
 ʔem (Maryam).  
 ʔjid (masjid).  
 ʔqat (Muscat).  
 ʔim (moslem).  
 ʔawwa' (Massowah).  
 ʔa (Meccah, Makkah).  
 ʔ Mekketu 'l-Mu'atṣama (Mekkah Maazmeh).  
 ya (Minieh).  
 ʔṣil (Mosul).  
 ʔeyla (Moilah).  
 ʔdiyy (Mahdi).  
 ʔNejed).

وَهْرَانُ Wehrān (Oran).

هَارُونُ Hārūn (Harun, Haroon).

يَنْبُعُ Yenbu' } (Yembo).  
يَنْبُوعُ Yenbu'

From these examples a judgment may be formed as to how far from correct is the new Admiralty system of transliteration for Arabic words, recently adopted by the Royal Geographical Society; <sup>1</sup> more especially the rule to reduplicate a consonant when it is wished to show that the preceding vowel is short.

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that the "system" here adverted to was rather an endeavour to insure uniformity under reasonable precedent, than to illustrate any strict adherence to grammatical orthography.—Ed.

# JOURNAL

OF

## ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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*The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bamian.*<sup>1</sup>  
the Hon. M. G. TALBOT, R.E. With Notes  
and on Sketches of Capt. P. J. MAITLAND, In-  
Branch, Q.-M.-Gen. Department, by W.  
Esq., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A., etc.; and an  
Note of Capt. Maitland's own.

*read through the President of the Royal Asiatic Society.)*

### DUCTORY REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT.

which is about to be read,<sup>1</sup> not having been  
submission to the Society, may require a few  
explanations.

site of considerable fame in the travels and  
the last sixty or seventy years, stands at  
some 8500 feet, in a valley of the region  
azára tribes, on the chief road between Kabul  
, and almost close to the northern base of that  
lian Caucasus which is known, from one of its  
as, as Koh-i-bábá.

on the Kabul side of Bámián reach to 11,000  
, and those north of it, towards Turkestan, to

draining the valley of Bámián is one of the  
the river known as the Surkháb or Áksarai  
lerable tributary of the Oxus, into which it  
y-two miles N.W. of Kunduz.

nces of the cliffs which line the valley of

of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 15th March, 1886.

Bámíán are crowned by the remains of numerous massive towers, whilst their precipitous faces are for six or seven miles pierced by an infinity of anciently excavated caves, some of which are still occupied as dwellings. The actual site of the old city is marked by mounds and remains of walls, and on an isolated rock in the middle of the valley are the considerable ruins of what appear to have been the acropolis, now known as Ghúlghúla.

But the most famous antiquities of Bámíán are certain standing figures of enormous size, carved in the conglomerate rock on the sides of the gorge. These images, which have been much injured by cannon-shot, are cut in niches; both images and niches have been coated with plaster, whilst the plastered surface of the niches has been painted with figures. As seen from the rock of Ghúlghúla, Bámíán, with its numerous grottoes, and with the singular red colour of its soil, presents an impressive aspect of desolation and mystery.

The history of Bámíán is very obscure. There is nothing on which to found an identification of the place with any name handed down in the classical geographers or historians of Alexander. The earliest mention of the kingdom and city of Bámíán is in the travels of (the Chinese) Hwen T'sang, A.D. 630; but his account does not determine the race either of the inhabitants or of the reigning prince. We know also that at a much later date Bámíán was, for half a century, the seat of a branch of the Ghorí or Shansabánya dynasty, which came to an end in 1214. Major Raverty, in his translation of the *Tabakat-i-Násiri* (p. 427), quotes Persian historical writers to the effect that the proper name of the city was Rásif, or the like. But it is no uncommon circumstance in Asiatic geography for the name of a kingdom or territory to usurp and practically to extinguish the name of the capital. In 1222 the place was taken and utterly destroyed by Chinghíz Khán, and I am not aware of any later records of Bámíán's history. The character, however, of the ruins of Ghúlghúla, and concurring local tradition, indicate that the city must have been rebuilt since the time of Chinghíz, and again destroyed.

idols, as has already been said, have constituted attracting chiefly attention to Bámíán. They believe, alluded to by any of the early Arab at least in any works that have been printed. ges that they are mentioned by Sharafu-d Yezd in his History of Timur; if so, this be the earliest Persian mention: but I have to find such a passage in the translation by Droix. Hyde, in his *History of the Religion of Persians* (ed. 1760, pp. 229-230), quotes mention two Persian writers, viz. the *Masúlik wa Mamálik*<sup>1</sup> *ing Jahángírt*. There is also mention of them *Akbari* (Blochmann's Text, vol. i. p. 590, and ans. vol. ii. p. 168). Hyde, whose book was 1 in 1700, was apparently the first European k of the images.<sup>2</sup> After him we have Wilford, the *Asiatic Researches*. Wilford's exertions in owledge were most praiseworthy, but, un- r his reputation, he never would publish the hich he acquired with great labour and cost, g it up with a large amount of his own fan- caseless speculations, to say nothing of the ch were imposed upon him. Moorcroft ii. pp. 387 *seqq.*) was the first of our ropean travellers actually to see these remains, xcount was not published till after that of rnes, who passed Bámíán on his way to 132, and gave an account of it in the second *Journal of the Asiat. Soc. of Bengal*, as well later) in his Travels. Masson (*Various* , ii. 382 *seqq.*), Mohun Lal, Sir Vincent rs have since seen and given their impres-

is from Hyde as if it were the work of Ibn Haukal bearing ; this is a mistake.

aes thought that Friar Odoric had seen the great idol of nsions he uses about the *Terrible Valley*: "In hac etiam valle : ipso saxo unam faciem hominis maximam et terribilem ego : terribilis erat quod prae nimio timore spiritum me perdere

But other particulars indicate that he may rather have ir Valley. See *Cathay, etc.*, pp. 157-158.



sions, the last account preceding the letter now before us being contained in the Russian Narrative of Dr. J. L. Yavorsky (St. Petersburg, 1882). Mr. Delmar Morgan, ever ready with help, has kindly furnished me with a translation of the passages relating to Bámíán in this last work, but I find nothing in them of sufficient value or novelty to transcribe.<sup>1</sup>

The best of the modern accounts of Bámíán till the present time is, I incline to think, Moorcroft's. His estimate of the height of the images is much nearer the truth than that of Burnes, whilst he distinctly recognizes the Buddhistic character of the remains. Elphinstone, writing in 1814, however, already says: "The learned in Indian antiquities are of opinion that these idols are connected with the worship of Boodh, and their situation strongly reminds one of the colossal statues at the entrance of the great temples, supposed to belong to the religion of Boodh, in the midst of the city of caves, which is to be seen at Canara (Kanhari) in Salsette." —*Cambool* (orig. 4to. edition), p. 487. I do not know to what expression of opinion by the learned, Elphinstone can here refer, except to the words of Wilford (*Asiat. Res.* vol. vi. p. 463), who says the place was considered at an early period to be the metropolis of the sect of Buddha, whence *Buddha-Bámíán*, which he alleges the Mussulmans corrupted into *But-* (or Idol) Bámíán. But any idol would be *but*, Buddha or not.

Wilford got his information on the subject, at least in part, from a Sayad called Miyán Asad Sháh, who had visited Bámíán ten or twelve times.

With regard to Elphinstone's allusion to Salsette, Masson also says: "I have recently visited the Buddhist temples in the island of Salsette, and certainly there can be no doubt of the resemblance between the colossal figures of Buddha in them and those of the Bámíán niches" (*Various Journeys*, vol. ii. p. 384).

The publication in French, by Julien, of the Life of Hwen

<sup>1</sup> See also in *Panjab Notes and Queries* for February, 1886, p. 81.

s, 1853), showed how just Moorcroft's surmise. The Chinese traveller found at Bámíán ten con- about 1000 monks belonging to the "Little He goes on: "To the N.E. of the royal city ountain, on the declivity of which is placed a of Buddha, erect, in height 140 or 150 feet. ies sparkle on every side, and its precious orna- the eyes by their brightness. To the east of e is a convent, which was built by a former king y. To the east of the convent there is a stand- ' Sákya Buddha, made of metallic stone" (in i.e. brass), "in height 100 feet. It has been ent parts and joined together, and then placed d form as it stands. To the east of the city rteen *li* there is a convent, in which there is a ldha lying in a sleeping position, as when he *ñā*. The figure is in length about 1000 feet *Transl. of the Si-yu-ki*, i. 50-51.)

passage we appear to learn that the second of is originally covered with sheets of brass; also, he larger one was gilt, as is indeed antecedently

the sleeping Buddha a little more is to be said. are to be found in all Buddhist countries; bed one near Pagán in the narrative of Sir e's Mission to Ava, p. 52. One in Ceylon is Major Forbes's book (vol. i. p. 370). And es of the same kind, indeed, at Kanchau na, are mentioned by Marco Polo (bk. i. Shah Rukh's envoys to Peking, and by sian friend Hajji Mahommed (see *Cathay and er*, p. cciii, and p. ccxviii).

emarkable that Masson and Mohun Lal both ne object in the neighbourhood of Bámíán, n in the legends of the natives as an *Ashdahá* garded as a monster destroyed by 'Ali. The account of this object is contained in a paper ral E. Kaye, of the Royal Artillery (Bengal),

which was printed for the first time in the *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* for 1879, though the observations date from 1840. He says:—"On the opposite side of the valley (*i.e.* from the images), about a mile to the west, a stony gully leads into the hills; a short way up this there is a nearly isolated rock, on the flat summit of which there is in relief a recumbent figure bearing a rude resemblance to a huge lizard, and near the neck of the reptile there is a red splash, as of blood. This is called the Azdaha, or dragon, said to have been slain by Ali or some Mahomedan saint of bygone days, and an indentation in the rock close by is held to be the gigantic footprint of the slayer" (p. 249).<sup>1</sup>

In the same volume (p. 338) I made a suggestion to which I now recall attention, that this Dragon (which, however, General Kaye terms "a recumbent figure in relief") is really the Nirvāṇa Buddha of Hwen T'sang. There is a difficulty, no doubt, in the *direction*, which the modern travellers give as west or north-west of Bāmian, whilst Hwen T'sang places it to the eastward. Another difficulty has been suggested from the account of Mohun Lal, who calls the dragon "fifty feet in length." But in this there is probably some mistake. For Masson says this Azhdahā of Bāmian is "analogous in character to that of Bisūt, but of much larger size" (vol. ii. p. 395). Now, turning to his account of the Azhdaha of Bisūt (the province immediately south of Koh-i-Baba), we find it thus described: "The Azhdha of Bisūt is, indeed a natural curiosity, which the creative imagination of the Hazāras supposes to be the petrified remains of a dragon, slain by their champion Hazrat Ali. . . . It is, geologically speaking, of volcanic formation, and a long projected mass of rock, about one hundred and seventy yards in length," etc. "I afterwards found that an analogous mass of rocks, but of much more imposing size, occurs in the vicinity of Bāmian, and is alike supposed to represent a petrified dragon" (*ib.* pp. 357-359).

<sup>1</sup> Both this dragon and another in the neighbourhood are mentioned, as Sir F. Goldsmid kindly points out, in Dāūd Khān's *Visit to Afghanistan*, etc., 1872, printed by the Panjāb Government.

clude by remarking that some one has suggested remember who, it may have been General , or it may have been *moi qui tous parle*), that those long graves, which in Afghanistan and India shown as the tombs of holy giants (*chális gasi*, t), really mark the sites of Buddha-in-Nirvána ch graves are mentioned, in Bisút, by Masson in Laghmán, the graves of Lot and Lamech, by l. iii. pp. 195-197). The same traveller also these long graves are especially numerous in the grahár, which we can hardly doubt to represent ira of Hwen T'sang, a region which abounded in Buddhist shrines and relics of every kind. famous grave of the same kind, if I remember odhya, a site which was also rich in Buddhist emorials.

## LETTER.

*Camp, Haibak, Nov. 13th, 1885.*

APSON,

and I have made the long-talked-of trip through country to Bamian, and we are now on our way having crossed the Kara Kotal to-day. We very fair time of it, but the weather has been our first snowstorm on our second march from the 10th of October, and did not get free from ended into Yak Urang,<sup>2</sup> at the head of the er that we had mostly good weather till we 1. There have been one or two falls since. course, made it unpleasant and hindered my much. However I have got my work trian-lane tabling all right so far. We saw nothing in the Hari Rud basin, except a really ancient ption in the Tangi Azao near Shahrak ; copies sent to Cunningham and Rawlinson, but have

to press, I find that the originator of the suggestion was my son. He is now less confident in the theory ; but to me it able one.—H.Y.

See Erskine's Baber, p. 211.

had no answers yet. In the Balkhao valley there are two or three old sites. First and lowest down, Chahilburj. This I did not see, but I send Maitland's description: "Chahilburj is 28 miles from Zári, on the road to Balkh by the Balkhao, standing on a semi-isolated hill at the point at which a large ravine, down which the road comes, joins the main stream. It is at the East end of the Sokhtagi Valley. The road at present forks just below the fort, so that it commands the junction. The remains are those of a fortress of considerable size, and consist of three lines of walls with towers at very close intervals. The walls are in parts fairly perfect, but from a casual inspection I should say that the lower wall was never carried all round the hill. It certainly existed on the south side and on the east side, though now carried away by a landslip. The original height of the walls I should estimate at 50 or 60 feet: the towers are of the same height and large diameter. The walls and towers are all built of very large sun-dried bricks, except the lower courses, which are of stone and mud.

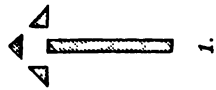
The shape of the loopholes is peculiar (see Pl. I. Fig. 1). I noticed three tiers of such loopholes in a tower still standing on the higher portion of the hill.

The three lines of walls are all about the same height, but being built on a steep slope each commands the one outside it. Inside the walls, remains of some buildings were visible. The plateau west of and below the fort is inclosed by a wall originally 10 or 12 feet high and several feet thick, built of rough stone imbedded in mud. The space inclosed may have been the site of a small town. There is a tradition that a portion of it was originally the site of a bazaar.

On the south side of the fort, and under a low scarp facing the base of the hill on which the fort is built, are several chambers, some of which are slightly sunk into the face of the scarp and appear to have been divided by mud-brick walls: some are sunk almost entirely into the hill and below the surface of the ground. They have round arches and round arched recesses."

Another place is the Shahri Barbar, some 35 miles higher





1.



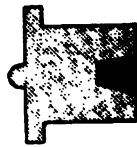
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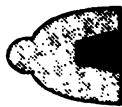
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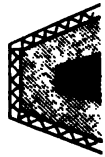
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12.



13.



14.



15.



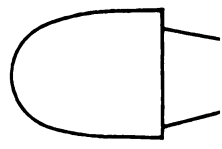
16.



17. C



Cross Section  
through Centre on C.-D.



Longitudinal Section  
through Centre  
on A.-B.



Passage.





than Chahilburj. It is situated in the fork of the water from the Band i Amir with that and Firozbahar. It consists only of a wall north and only accessible side of a plateau above the valley, and must only have been of refuge. The wall is built of uncut but all of much the same size and shape, roughly one inch side, arranged in straight courses meeting joint, sometimes not. The wall is eight high and about eight feet thick. In a low plateau there are four holes eight to twenty feet high to collect rain or snow-water. There are mud buildings. At one point, built in the wall, are some small domed chambers: the same in the usual manner.

Two, called respectively Darali and Sarikol, at Balkhao, are a good many caves—50 or 60, most of those in the Darali were all inhabited, and mud built in front of them, hiding the shape of

the valley I visited several. They were mostly a way up the cliff and awkward to get at. They are at the inner end three or four feet wide high, as if for sitting or sleeping on. The most is a passage twenty-five to thirty feet long, and nine to ten feet wide. The door was shown in the sketch (Pl. I. Fig. 2).

At the end of the Sarikol Nala, and about six miles farther, is an old fort called Gáwargin. Its original name was Gabarger. It consists of walls of sun-dried bricks, built on both sides of a very inaccessible rocks. The only curious thing is an aircase cut inside the rock, descending from the top, but no one knows where. The chief of the fort told me he had been down seventy steps. He said there were great treasures at the bottom.

Shahri Ghulghulah and Zohak, Maitland came to the conclusion that these three places, Chahil-

burj, Barbar, and Gawargin, might well be of the same date. Just below the fort of Gawargin is a mound which looks like a tope. Near the top a piece of flat wall is exposed, which must, I should say, have been part of the relic chamber, as it appears to have been in the centre of the tope.

I spent four days at Bamian, but could give only a very small portion of that time in visiting the antiquities.

To begin with the figures: there are five.

1. First the big idol, male. The passage up to the top of this is broken away, so I measured it with my theodolite and found it to be 173 feet high. It is sunk in a niche, so as to be protected from the weather. The shape of the niche is something like Pl. I. Fig. 3.

2. A female figure 120 feet high, measured by Maitland with a tape. The passage up to the top is still accessible.

There are paintings on the roofs of the niches of both these figures. In the case of the latter some have been copied. Both figures are hewn out of the conglomerate rock, but the finishing, drapery, etc., was all added by putting on stucco. The niche of the female figure is irregular, and looks as if it had been left unfinished.

3. A smaller figure, 50 or 60 feet high, estimated. This figure has almost entirely disappeared.

4. A seated figure about 25 to 30 feet high, in a niche. This figure looks as if it had been cut out and prepared for stucco, but the stucco had never been applied. Shape of niche shown in Pl. I. Fig. 4.

5. A standing figure about one mile from the others. Unfortunately, owing to a misunderstanding, we never visited this.

No. 4 also has paintings, some of which have been copied. The caves are innumerable, they extend for miles. The best ones are close to the female figure. The doorways are mostly sunk well 10 or 15 feet into the rock, with a porch excavated outside. I show drawings of the most remarkable (see Pl. I. from Figs. 5 to 14).

Most of the caves in good order are now inhabited, so I could not visit them; of those I did visit most had domed

or being square. The conversion of the square preparatory to the springing of the dome, is thus indicated in the manner used in the present shā bricks, that is, by a succession of arches at

Looking at the corner from the centre of the arches thus (see Pl. I. Fig. 15).

seems to be connected with a very curious cave, and to draw. Its plan is an oblong 16 by 20 feet. The highest in the centre, a square being cut out in a geometrical pattern enclosing a hemispherical vault 12 feet in diameter (see Pl. I. Figs. 17, 18, 19). In view of the accuracy of these drawings, as they are very hurried sketches, but they are something more than made a freehand sketch of the roof of this cave. I will send a sketch if I have time to make

near the idols are all connected by rambling staircases cut in the rock.

These caves have paintings, but we could not see them as they were full of grass, etc., stored for winter.

At Bulghulah we saw nothing remarkable.

A wonderful fort as regards situation and multiplicity of defence. It is fairly well preserved in such a manner so that the natives say it was not captured lately. Some domed chambers in it are the exact counterparts of the domed caves above mentioned.

Vihara caves. I inquired about them, and was told that there were some with rooms round a central passage and that if they were occupied, I did not see them.

Described as being in one or two cases a square room, with a small room opening off from it, the side of the entrance being the exception. I was told that there was one cave which had six rooms round it, that is, two from each of the three sides.

There are very few of these Vihara caves. The caves I have shown are all mixed up together and it would be impossible to pick out any one lot from among them having been executed at one particular time; at

least, so it seemed to me from a very casual inspection. Many caves have fallen partly, at least their porches and original doorways have gone. Many others have had their doorways and porches partly bricked up, so that their shape is lost.

I could see no sign of the sleeping Buddha. I have seen caves more or less all the way to here, Haibak, but nothing new or remarkable; also mediæval ruins.

No time for more. Excuse a very rambling letter, but I cannot afford time to put it into shape. Hoping it may interest you,

Believe me, Yours sincerely,

M. G. TALBOT.

#### NOTES TO CAPT. TALBOT'S LETTER, BY WILLIAM SIMPSON.

A number of travellers have passed Bamian at various times, and have given notices of the colossal figures and the caves, but they have brought away only vague details of them. Captain Talbot's letter supplies us with the first instalment of accurate information regarding this wonderful place; and the details are so valuable, that I scarcely like to utter the wish that he had sent us more of them, as such an expression might seem to indicate a want of thankfulness for what we have received. We must remember that Captain Talbot is very devoted to his duties in the Survey Department, and that he was only four days at Bamian.

As far as I can make out from Captain Talbot's letter, he and Captain Maitland, one of the political department with the Afghan Boundary Commission, came from the north-west, where the camp of the Commission was during the summer months, and dropped into the valley of the Hari Rud, probably on the east of Obeh. They followed up the valley as far as Daulatyar, which is near the junction of the Tingab and the Jangal Rivers; from this they moved east to the sources of the Balkh River,—called in the letter *Balkh-háo(áb)*. Capt. Maitland here visited Chahilburj, on this stream, from whom Captain Talbot quotes an account of that





William Simpson

The Large Male Figure at Bamian.

From a sketch made in 1842, by Lieut-General Sir Vincent Eyre, K.C.S.I.

ite after that was still east to Bamian, from which  
 rth on the regular road towards Khulum; and the  
 en at Haibak, about forty miles to the south of  
 ie ground gone over is, the most of it, new to us.  
 d from somewhere about Balkh or Khulum to  
 route was to the westward of Talbot's; he struck  
 d Valley, passing by Singlak, about twenty or  
 on the west of Daulatyar. Ferrier mentions  
 glak, but Captain Talbot found nothing of  
 pt an inscription, in the Hari Rud Valley. It  
 gets east to the Balkh River that he mentions  
 es, but that is so near to Bamian, that they all  
 een off-shoots from that place, which may have  
 haracter of a religious centre.

lbot gives us what we may now accept as the  
 of the two principal figures. Various estimates  
 iven by travellers. Sir Vincent Eyre—who  
 n while a prisoner in the first Afghan war—  
 nts regarding them, and came very near the  
 emale figure he gives as 120 feet, which turns  
 exactly with Captain Maitland's measurement.  
 re he puts at 160 feet, which was only thirteen  
 truth. Sir Vincent Eyre describes the holes  
 for pieces of wood to be inserted, the object of  
 make the plaster or stucco hold. Captain  
 is an outline of the form of the niches (Pl. I.  
 ich these figures stand. This agrees perfectly

I have, made by Sir Vincent Eyre,<sup>1</sup> and the  
 a feature we are familiar with in the Jalálábád  
 all as those in the Yusufzai country, and in the  
 nitecture. There is a niche very like this, only  
 iff above the Fíl Khána Tope at Jalálábád, and  
 e authority of Sir Vincent Eyre's sketch that

I. a rough copy of Sir Vincent Eyre's sketch. I do not think  
 ed, but if it ever appeared, the drawing is not well known to  
 rnes gives a highly-finished lithograph in his work of this  
 t think it is so accurate; this can be judged of so far by com-  
 f the top of the niche with the outline given by Captain Talbot.  
 t Eyre's sketch is much nearer to the truth.



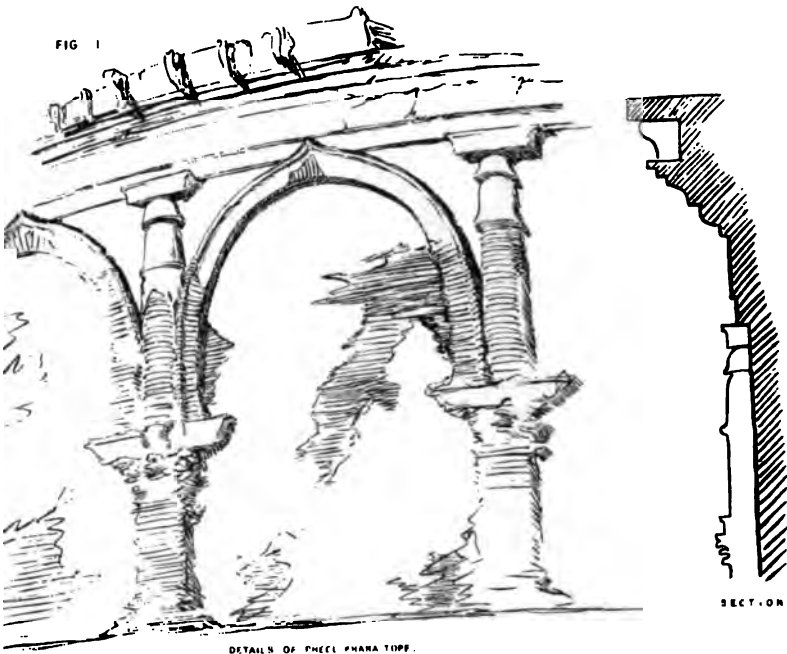
I described it as having had a statue of Buddha in it. This peculiar arch is also given in Pl. I. Figs. 4, 6, and 7.

Fig. 5 in Pl. I. is a form I cannot pretend to explain. The small semicircular form on the top seems to be a not uncommon characteristic, for it appears again in Figs. 13, 18, and 19; and in Figs. 12 and 14 we may perhaps have the same structural idea in another form. The origin of the trefoil arch is, I think, not yet quite clear; and in this peculiar feature, in which we see what may be possibly varieties of it, there is just a chance of new light coming to us on this point. On my late visit to the Afghan frontier, I saw a great amount of what I call "Mud Architecture," that is, mud and sun-dried bricks. Wherever wood for rafters was scarce, the sun-dried bricks were thrown over the roof in the form of a vault or dome, and the process I believe goes back to a very early period; this particular construction might account for the form under consideration,—but I only hazard this as a guess,—and leave the matter in that position till further light turns up.

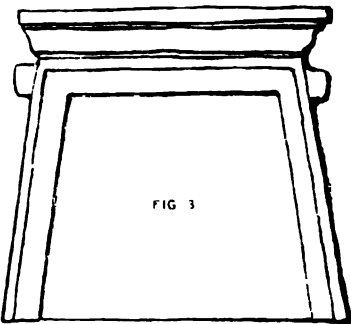
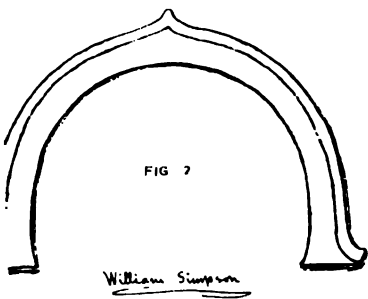
The pointed arch in the caves lately discovered in the Murghab Valley produced in my mind what seemed about the only reason which might stand against their having been Buddhist. Fig. 10 thus becomes important, for it gives us the exact outline of the section of the Murghab Caves, and shows that the form did exist in that part of the world at the Buddhist period. Fig. 11 is very nearly the same form. When the paper on the Murghab Caves was read, Mr. Thornton called attention to the fact that the pointed arch was found in the Buddhist remains of the Yusufzai country. Since then I have looked over my own sketches, photographs, books, etc., and I have to confess that I had not then given the point that attention which it deserves, and I am glad Mr. Thornton mentioned the matter. The Buddhist arch was round originally,<sup>1</sup> but as the style travelled from its source, the forms were often rudely followed, and across the Indus this arch will be found round, oval, at times faintly

<sup>1</sup> In the Lomas Rishi Cave a pointed arch will be found.





DETAILS OF PHELI PHARA TOPP.



Details of Buddhist Architecture to illustrate the Forms found at Bamian.

often it becomes a pointed arch ; so often, in  
 now consider it quite sufficient to account for the  
 at Bamian and in the Murghab Valley. In Pl.  
 given the form of this arch as it appears at  
 llora ; in Fig. I. of that plate is the same arch  
 Khána tope at Jalálábád, but it will be seen  
 has been elongated into an oval.<sup>1</sup>

g. 14 and others we have a form which is un-  
 an architecture, unless it be some survivals of it  
 walls of the older Buddhist caves, of which the  
 is a good example, and in the slight slope given  
 , as in that of the Lomas Rishi Cave. In the  
 ey I only found it as a decorative feature. As  
 with Greek pediments are a common manner of  
 : walls in Europe, so this descendant of an old  
 system is repeated on the sides of stupas, and  
 ng with the trefoil arch, as panels or niches, for  
 st figures. It is also found in the sculptures,  
 ommon form. I came upon one instance of it  
 , formed of plaster, and with mouldings of a  
 out the cross-beam, or lintel below the cornice,  
 d with tenons projecting through the sloping  
 same way as the lintels of the Sanchi gates  
 the pillars, thus repeating a technical detail  
 e period when it belonged to a practical form  
 , and telling us at the same time of its wooden  
 III. Fig. 3). I take it that this was the form  
 id windows, or buildings, in which the walls  
 ible batter, and which walls were most probably  
 len. Remains of this style, although no longer  
 ill to be found in Tibet, and when Káfiristan  
 red, I should expect it may be still found  
 ode of construction in its original materials.  
 urch (Pl. III. Fig. 2) was the prominent con-  
 re of the Buddhist period on the plains of

this plate are reductions from illustrations I gave in a paper  
 chitecture of the Jalalabad Valley, read before the Royal  
 Architects.

India, this was its counterpart to the North of the Indus. It is one of the primitive forms of architecture in that part of the world, and it is most interesting to see it appearing as prominently at Bamian.

Captain Talbot describes these sketches as representing porches in front of the caves. This is a peculiarity of which I cannot recollect anything of the same kind in the caves of the Jalálábád valley. It may have existed, but many of them were so ruinous, particularly in the front, that it was difficult to say what they had been originally.

Most of the caves at Bamian are domed; in the Jalálábád valley this is not the case; there are at Hada only a few square caves with domes in the roof. In one of these there was the base of what had been either a sitting Buddha or a small Stupa, under the dome. I am interested in Captain Talbot's identification of these domes with the modern manner of building with "kacha," which means sun-dried, "bricks." In Persia I made a similar sketch to that in Pl. I. Fig. 15; it, and some others I made of "mud architecture," were done on account of ideas they suggested in relation to Buddhist architecture. I may yet write about them, but at present they are to me far from certainties; naturally, I feel encouraged by Captain Talbot's suggestions on the domes, but it may be recalled that in my paper on the Buddhist caves of Afghanistan,<sup>1</sup> I have put it that the caves of the Jalálábád valley were copied from the early caves at Barabar, near Buddha Gaya: now, in three of these, the Lomas Rishi, Viswa Mitra, and the Sudama Caves, there are domed chambers. Here I think we have an explanation which is sufficient to account for the domes; but it must be confessed that it is only theoretical, and we may have yet to accept the "Kacha brick" explanation in its stead, which would give a Central Asian, rather than an Indian, origin to this particular form in Afghanistan.

Captain Talbot says he saw no Vihara caves, but some were described to him. They are square rooms; in one case

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIV. Part 3.

ree rooms opening off from the central room—on each side, but none on the side of the other had two cells opening off from each runta, in the Jalálábád valley, I found only his kind, and it had three cells on two of its r cells on the back wall, forming seven in all. s is given in my paper on the Buddhist Caves n,<sup>1</sup> where it will be seen that it is exactly the 1g only the number of cells, with the description—Captain Talbot.

3, and 19 I cannot quite understand. Captain t is “a very curious cave, somewhat hard to ust wait till he comes home to explain it. t the Afghan Boundary Commission, as Captain pes of extending the Survey to the eastward, I he managed to visit Bamian, to look out for of the Great Sleeping Buddha, which Hiouen bes as being 1000 feet long. A long mound is be expected to be found now, but nothing of o be seen. Mohan Lal describes a petrified ng which he gives a legend: it still lies a the ground, about fifty feet long. It is about the west of Bamian. The 1000 feet is so exaggeration, that I suspect Mohan Lal’s ke to be most probably the remains of the lha.

n her book, mentions that she or her daughter, pied some of the paintings at Bamian. The that these copies escaped the dangers of the l that they still exist. Perhaps some of the ie Royal Asiatic Society may know something as they might be of importance in supplying ng Bamian, it would be most interesting if luced before the Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*, Plate 3.

## NOTES TO CAPTAIN MAITLAND'S SKETCHES OF BAMIAN.

A few days after Captain Talbot's communication had been read at the Royal Asiatic Society, I received some sketches made at Bamian by Capt. Maitland. On submitting them to Colonel Yule, it was arranged that they should be added to this, and I have been asked to supply a few notes to them.

Captain Maitland's name has already been mentioned; he accompanied Captain Talbot as Political Officer, and the drawings sent home were copies of his sketches, made by Bhayron Bakhsh, a Brahmin attached to the camp of the Afghan Boundary Commission, and a pupil of the School of Art at Jái-púr.

Unfortunately no descriptions came home with the drawings; so some slight explanation of them has to be given. Plate IV. represents that portion of the cliff at Bamian where the second statue stands, which is seen with the caves on the right and left of it. On the extreme left is, what Captain Talbot numbers as the fourth statue, a sitting figure. The largest statue does not appear in this plate, but it stands still further to the left, and according to Sir Vincent Eyre, is about 400 yards from the second one.

The arrangement of the verandahs in front of the caves, described by Captain Talbot, can be seen in this plate; and the peculiar forms drawn and described by him, although only roughly sketched in this case, can be easily identified. On the top of the cliff are a number of elevations, which I take to be mounds, most probably the remains of ruined stupas; in the Jalalabad Valley in almost every instance where there were caves in a scarp, there were similar mounds of stupas above them; and the great probability is that it is the same here. The largest mound, it will be noticed, is exactly over the statue. Burnes says that the rock at Bamian is "indurated clay and pebbles." Sir Vincent Eyre describes it as "that species of conglomerate known by the name of pudding-stone, consisting of very







Bamian. View



1927

En

3

1927

1927





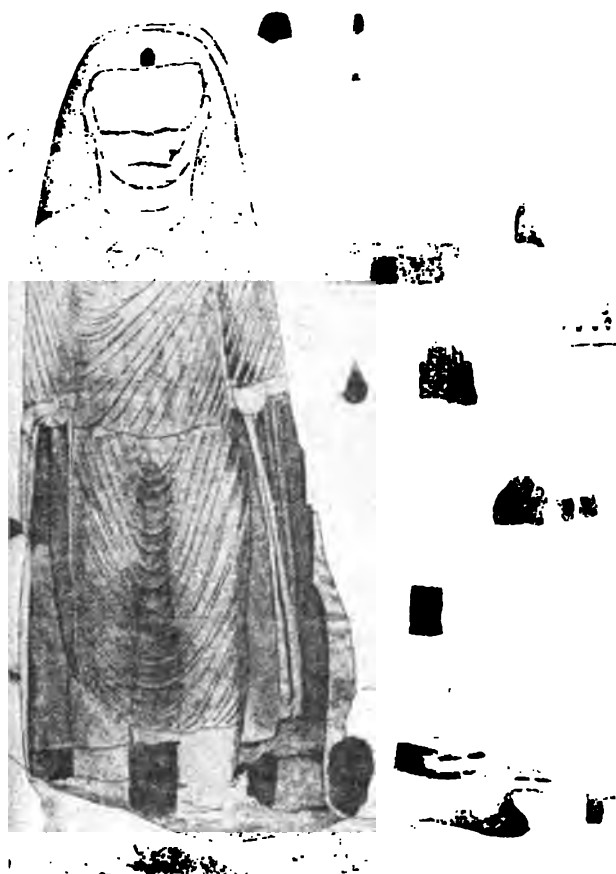
nckly studded with various kinds of rounded  
n the level ground underneath the statue there  
village.

represents the first and the largest of the  
at Bamian; and as it is evidently carefully  
ives minute details, it is particularly valuable,  
t rest all doubts as to the character of the  
liuen Tsiang distinctly states that it was a  
dha, and Masson identified it with the Buddhist  
ad seen at Salsette. Now we have the safer  
his drawing of Capt. Maitland's to guide us, and  
oubt on this point. The knob on the head; the  
of the folds of drapery,—leaving the form of the  
licated,—is all in the well-known style peculiar

It might naturally have been expected that  
fluence, which is so well marked in the Buddhist  
the Peshawer and Jalalabad districts, would  
found here more strongly manifested, as the  
uch nearer to Bactria; but strange to say this  
scarcely be traced in either of the two statues.  
nerism of the drapery is the same as we find  
n side of the Indus. The suggestion which  
o account for this is, that the sculptor, or  
e brought from India, and that the design was  
by the local artists. Sir Vincent Eyre noticed  
he small holes which are represented in the  
his figure, and he makes the following remarks  
m:—"One circumstance struck me as remark-  
as, that in all those parts where the limbs are  
e are regular rows of small holes, in which  
I have been struck, for the evident purpose of  
er adhere. From this it would appear either  
apt had been made to restore the mutilated  
means, or that the figure was originally only  
ptured in the rock, and the deficiencies made  
er in the manner I have mentioned." The  
timur-lang may have shot arrows, and the  
f Nadir Shah may have fired cannon at the

celebrated idols, this being what the people of the locality believe, but no one would have taken the trouble since the Mohammedan period to make any repairs; we can only suppose that these efforts date back to the time when there were Buddhist monks at Bamian. If the small holes had been all over the figure, it might have been supposed that it had been covered with metal; but we can perceive in the drawing, as Sir Vincent Eyre says, that they are only on the mutilated parts. It will be seen from the drawing that both Burnes and Sir Vincent Eyre correctly described this statue as having the upper part of the face destroyed, the mouth being the only feature which had been preserved. Captain Talbot measured this figure with the theodolite, and gives the height as 173 feet; it must be the highest statue known, and a good notion of its size may be formed by comparing it with the London Monument, which is only about 27 feet greater in height; or the Nelson Column in Trafalgar Square, it being 170 feet, or 3 feet less than the statues.

Plate VI. represents the smaller statue, which stands, as already stated, about 400 yards to the right of the larger one, and is 120 feet high; this has been generally known as the "female idol," but it is now evident that Hiuen Tsiang had correctly described it as "a figure of Sakya Buddha." He also describes it as being formed of metal, "it has been cast in different parts and joined together;" the folds of the drapery are yet so carefully given in the figure, that we must suppose it had only been covered with a thin plating of metal, and not with plates which had been cast; this is confirmed by the absence of holes or any indications by which heavy pieces of metal could have been fastened and supported. The larger figure was in all probability gilt, for the pilgrim says that "its golden hues sparkle on every side," and whatever metal was used in the smaller figure, must have been so thin, that it was made to keep its place by means of some adhesive substance. Captain Talbot says that in both figures "the finishing, drapery, etc., was all by putting on stucco." This is all but decisive against



*Bamboo. The Second Statue*



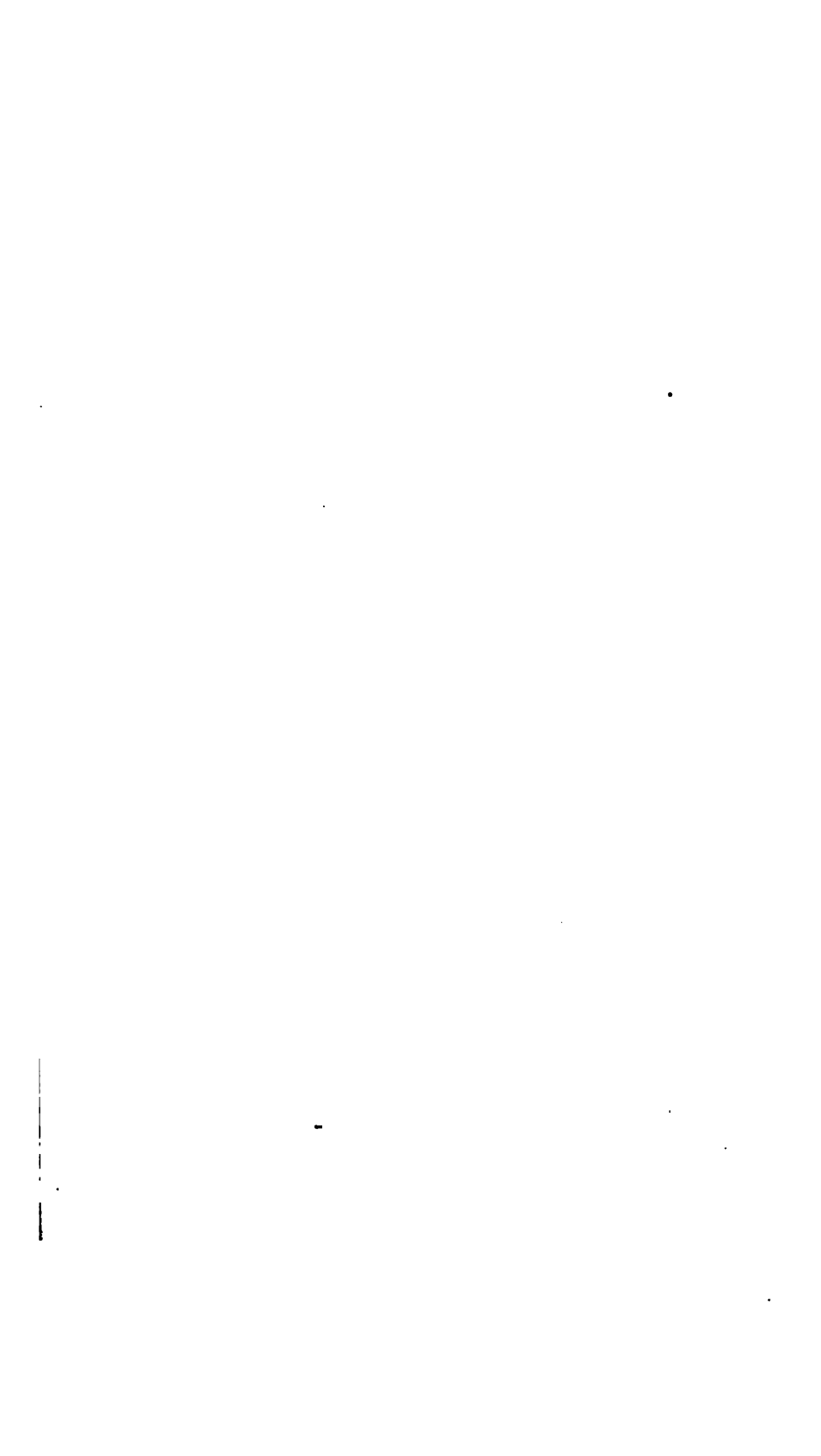






Fig. 10. The Fourth Statue, and Caves

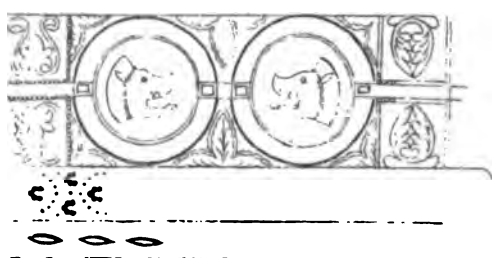


Fig. 1.

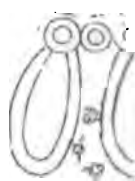


Fig. 2.



Bamian Paintings of Ornaments and Figures.

100

100

100

100

being fixed on it; as there would have been, no need to finish the details with stucco. cut in the rock, by means of which visitors look out at the head of the statue, and the the crown is represented in the drawing. states that the passage to the top is still from the context of his brief statement we see that it was by this means Captain Mait-measure the statue with a tape.

gives us what, in comparison to the colossal, we must call a small statue. Still it is Captain Talbot as being between 25 and 30 feet as that it had been prepared for stucco, been put on; but the greater probability, the size of the holes to be seen all over the strength of the wooden pegs they would this figure might have been covered with es show that it never had details either of and such being the case, these would be all er covering of metal. If this has been the the Chinese Pilgrim's blunder to smaller would thus be only wrong as to which figure, at least one of them, was metallic. The of this figure is on the left of the smaller uded in the general view of the caves.

of painting found in the Jalalabad Valley id fragmentary, but judging from what there by the forms in the sketches of Captain Bamian, we see that what is known as the was confined to the architecture and sculpe- the style of painting had never been affected intings in the Tibetan monasteries of the r a strong resemblance to these fragments d the art on them is no doubt a continuation hool. In one of the fragments, Fig. 3, re is a form already referred to by me when Captain Talbot's drawings. It is the form L Figs. 7, 9, and 14. In the painting it is

shown as supported on two pillars. I have a piece of sculpture from Hada, in which this same arrangement is represented, but with the difference that the columns have well-defined Corinthian capitals.

WILLIAM SIMPSON.

[N.B.—A second letter from Capt. Talbot has come to hand since receipt of the others. As it gives probably the first account of the "Takht-i-Rustam" in this locality, it is now published with the drawings which accompanied it. Haibak, I may mention, is on the road from Bamian to the Oxus, and as there are many groups of caves along the whole route, the paper in question appears an appropriate *addendum* to those preceding it.—W.S.]

LETTER.

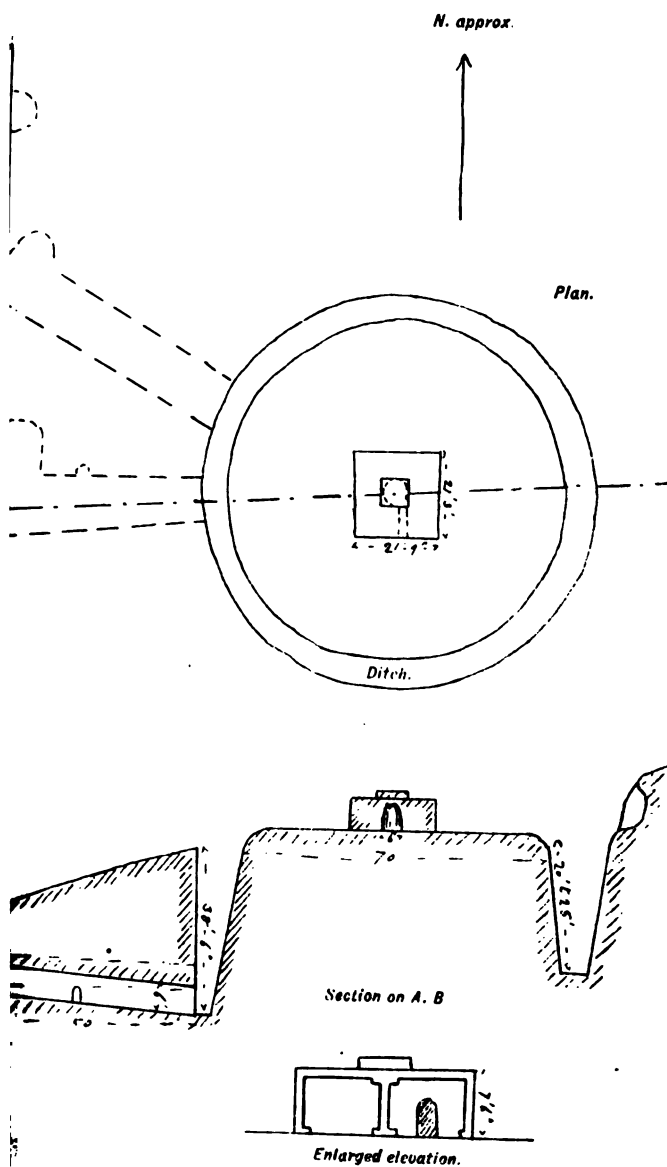
*Camp, Kilif, March 2nd.*

MY DEAR SIMPSON,

I hope my letter from Bamian way reached you safely and proved interesting. I have not much more to add. At Haibak, about two miles west of the fort, is a very curious place called Takht-i-Rustam. Possibly it has been fully described before; but in case it has not, I send you a plan and description. [See figures on opposite page, Pl. IX.]

It is entirely cut out of the rock; there has been no building up whatever. Simply the top of a rocky hillock has been cut into the shape I describe. It is not situated on quite the highest point of the hillock, and could never have been intended for a fortification of any sort.

It consists of an annular ditch cut out of the rock to a varying depth on the west side, at perhaps its deepest point. I found it to be 38½ ft. from the top of the counterscarp, to use a military term. The conical mass of rock left standing in the centre has been levelled to form a circular platform about 70 ft. in diameter, the top of the scarp being neatly bevelled off. In the centre of the platform stands a rectangular house, also cut out of the solid rock. A doorway and passage from the south side leads into a circular domed



Takhti Rustan near Haibak.

M. G. Talbot, Capt., R.E.



10

11

12

13

in diameter and 6 ft. 6 ins. high. You will see in my drawings there is a discrepancy as to the position of the passage. I am pretty sure that the enlarged drawing is correct as to the position of the doorway correctly, and also that it is correct as to the way the passage leads into the chamber. I must therefore have got my dimensions wrong. The chamber cannot be situated exactly in the

position that this is a sort of tope, and that the chamber contains an image of Buddha, but you know my opinion is only a guess, and as I send you all I know about it, you may draw your own conclusions.

The platform and house is quite perfect, and made with great care and neatness. Access is had to it from the top by means of holes cut in the escarp, similar to the openings in a gymnasium for escalading exercise, which enable a person to climb up from the ditch, which is here less than 10 ft. deep. I should guess. The bottom of the ditch is level, and the width and slope. The ditch is deepest on the west side and slopes up to the east from both sides. The ditch is cut in all but one place, where a small portion of the escarp remains away. On the east side are the remains of the counterscarp, looking inwards, and on about the level of the platform. Most of them have fallen in. Access is had to the ditch by two passages cut in the rock face. The northern of these passages is some 6 ft. above the level of the ditch, for what object I cannot conjecture. The southern issues are at the level of the bottom of the ditch.

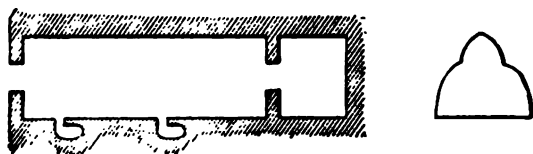
The passages issue from the ditch on to a platform cut in the rock. The rock is of a grey colour, and does not weather badly, but has weathered well. I am not a geologist, but I think what it is.

On the top of a neighbouring hill, some 300 yards off, are seen more caves facing towards the Takht. I should like to hear if you know of any similar place.

The road from Haibak to Tâshkurghân is a place where there are said to be 1000 caves. It consists of a large

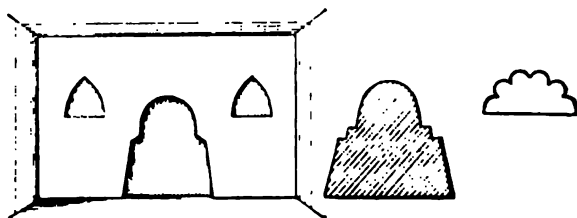
number of caves excavated in low cliffs, 10 to 20 ft. high, surrounding a depression in undulating ground. It is 18 to 20 miles from Takht-i-Rustam. Many of the caves have fallen in. Those that remain seem to be nearly all of one plan—a large outer room leading by an archway into a smaller room approaching a square in plan. In some cases the outer room has small rooms leading off from it; and in several cases contiguous outer rooms are connected with one another by side passages in an irregular sort of way. Altogether they seemed to be nearer the pattern of Vihara caves than anything else I have seen.

[The larger of these figures represents the plan of the cave.



The smaller approximately illustrates a niche which the writer noticed at the inner end of the inner chamber.]

The outer doorways have most fallen in, and in none could I trace any definite shape; but the doorways into the inner rooms are mostly perfect and vary in shape: as a rule they have a niche on each side of them. I show two patterns of doorways and the position of the side niches. The niches also vary in shape: some are as I have tried to draw.



You must understand that when I draw an arch, I mean it to be symmetrical, though I fear I am not often successful.

f both outer and inner rooms were originally plaster, of which a good deal remains, showing designs and remains of colour. In one case I thing very like a *fleur-de-lis*. My usual complaint ime holds good here: I only had half an hour caves. It would have taken a whole day to do y. There are a great number of them.

Yours very sincerely,

M. G. TALBOT.

#### L NOTE ON BAMIAN BY CAPT. P. J. MAITLAND.

in valley is about half a mile broad and well t there is no town or even central agglomeration ly small villages scattered up and down the he north is a fairly continuous wall of cliffs out 300 feet in height; to the south is a central ated by the glens called Dahaneh-i-Tájik and idabad from the cliffs limiting the western and of the valley. On the edge of the central small, conical, clayey hill, covered with the gulah. This is probably the ancient Bamian.

e everywhere pierced with numerous caves, but umber is found on the north side of the valley, also the famous idols, the Bút-i-Bamian. The ese are literally honeycombed with caves, which 1 in the *débris* slope at the bottom. They are abited by Tajiks, or used as store-rooms, and i frequently protected by a low mud wall.

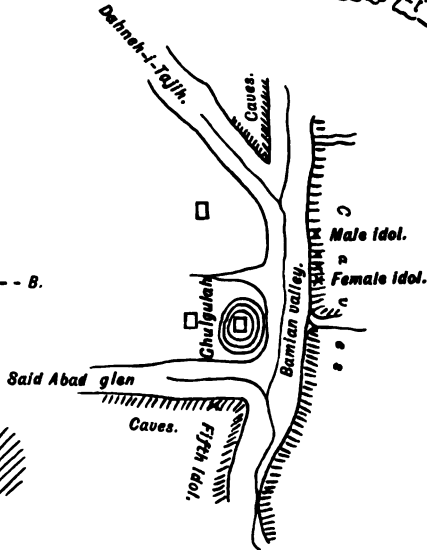
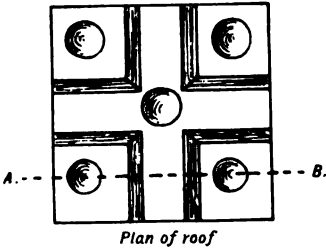
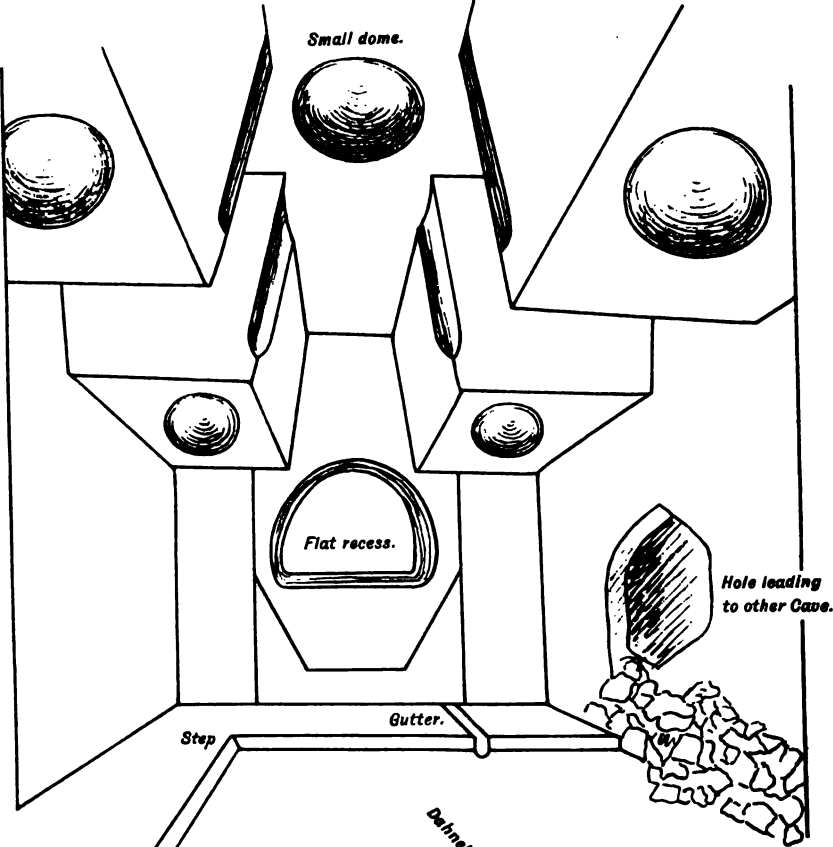
bliff the larger of the two big idols is to the to the right. They are about a quarter of a l supposed to be male and female, and their pectively 180 and 120 feet. Their names are, r former travellers, Sal Sál for the male and for the female figure. The idols are standing red in very bold relief in deep niches. Between dols are, or rather were, two smaller ones, also ese are equidistant from the large idols and

from each other, that is to say, there is about 150 yards between each of the niches, large and small. One of the smaller niches is about 60 to 70 feet high, and is now empty, though a close inspection shows fragments of the idol that once filled it. The second small niche is still occupied by a sitting figure, which is about 40 feet high and known as the Bacheh, or child. The general shape of the niches is the same in all cases, but that of the large female figure is evidently unfinished, and the shoulders are not marked, nor the edges smoothed off.

The depth of the niches of the two large idols is about twice the thickness of the figures standing in them: the latter are therefore fairly well protected from the weather, and this accounts for their excellent preservation, nearly all the damage done to them being due to the hand of man. The whole interior of the niches, and particularly the arches over the heads of the idols, have been painted with what appears to be allegorical designs. Although much damaged, in fact, obliterated, where they could be easily got at, enough remains to show the general style of the work, which is exceedingly well executed, and forcibly reminds one of what is generally understood to be Byzantine art.

The idols themselves are rather clumsy figures, roughly hewn in the tough conglomerate rock, and afterwards thickly overlaid with stucco, *in which all the details are executed*. The whole arrangement clearly shows that this was not done at a later period, but is part of the original design of the figures. The stucco appears to have been painted, or at least paint was used in some places. The features of the figures have been purposely destroyed, and the legs of the larger one have been partly knocked away, it is said by cannon-shot fired at it by Nadir Shah. Both idols are draped in garments reaching to below the knee. The limbs and contour of the body show through, and the general effect of muslin is excellently imitated in the stucco. The arms of both are bent at the elbow, the forearms and the hands projecting, but the latter are now broken off. The feet have also been battered out of shape.





Cave at Bamian.

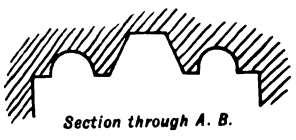
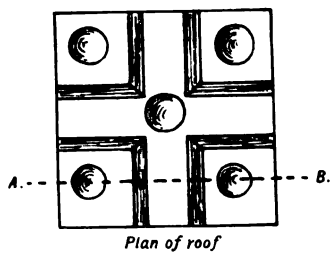
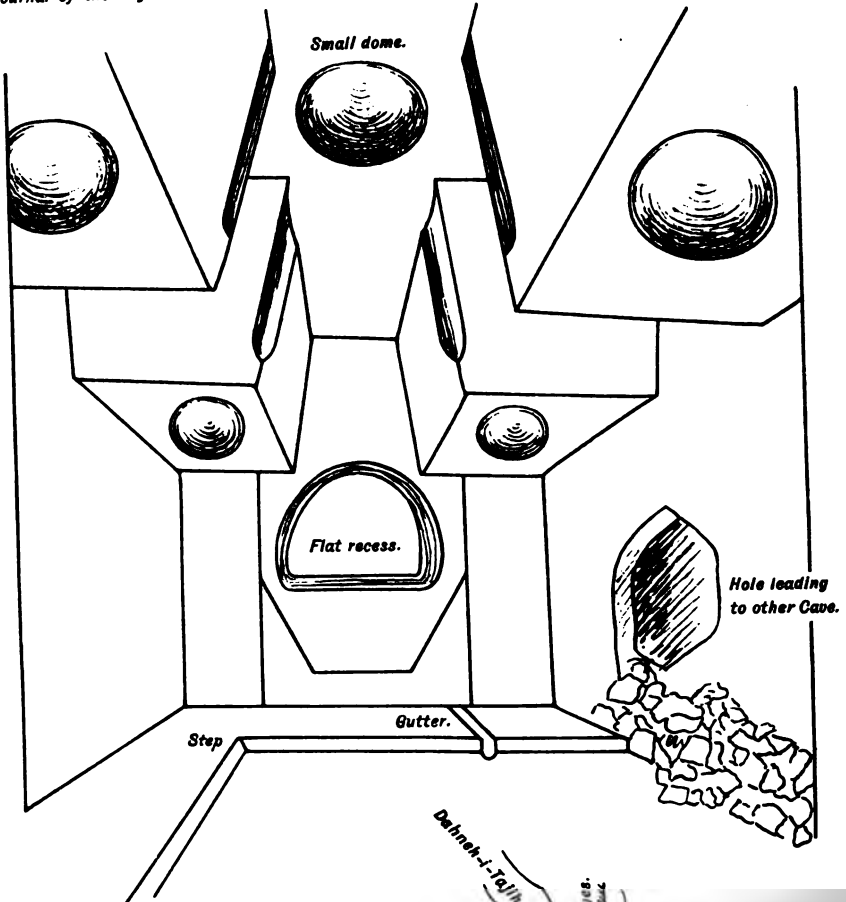
Narrow stairways hewn in the interior of the rock lead up from cave to cave to the heads of the idols, and even to the summit of the hill.

The caves, though so numerous, are not large. By far the greater portion of them are chambers 12 to 14 feet square, with domed roofs. I think as a rule several chambers open into each other, and have a wide portico in front by which light is admitted to the doorways. These have generally round arches. There are certainly no pointed arches anywhere, but some of the openings may be square-headed. The domes are set on the four-sided chambers in a remarkable manner, the square being reduced to an octagon by cornices springing by tiers from the angles in unmistakable imitation of brick-work. (See Plate X., also Plate I. Figs. 17, 18 and 19.) It is a very curious fact that at Kandahar domes are to this day commonly built on brick-built square chambers in exactly the same fashion. One of the roofs seen was of a different kind, flat and divided into four by deep wide cuts, crossing each other in the centre. Small cupolas were hewn in the centre of each of the spaces and at the intersection of the cuts. The largest cave of all is said to be between the feet of the great idol, but like several others it is used for government stores, and was filled with lucerne, etc. We saw no Vihara caves, but some are said to exist. As above mentioned, the majority of the caves are inhabited. A few years ago it is said they all were. The interiors are plain, without sculptural ornamentation, and now completely smoke-blackened. The whole, however, were plastered with stucco and painted. In one of the upper caves, near the head of the female idol, some designs are still visible.

A short distance east of the female idol, near the foot of the cliff, is a mound, which seems to be the remains of a Buddhist tope.

A design on the arch over the female idol can, to a certain extent, be made out with a field-glass. Within a circle is a figure in a long robe with a spear, apparently slaying something. The two upper corners without the circle are filled





The central part of the temple is a large square hall, the main shrine, which is divided into four smaller squares by a central aisle. The four corners of the hall are occupied by four smaller shrines, each containing an idol. The central shrine is the largest and is the most ornate. It contains a large idol of a seated figure, possibly a deity, which is the main object of worship. The four corner shrines contain smaller idols, which are also seated figures. The entire temple is built on a raised platform, and the roof is a flat, tiled roof. The temple is surrounded by a low wall, and there is a small gate on the south side.

with figures of angels or cherubs, waving scarves at each other. They might well date from the last century. On either side is a border with male and female busts or half-figures in circles, and all adorned with halos. Outside the central design on the left-hand side is a very curious figure of a human-headed bird.

On the east side of the Saidabad glen is an idol, which does not appear to have been noticed by former travellers. It is somewhere up the cliff, which is pierced with numerous caves. The niche is 40 to 60 feet high, and the figure in it has its head covered with a sort of cap or tiara. The two big idols may possibly have been adorned in like manner; the top of their heads is now unnaturally flat, suggesting the idea that something has been cut off.

It should be mentioned that the caves are very dark, only a small doorway admits light, and without candles, or rather good lanterns, nothing can be seen. The stairways are always very narrow and steep. There is almost invariably a shallow recess opposite the doorway. No traces of doors were seen.

NOTE.—These letters have been following one another at intervals during the last two or three months, and this latest communication from Captain Maitland it was necessary to give at the last moment, as it becomes the text to his own sketches; more particularly as it adds to our scant knowledge of Bamian. With the letters Captain Maitland has sent drawings of the peculiar roof partially described by Captain Talbot (see p. 326), and these make the form of the roof now perfectly clear; but it is a form quite new to us, and as yet I would not venture on an opinion as to its origin. When Captain Maitland speaks of the "male" and the "female" in relation to the two large statues, it should be understood that he is only using these terms as they have long been applied to them by the natives of the locality. We have the authority of Hiuen Tsiang that the smaller figure, the so-called "female idol," was Buddha, and Captain Maitland's drawing of it perfectly confirms this. The statement that the stairs lead up to the summit of the cliff becomes a slight confirmation of my guess that the mounds on the summit are the remains of Stupas.—W.S.

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*the Sumerian Language and its Affinities.* By  
FRITZ HOMMEL, of Munich. Communicated  
BY THE PRESIDENT, Hon. Member R.A.S.

own languages of the world, Sumerian may be regarded as the oldest. We possess now fragments of the ancient Chaldean King Ur-ganna of which are of an even earlier date than the time of the mythical Egyptian King Menes. Our sources for the knowledge of this language—the language of the Babylonian civilization—are twofold, namely: first, fragments of bilingual incantations, hymns, psalms, etc., which give the original text, line for line, with a Semitic (Babylonian or Assyrian) translation; second, many inscriptions, in Sumerian only, of the early period. These are very short, but some of considerable length. They are, as a rule, full of still puzzling and obscure words, as well as difficult grammatical forms. They sometimes confirm many points of grammar from the bilingual texts, which themselves necessarily give a new point of view of our grammatical and philological knowledge of this language, and which are so numerous, that they gain from them alone a clear and nearly complete knowledge of the very interesting idiom in which they are written. Of great help also in our investigations are the cuneiform and grammatical tablets of the Assyrian period, which, however, being simply compilations made after the Sumerian language had ceased to exist, must be used with some caution.

For the roots, forms, and syntax of the Sumerian and Semitic tongues, that, at the very outset, such as Sir H. C. Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, and

others thought it to be more or less connected with the so-called Turanian languages. The term Turanian comprising, as it does, two great groups of cognate—though only loosely cognate—languages, namely, the Ugro-Finnic (Uralic) and the Mongolian-Turco-Tartaric (Altaic) families, was, however, too vague. It was with the first-named group that the late F. Lenormant declared the Sumerian to have the closest connection. Since the rejection of this theory of Lenormant in 1881 by Dr. Donner, the eminent Ugro-Finnish scholar, the question seemed to be set at rest, at least with regard to the Ugro-Finnish group of languages; but it really opened afresh the question of the true position of Sumerian among the languages of the world.

In the following pages I shall try to show that this important question can be fully settled. That branch of the Turanian family, which geographically was the nearest neighbour of the Old Sumerians, the Turco-Tatars, with the Mongols, was also linguistically nearest akin. This fact will be fully proved by phonology, grammar, syntax and dictionary.

With regard to *phonology* and dictionary, we must start from the development found in the texts themselves. Beside the Old Sumerian (the contemporaneous inscriptions of kings, and the bilingual incantations), we possess, also, later texts, which seemed at the first glance to be intermixed with *dialectical* forms (Sayce, Lenormant, Pinches, Haupt); these are, however, as I have in my latest works pointed out, in reality, Neo-Sumerian. Professor Haupt, who found out, after Sayce, Lenormant and Pinches, but as I am now convinced, quite independently, this difference in the lexicographical lists and then in the texts, was the first to treat of them, and gave the principal facts in a little paper published in the *Göttinger Gel. Anzeigen*. He was, however, wrong in thinking the Old Sumerian forms (Dr. Haupt's Accadian) to be the later ones, and the Neo-Sumerian (by him called dialectic, or Sumerian absolutely) the earliest stage of the language; the great step forward which he made in our knowledge of Sumerian on the one

beside *biz* 'we,' and other examples,<sup>1</sup> are to be

quoted form *kep*, beside *gib* and *gin* (in the languages, especially those of Southern Siberia), rounding of the two tenues *g* and *b*, leads us to an observation for the phonology of Sumerian—I rounding of *g*, *b*, *d* and *z* into *k*, *p*, *t* and *s*, not the writing (for here the historical old forms were kept), but shown by a great many words derived from Sumerian, in the Semitic Babylonian language, *guz* 'throne, seat,' became with the Semites *Kutû* (the biblical Kutha), *Agadi Akkadu* (the city); *Zimbir sippar*, *zabar* 'brass' *siparru*; *azag* 'city'; *madda* 'land' *matu*, etc. For the Turkish we also be compared the following instances: *iki* (also *kech-ki* and *ech-ki* occur), *dingir* 'God' 'father' *ata*, *giš* 'man' *kiši*, *bar* 'to be bright' 'to touch' *tek-mek*, *gin* 'straight, right' *küni*, *gu* (Neo-Sum. *rush-in*) 'bird' *kush*, *bad* 'to withdraw' *batar* 'west, sunset,' *dugun* (Neo-Sum. *ail of the finger, claw, hoof*), *toyn-ak*, etc.

rounding seems to have taken place in all cases of the alterations of the above-named four consonants, namely:

(written *b* or *m*), *y*, and, lastly, to *sh* and to *d* rather a alternation of two different sound (not a natural change)—instead of *g* to *k*; weak Engl. *th*), *z* and further *s*—instead of

*r* (so-called rhotacism)—instead of *z* to *s*; *g* to *t*, or else to a mere spiritus lenis. In the languages, that of *g* to *t*, of *g* (also *k*) to *sh*, and *d* to *s* met with in Neo-Sumerian, the rest existed

in accordance with this, if even in the Oldest Sumerian we find the suffix *mun* beside *ban* (from the pronominal stem of the 3rd person), have here the same law of sound as in the Turkish *men-de* (comp. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördl. Türkssprachen*, p. 160,

'down,' *nim-gir* instead of *nam-gir* 'lightning,' *ush-bu* 'his persecutor' (for *ush-bi*), *mun-du-tutuddi* 'he enters' (for *mun-da-tutuddi*), etc. etc. In most cases, however, the historical old form is written, though in speaking the vowels were assimilated, as this must be concluded by the mere existence of the above-quoted forms.

The original consonants are *k*, *g*, *ġ* or *gh*, *t*, *d*, *b*, *m*, *n*, *z*, *s*, *š*, *r*, *l*; but *k* and *t* are only found at the beginning of the word or syllable, at least in Old Sumerian, and here very rarely, as most of the independent roots with these initial consonants begin with the so-called tenuis. There must have existed, even in older Sumerian, besides these, a consonantal *y* (indicated only by a following *i* instead of *a*) for an original *r*, *n*, *l* or *g*, e.g. *gal-i*, i.e. *gayi*, for *galla* 'great,' *in-i*, i.e. *iyi*, for *inna* or *inni* 'lord,' etc.;<sup>1</sup> then *ng* (only after a vowel), e.g. *dingir* 'God' (comp. *tengri*), *kingi-n*, *kingi* 'land' (from the words *din* 'spirit' and *kin*), and *v* (between two vowels) for original *b*, e.g. in the proper name *Ur-Ba'u* 'man of the goddess Ba'u or Bohu,' followed by the genitive-postposition *-gi*, *Ur-Ba-bi-gi*, of course spoken *Ur-Bavi-gi*.

In Neo-Sumerian, this pronunciation of *b* as *v* seems to have become quite general, as also that of *m* as *v*, and is at the same time the reason why *m* and *b* are so often confounded in the writing of the hymns and psalms. The same must have been the case, at a certain period, in the Turkish languages, for it is only by this law that such forms as *gib*, beside *gim* (also *kep*) 'like' (orig. 'to form, to model'), *moi* (so in Yakute) beside *buyu-n*

<sup>1</sup> Also in the Turkish family of languages we find this tendency to change *l* in *y*, e.g. *yuy-mak* 'to wash' (comp. Sum. *lug*), *yay-mak* 'to spread out, to foot' (comp. Sum. *lal* 'to hang up, to spread out, to put down'). As for *r* and *n* to *y*, these two sounds became, of course, at first *l* before they became *y*, for which change (*r* to *l*, and *n* to *l*) we have numerous analogies already in Older Sumerian, still more in Neo-Sumerian and in Turkish; comp. Sum. *gir* 'foot,' Mong. *güt*; Sum. *ur* 'foundation,' Turk. *ul*; Sum. *šur* 'to cry,' Turk. *söy-le-mek* 'to speak'; Sum. *dur*, *dir* 'full,' Turk. *dolu*; Sum. *bar* 'side, heart,' Turk. *bel* 'loins, midst'; Sum. *nigin* 'circle, to collect, assemble,' Turk. *yigil*, *iyil* 'to assemble, to go round about'; Sum. *gun* 'neck,' Turk. *buy-un*; *anshu* 'ass,' Mong. *elvi-gen* (Turk. *enhr-k*); *nin* 'four,' Chagat. *nıl-au* 'the fourth'; Mong. *nogai*, *nochoi* 'dog,' Neo-Sum. *lug*, *lig*, etc. etc.

'neck,' *mis* beside *bis* 'we,' and other examples,<sup>1</sup> are explained.

The above-quoted form *kep*, beside *gib* and *gim* in Turkish languages, especially those of Southern S., which is a hardening of the two tenues *g* and *b*, leads us to an important observation for the phonology of Sumerian: it means the hardening of *g*, *b*, *d* and *z* into *k*, *p*, *t* and *s*, expressed by the writing (for here the historical old forms with the tenues were kept), but shown by a great number of words, borrowed from Sumerian, in the Semitic Babylonian language. Thus, *guz* 'throne, seat,' became with the S. *kussû*, *Gudûa Kutû* (the biblical Kutha), *Agadi Akkad* (bibl. Akkad); *Zimbar sippar*, *sabar* 'brass' *siparru*, 'fever' *asakku*; *madda* 'land' *matu*, etc. For the Turkish languages may also be compared the following instances: Sum. *gash* 'two' *iki(s)*, *gug* 'sheep' *koyun*, *gaz* (Neo-Sum.) 'goat' *kechi* (also *kech-ki* and *ech-ki* occur), *dingir* 'Tengri', *adda* 'father' *ata*, *gis* 'man' *kiši*, *bar* 'to be' *par-la-mak*, *tig* 'to touch' *tek-mek*, *gin* 'straight, right' *gush* (Old Sum. *ġu*, Neo-Sum. *rush-in*) 'bird' *kush*, *go away, to withdraw* *batar* 'west, sunset,' *dugun* (Neo-Sum. *dubin*) 'nail of the finger, claw, hoof,' *toyn-ak*, etc.

This hardening seems to have taken place in a language where no other alterations of the above-named four consonants occurred, namely:

*g* to *gv* and *v* (written *b* or *m*), *y*, and, lastly, to *sh* and *s* (the latter rather a alternation of two different classes, not a natural change)—instead of *g* to *k*, *d* to *ġ* (the weak Engl. *th*), *z* and further *s*—instead of *d* into *t*;

*z* (also *š*, *s*) to *r* (so-called rhotacism)—instead of *z* to *t* and, finally, *b* to *v*, or else to a mere spiritus lenis.

Of these changes, that of *g* to *r*, of *g* (also *k*) to *sh* and *s*, are only met with in Neo-Sumerian, the rest

<sup>1</sup> It must not be confounded with this, if even in the Oldest Sumerian the verbal subject-prefix *mun* beside *ban* (from the pronominal stem of person sing. *ba*); we have here the same law of sound as in the Turkish for *bun-da* (or *ban-da*), comp. Radloff, *Phonetik der nördl. Türk-sprachen* § 222.



already in Older Sumerian, at least in the later period. We will now give examples of each of the transitions cited:

a) for *g* to *v*: *guš* 'three' (comp. Mong. *gosin* 'thirty'), Neo-Sum. *viš* (written *biš*), *vuš*, *iš* (comp. Turk. *visse*, *üch*); *giš* 'one,' *vir* (comp. Turk. *bir*); *gun*, Neo-Sum. *cun*, *un*, *u* 'ten' (comp. Turk. *ron*, *on*); *zug* 'bog, pool,' Turk. *sug*,<sup>1</sup> *sub*, *su* 'water'; *gal*, Neo-Sum. *gul*, *vul*, Turk. *ul* 'great'; *gal*, Neo-Sum. *val* 'to be,' Turk. *bol-mak*, *ol-mak*; *gud* 'ox,' Turk. *öt*, *üt*, etc., etc.

b) for *g* (also *k*) to *y*: *gug*, Turk. *koy-un* 'sheep' (quoted above); *nigin* 'circle, to assemble' *yigil*, *iyil*; *kur* 'land,' Turk. *yer*; *ku* 'to eat,' Turk. *ye-mek*, etc.

c) For *g* (also *k*) to *sh*: *dag* 'stone,' Turk. *dash*; *kir* 'heart,' Turk. *yire-k*, Mong. *chiru-ken*; *gal* 'wife,' Neo-Sum. *šal*; *ku* postposition for 'to,' Neo-Sum. *šu*; *kingin* 'land,' Neo-Sum. *šingin*, *šingir*, and finally *šumir*; *ku-bil* 'new,' Neo-Sum. *šu-bil* (Turk. *yengi*, which proves that the oldest Sum. form was *kugil*), etc.

d) For *g* to *d*: *ag*, *ad* (written with prolongation *ag-da*) 'to make,' Turk. *et-mek*, and the derivation from it *agar*, Neo-Sum. *adar* 'field'; *gug* 'sheep' (Turk. *koyu-n*), but also *dug*, Neo-Sum. *dib*; *gug*, *dug* finally, *dib* 'to speak,' Turk. *deb-mek*; Turk. *tug-mak* 'to generate,' Sum. *tud* (orig. of course *tug*, comp. also Mong. *turul* from *tugul*); *gušgin* 'gold,' Neo-Sum. *vušdin*, *vuldin*, Turk.-Mong. *yltjn*.

e) For the sibilated *d*: *dug* 'good,' Neo-Sum. *zib*, *siš*, Turk. *söb*; Mong. *toġosu-n* 'dust,' (Neo?) Sum. *saġar* (out of *daġash*); *dun* 'mighty' to *sul*; *dag* 'stone' (Turk. *dash*) to *za*, etc., etc.

f) For the rhotacism: *giš* 'one,' Turk. *bir*; *ġash* 'two,' Turk. *yigir-mi* 'twenty'; *vaš* and *var* (written *maš*, *bar*) 'five,' *para-b* 'fifty,' Turk. *beş*; *nishin*, Latin 'eos' before the verb, Mong. plural-ending *-nash*, Turk. *-lar*, etc., etc.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the forms met with is also *suy* (preserved still in Osmanly in the declension of *su*), comp. b) *g* to *y*.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with this change is to be understood the change, sometimes met with, from *š* to *l* (and further from *l* to *d*), e.g. *aš* 'six,' Turk. *al-ta*; the quoted *gušgin*, *vuldin*; *giš* 'wood,' Neo-Sum. *vušh*, Mong. *modu-n*, Turk. *odun*. The transition *r* to *l* to *d* is very common already in Older Sumerian.

## THE SUMERIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS AFFINITIES

g) For *b* to *v* or spiritus lenis: *bad* 'to name' (N *pad*), Turk. *at* 'name'; *ubur* 'bosom, breast,' T *'nurse'* (i.e. breast-giving), Tung. *uucur* 'bosom, *öbür, öber*, and Magyar *öböl* the same, comp. also *g* optative, for which we find sometimes *a-*, the middle form being *va-*, etc.

One remarkable sound-law, of which traces are a in the Turkish languages,—namely, the change of *n* two vowels to *ng*, and lastly (in Neo-Sumerian) to still to be noticed, e.g. *din* 'spirit,' *ding-ir* 'God' Mong. *tengri*), Neo-Sum. *dimir*; *inna-gar* 'he makes,' *imma-gar*; *kin* 'land,' *kingi-n* 'land,' Neo-Sum. *sh šumir*; for these comp. the Turk. *domuz* 'pig,' the older *dunguz*. Other Turkish words seem to same formation as in *kungur* 'yellow-brown,' *shin tress*,' etc. In closest connexion with this change is namely, that *n* after a vowel, especially at the end of word or root, becomes *m*, even in Older Sumerian, but commonly in Neo-Sumerian, e.g. *alan* 'statue,' T *alam*; *sun* 'to give,' already in Older Sumer. *su*. 'mother' (Turk. *ana*), Neo-Sum. *amma*, *am* (comp. *emä*); *kan* 'gate,' later *kam*, *kav* (comp. Turk. *kapu kan*, *kam* (in *nu-kamma*) 'priest, sorcerer,' Turk. *kam* (our Germ. 'Schamane'); *šisin* 'seven,' still present in Ural. *sisem*; comp. also the Turkish nominal-s (e.g. *tarim* 'cultivated' from *tari-mak*) besides common *-n*, etc., etc.

Before we go on to the various forms of the grammar and their coincidences with those of the languages, we must remark, that the numerous examples given above in the treatment of the phonology themselves be sufficient to prove a close relationship between the two idioms Sumerian and Turko-Mongolian. Now we see how far the rules we have laid down in the phonology and dictionary are confirmed by the facts of the two languages.

We are quite right if we say, that in Sumerian 'called *sag*, 'good' *dug*, 'great' *gal*, 'to make' *gar*

theoretically. But if these words—as mostly happens—be used independently, they are always written and spoken with a following *a*, the so-called *state of prolongation*, e.g. *sagga*, *dugga*, *galla*, *garra*; but in composition, and if the verbs have subject- and object-prefixes before them, the original root-form comes to light, e.g. *sag-gigga* ‘head-ache,’ *ur-dugga* ‘a good man’ (from *urru* ‘man’), *in-gar* ‘he made’ (but, if alone, then always *garra* ‘he made’; *in-garra*, opposite to *in-gar*, is ‘he makes (now)’). In the Turkish languages we find still traces of this peculiar fuller form of words, not only in some of the oldest and most common nouns, e.g. *giche* ‘night’ (Sum. *gig*), *ata* ‘father’ (Sum. *adda*), *ana* ‘mother’ (Sum. *anna*), *kiši* ‘man’ (Sum. *giš*), *küni* ‘straight, upright, right’ (Sum. *ginna* or *ginni*),<sup>1</sup> etc., but also in the vocative (comp. Vambery, *Uigurische Sprachmonumente*, p. 37), and especially in the so-called gerundive of the Eastern and Siberian Turkish idioms, preserved in Western Turkish even now before the endings of conjugation.

Concerning the formation of nouns and adjectives by external elements, we have a *prefixed vowel* in *one case only*. It is a repetition of the root-vowel, but was originally, as it seems, an *a*, e.g. *bur* ‘vessel,’ *ubur* ‘breast, bosom’ (Turk. *obur* the same); *nim* ‘to be high,’ *inim* ‘high,’ and many other instances. That we have (beside the above-quoted *ubur*) still traces of this formation in the Turanian languages, esp. before *r*, e.g. *irak* beside *rak* ‘wide’ (comp. Sum. *rag* the same), but also in other cases, the late Franç. Lenormant has already shown. Further research will, I am convinced, find out many more instances in the Altaic idioms, though those already quoted are sufficient to show the striking coincidence. Beside this prefixed vowel, we have still some substantives and pronouns, forming, with a noun or adjective, *abstracts* (so *ki* ‘place,’ *nan* or *nam* ‘destiny, thing’) or *agent nouns* (nomina agentis, so *nin* ‘what,’ Neo-Sum. *yim*, *in*, and *nu*, Neo-Sum. *lu* ‘somebody,’ orig. ‘man’), e.g. *ki-agga*

<sup>1</sup> Words having *u* or *i* as root-vowel often take, in the state of prolongation, the same vowel instead of the usual *a* (vowel harmony); for such forms as *gar-i* (*gayi*) for *garra*, *sag-i* (*sayi*) for *sagga*, see above, p. 354.

'love' from *ag* 'to love,' *nam-tilla* 'life' from *til*, *ti* 'nin-*gulla* 'hostile' from *gul* 'to be hostile,' *lu* 'sorcerer' from *kam* 'to bespeak,' etc. That these real prefixes (which would be contradictory to the theory of the agglutinative character of the Sumerian and the Turanian family) will easily be seen from their meaning (e.g. 'place of loving,' 'destiny of living,' 'whoever is hostile,' 'whoever is bespeaking'). The only thing is the position of the genitive and adjective after a noun, so common in Sumerian, even in the oldest texts, but when the Sumerian says *urra-anna* 'servant of Anna' this is an abbreviation of *urra-annâ-gi* (with the postposition in Turkish *-ing*), and when he says *dingir-gal-gallîni dingirra-gallîni-ta!* = god + doubled adjective + plural + postposition, i.e. 'from the great gods,' it is quite a new way of putting the adjective, as e.g. in the Semitic *rabûti*; comp. also *ur-gallâ-ba-ku* 'to its great four place' with Semitic *ana išdi-šu rabi*.

Real suffixes however are *-gal* (Neo-Sum. *-val*, 'being') and *-tug*, *-tu* (Neo-Sum. *-ti*), orig. 'possessive' *gul-gal* 'hostile,' *a-tug* (from *a* 'might, power') 'noise' etc.; comp. the endings *-ul* (e.g. *kara-ul* 'watchman') (e.g. *kabor-ti* 'sedition, trouble') in Eastern Turkish *kara-mak* 'to look' and *kabor-mak* 'to make a noise')

Other suffixes are the inseparable endings *-g* (Neo-Sum. *-k*), *-n* (sometimes *-m*), *-r* (sometimes *-l*) and *-š*, with so many roots are compounded, e.g. *dini-g* 'mighty' (beside *ud*) 'sun,' *bala-g* 'hatchet,' *šili-g* 'leader,' *anna-biri-g* (Semitic *gunnušu*), *Illa-g* and *Karra-g*, names of cities etc.; *zagi-n* 'bright' (from *zag*), *timi-n* 'foundation' (*tim*, *ti*), *sumu-n* 'old,' *giri-n* 'fruit,' *nigi-n* 'circle' (*nig*), *ama-r* 'young bull' (from *am* 'ox'), *zaġar* 'bright' (Neo-Sum. *zabar*, from *zag*), *aga-r* 'field' (from *ag* 'to sow'), *dingi-r* 'God' (from *din* 'spirit'), *ġubu-r* 'low land,' (Semitic *kimmatu*), etc.; *amaš* 'hurdle for cattle' (from *am* 'ox'), *guruš* 'high' (from *gur* 'to elevate'), *sigi-š* 'offering' (from *sig*, *si* 'to pour out,' perhaps a Semitic Neo-Sumerian formation from *diri-g* 'full,' which

became *gip*, *gip*, as *giri* could become *giris*, *gis*), *gara-s* 'straw' from *gar* 'to build', *giri* 'eye' Turk. *giri*), *annu-s*, *giri*, *giri* and some others. Now, the same elements are found to form the nouns in the Turk languages, e.g. *bili-k* 'knowledge' from *bil* 'to know', *lilis-k* 'lip' (comp. Neo-Sum. *lil*, *lil*-k 'great' from *li* 'great' comp. Sum. *gal*, Neo-Sum. *gal*, *gal*-k 'ass' from *gal*, *gal*, *gal*, comp. Sum. *gal* and Mong. *gal*), *gar* 'to be bright' comp. Sum. *gar* 'to be bright', etc.; *giri-s* 'thorn' from *giri* 'to sew, to fix', *giri-s* 'wild ass' from *giri* 'reddish dun', *koyu-n* 'sheep' Mong. *koyu-n* comp. Sum. *gaj*, Neo-Sum. *udub*, *gaj*, etc.; *giri-s* 'aged' from *giri* 'age', *giri-s* 'iron', *giri-s* 'copper', *giri-s* 'a pin, a depression', *giri-s* 'itch', Mong. *giri* 'day' Sum. *gi* 'day', Uig. *gi* 'time', as also some nouns and adj. in *-li* 'out of -s', e.g. *giri-li* 'green,' *giri* 'red,' etc.; *giri-s* 'slow', *giri* 'a sigh' from *giri-mak* 'to sigh', *giri* 'earnings, gain' from *giri* 'to find', as also some words ending in *-s*, as e.g. *giri-s* 'cock,' *giri-s* 'resin,' etc.

The pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person were in Sumerian originally *ni* and *nu*, as is seen from the writing *ni* and *nu* pronounced *ni* and *nu*, comp. Turkish *ben* and *sen*; the pronouns for the 3rd person are *hi* 'he' plural *hi-ni* and *hi*, both used absolutely, and *hi* 'this' in connection with substantives. *hi* 'he, it' the Turkish *hi* in *hi-ni* 'the mine' lit. I-of-that, he, that of mine is very seldom used in Sumerian. The possessive suffixes are *-ni* 'my,' *-nu* 'thy,' *-hi* 'his,' *-hi* 'his,' *-hi* 'he, it' only as subject prefix before verbs. Now we have in the Turkish exactly the same distribution of pronominal stems:

*ni* for the 1st, *nu* for the 2nd, *hi*, *ni*, *hi* and *hi* for the 3rd

Compare with the Turkish the Mong. pronouns *ni*, *nu* with the Turkish *ni*, *nu*.

The Turkish pronouns *ni*, *nu*, *hi*, *ni*, *hi* and *hi* are also the same as the Sumerian *ni*, *nu*, *hi*, *ni*, *hi* and *hi* in the Sumerian language.

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person; compare *ol*, gen. *an-ung* 'he' absolutely, *ū* (as adjective, comp. in Sum. *-ni* 'his,' but *-bi* 'this,' and *-si* 'his' as suffix after vowel stems but after consonant stems. Very remarkable, also, is that in Sumerian, as in Turki, every pronoun-stem strengthened by *n*, e.g. *ma-n* 'I,' *za-n* 'thou,' *na-n* (later *šib*) 'he,' *nin* (later *nib*) 'he,' *ba-n* (later *ma*) (accusative only and in most cases neuter), *ra-n* (later out of *za-n* (*sa-b*) 'thee,' as is also the case with the stem elements *ta*, *da*, *ra*, which occur usually in the forms *tan-*, *dan-*, *-ran* (later *tab*, *dab*, *rab*), e.g. *ba* ' (he) it brings out' and *ba-ran-uddu*, *ib-tan-gar* (*ib-ta-gar*), etc. etc.

The *interrogative* pronouns are *aba* 'who' (probably *āga*) and *mi'a*, *ana* 'what,' the *indefinite* *nami* 'some' 'somewhat, anything'; comp. Turki *na* (Osm. *nè*) *kim* 'who' (from *ki-me*, comp. *nime* beside *nè*), *nime neme-r-se* 'what it may be' (*nime* + *er-se*, the latter 'it

The *Numerals* have already been referred to while discussing the phonology, and they would alone be sufficient to prove the closest relationship of Sumerian with Turki. They are, shortly repeated, *giš* (*bir*) one, as also *aš* in Uig. *aš-ni* 'at first'; *gaš* (*ikir*) two, as also (out of *guš*), *iš* (Turk. *vis*, *üch*) three; *nin* (Chagatai Neo-Sum. *šin*, *šib* four; *ia* as also *taš* (*beš*) five; *iaš*, six; *šisin* (Ugr. *sisem*) as also *imin* seven; *ussa* (out of *ris*) eight; *išimmu* (out of *ia* + Neo-Sum. *šim*) nine; Neo-Sum. *tun*, *un* (Turki *von*, *on*) ten; *min*, *mi* (Ug.) hundred.

as it seems: object + subject + verb, e.g. *in-nan-gar*, *in-nab-gar* (the subject-prefix: *in-gar* ' (he) it made'). We find also *imman-gar*, *innan-gar*, *immigar* (out of *inni-gar*), *an-gar* and *al-gar*, *ba-gar*, *ba-nin-gar*, *ba-nib-gar* and other variants. As for the strange *mun-made*, we have here the same law of sound as in Turkish (comp. above, p. 1, for it is for *ban-gar* (as in Turkish *munu-ki* 'this here,' *mun-da* 'here, this,' for *bun-*, and this for older *ban*). It is only with the pronoun of person before the verb that we have the order: subj. + obj. - *mu-ran-sum* 'he gives to thee,' forms, which are apparently of later origin, seen from *mu* (out of *mu-n*, and this for *ba-n*), otherwise and originally 'it' (accusative), but here for 'he' (nominative); the same order seen in *mun-nišin-aggiš* 'he them sent out.'

The same is the case with the *verb* (oldest forms: *garra* 'he made,' *garrá-mu* 'I made,' *garrá-su* 'thou madest,' *garrini* 'they make,' *garrish* 'they made'), comp. especially p. 360, note 4, and other places above (in treating the pronouns). We have here only to add, that the precativ or optative prefix *gi-* is just the same as the optative suffix in Turki, comp. *gi-gal* (Neo-Sum. *-ral*) 'he may be' with Turki *bol-ğai* (Osm. *old*), that the prefixed stem-forming elements *ta*, *da*, *ra*, prefixed to the verb in Sumerian, occur in Turki alone (e.g. *kol-da-mak* from *kol* 'arm,' *köte-r-mek* from the root *köt*, *ari-t-mak* 'to let make clean' from *ari-mak* 'to make clean') as also combined in *tir*, *tur*, e.g. *kil-tür-mek* 'to bring' from *kil-mek* 'to come,' that also the Turki reflexive stem with *n* (e.g. *taula-n-mak* 'to become fat' from *taula-mak* 'to make fat') has its analogy in Sumerian (comp. *garinná-su* 'thou hast been,' Sem. *tabšit*, from *gar* 'to make'), that forms like *aggiš* (not plural!) 'he sent out' (from a verb *ag*) are the prototype for the Turki reciprocal stem with *s*, e.g. *sor-uš-mak* 'to ask one together' from *sor-mak* 'to ask.'

Where we and the Semites have prepositions, the Sumerian has, like the Turkish idioms, *postpositions*, of which the most common are: *-ku* (Neo-Sum. *šu*) 'to,' *-gi* (Neo-Sum. also *-di*) 'of,' *ka* 'of' (but originally for the dative, as is shown by M. Amiaud's ingenious remarks on the difference of *-ka* and *-gi*), *-ra* and *-ru* 'to,' *-ta* 'in, out of,' *-da* 'with, for,' *-gim* (also *gimmi*, Neo-Sum. *-dim*) 'like.' Compare the Turki genitive *-ing* (for *-igi*, *-ingi*), the old dative *-ra* and *-ru* (Vambery, Cag. Sprachstudien, p. 20), the common dative in *-ka*, *-ga*, the Turki *ta*, *da*, 'in' and *tan*, *dan*, 'out of' and lastly *gibi*, *kimi* 'like.'

In addition I should like to remark that of negative particles in Sumerian there existed two, the most common *nu* 'not' (before verbs also *na*, e.g. *nan-gar* 'he did not make'), the other *ba*, this latter only before verbs, and here, as it seems, in a prohibitive sense, e.g. *baran-gar* as also *ban-gar* 'he may not do.'<sup>1</sup> Now we have in Turki the

<sup>1</sup> The discovery of *ban-gar* in this sense belongs to Dr. Zimmern.

particle *nè-nè* 'neither—nor,' and besides it, but only in position with verbs, *ma*, e.g. *sev-mek* 'to love,' *sev-me-nè* 'to love.' The Sumerian *ana* 'what' bears the same relationship to the negation *nu* or *na* (comp. also Turki *nè* and *nè* negative particle) as the Arabic *mā* 'what' and secondary *mā* 'not.'

In conclusion, to meet any objections that may be made as to the difference of order in the verbal particles which are prefixed in Sumerian, but suffixed in the Turki languages, it must be remembered that there are no less than 'thousand years' interval between the latest Sumerian and the oldest Turki document (the Uigurian Kudatku circa 1050 A.D.), and if, between the earliest and the latest Sumerian texts, such changes in the syntax could take place as e.g. *garra-bi* 'he made,' instead of Old Sum. *garra-bi*, *in-gar*, *an-gar*, *nin-gar*, etc., or *idi bar-mun-šib* for *igi bar*, lit. 'eye giving to him' (from *igi*, Neo-Sum. *igi* and *bar* 'to give'), it must be admitted that the placing of the verbal particles at the end instead of the beginning is a change not only possible but even to be expected.

In the foregoing pages I have confined myself principally to giving all the newest results of my researches as to the position of Sumerian amongst the languages of the world.

<sup>1</sup> Those who interest themselves in this subject will find much information with regard to Sumerian grammar and its affinities with the Turki languages in the author's paper "Die sumero-akkadische Sprachen und ihre Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse," in the "Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung" vol. i. (1884), pp. 161-178, 195-221, and 323-342.—ED.



ART. XVI.—*Early Buddhist Symbolism.* By ROBERT SEWELL,  
Madras Civil Service, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

IN his "Tree and Serpent Worship," our late honoured Vice-President, James Fergusson, called attention to the similarity observable between certain symbols found on the Buddhist Topes of Sāñchi and Amarāvati, and others found on sculptured buildings and coins of Western Asia and Eastern Europe; and in doing so he expressed a hope that this subject would be taken up and developed by other writers. Discussing the origin of the object known as the *triśula*<sup>1</sup> he said, "It is curiously like the sign of the planet Mercury, or the caduceus of the god of that name; and, if it were not rank heresy even to hint at such a thing, I would venture to suggest that, after all, there may be some connexion between at least the symbolism of the East and West." And later on in the same work the author records the following opinion, in a note on an old Buddhist legend which mentions a Prince of "Rōm,"<sup>2</sup> "It would be absurd to found any serious theory on the mention of the name of Rome if it stood alone and unsupported. The circumstance mentioned in the narrative of the strangers being white men and coming by sea is a small confirmation that the people here mentioned were really Europeans. My impression, however, is that few who are familiar with the arts of Rome in Constantine's time, and who will take the trouble to master these Amarāvati sculptures, can fail to perceive many points of affinity between them . . . . The conviction the study of these sculptures has forced on my mind is that there was much more intercommunication between the east and west during the whole period from Alexander to Justinian than

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 115, 116, and note.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* p. 177, note 3.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

is frequently supposed, and that the intercourse was ally frequent and influential in the middle period, between Augustus and Constantine."

My attention has for some time been given to this subject, but residence in India, inability to consult proper works for reference, and press of official work have hitherto prevented my preparing any paper regarding it. Continued study, however, not shaken my belief in Fergusson's accuracy. I hope to be able now to show some reasonable foundation for the theory that most of the early Buddhist symbols, whose origin is not directly traceable to indigenous sources, may have been derived from earlier pre-Buddhist Western Asian forms, introduced into India during the centuries that elapsed between the Aryan immigration thither and the first construction in stone of places of Buddhist worship.

The first point to which attention must be called is the political connexion between India and the countries of Western Asia during the period in question.

Very little has yet been learned from Indian sources of the early history of India before the time of Chandragupta (B.C. 319). But it seems certain that the country, formerly populated by Turanian hordes, was overswept by Aryan migrations which brought into India the religion of the Vedas, and, partly by force of arms, partly by the influence of priestcraft, ousted the Turanians from civil and political government. The Aryans, however, powerful though they may have been, never succeeded in crushing out the Turanian religious beliefs and superstitions. Down to the time of Śākya Muni, though the Vedas may represent the religion of the more elevated and civilized few, fetichism, demonism—or rather the fear of demons, leading to demon propitiation—a rooted belief in the existence of snake-deities, fairies, goblins, and in the power of mystic incantations and charms, had, as it has to this day, firm hold of the ignorant and lethargic masses. Had pure Vedism been the faith of the people, there would have been little need for a Buddha.

The era of Chandragupta may be regarded as identical with the era of Alexander for present purposes. Professor Rawlinson has shortly summed up in the following words the condition in pre-Alexandrian times of Western Asia, of the country, that is, bordering on India:<sup>1</sup>—"For nearly a thousand years, from the formation of the great Assyrian Empire to the death of Darius Codomannus (330 B.C.), Western Asia, from the Mediterranean to Afghanistan, or even to India, had been united under one head, and acknowledged one sovereign. Assyria, Media, Persia, had successively held the position of dominant power." Alexander broke up this unity, and the effect of his schemes was "to introduce in the place of a single consolidated empire, a multitude of separate and contending kingdoms." The kingdom of Chandragupta in India was one of these. Previous to his date, during the period when Western Asia was united under the successive empires, the whole of what we now call Hindustān was divided amongst a number of petty chieftains, mostly at enmity with one another, and probably looking on the vast empire on their immediate west as all-powerful. Is it not possible, or rather, is it not probable, that during this period the inhabitants of India had been drinking in the ideas and superstitions of their great neighbours? It is certain that Northern India had, before the time of Alexander, been subject to more than one invasion from the West; and if there were any commercial activity at all, it is quite possible that the Hindus of that date had in their midst colonies of foreign traders—traders glorying in the fancied possession of superior civilization, and proud of the political ascendancy of their nation and sovereign. If there were no commercial activity, how is that the *Vaiśyas*, or merchant-class, came to hold such an important position as they undoubtedly did in the body politic of a Hindu State?

Setting aside the mythical invasions of India by the Assyrian Semiramis, and Diodorus's problematical account

<sup>1</sup> *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 29.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

of the expedition of Sesostris—both of which accounts, however, point to the existence of a belief among the Greeks that India was a country that had lain open and had suffered from, invasions long anterior to the time of Darius Hystaspis, and serve to show that the Greeks, at least, did not consider such a state of things at all improbable, whatever may be the opinion of writers of the present day,—we have evidence that in very early days there was an interchange of commercial relations between Western Asia and India. Dr. Burnell holds it as not to be doubted that India even traded with Egypt in very early times. But there is no necessity for present purposes to go farther than Asia.

Sir Henry Rawlinson has pointed out that the Chaldean inscriptions make frequent mention of the "ships of Ur," and imply that they navigated to considerable distances. It is not improbable that these ships carried goods from India. Gold could be obtained from both Africa and India, and it was lavishly used in decoration.<sup>1</sup> The Phœnicians also traded with India by sea. Prof. Rawlinson<sup>2</sup> points out that for ten centuries prior to the reign of Seleukos Nikator, from a date, that is, as early as the beginning of Assyrian ascendancy, the precious metals and the most valuable kinds of merchandize had been coming in from every quarter into the region governed by the Assyrian monarch. Gold, tin, silks, pearls, spices, and other articles of commerce, had been passing into it from India since the foundation of the first Assyrian empire in the fourth century B.C. Whatever may have been the exact date of the Homeric poems, it has been repeatedly noticed that the Greek bards were acquainted with tin and other articles of Indian merchandize, and called them by their Sanskrit names, and that the Hebrew chroniclers of King Solomon and of the reign of Hiram of Tyre used Indian names for Indian products.

<sup>1</sup> Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 101-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, p. 33.

That gold was largely exported from India in very early days has been inferred from a number of corroborative facts. MM. Perrot and Chipiez<sup>1</sup> write: "From objects found in the excavations, from inscriptions in which the Assyrians boast of their wealth and prodigality, from Egyptian texts in which the details of tribute paid by the *Roten-nou*, that is, by the people of Syria and Mesopotamia, are given, it is clear that in the great days of Nineveh and Babylon, those capitals possessed a vast quantity of gold, and employed it in a host of different ways. . . . . These accumulations were continually added to, in the case of Babylon, by the active commerce she carried on with the mineral-producing countries, such as the Caucasus, Bactriana, *India*, and Egypt."

The period of Solomon, or say 1000 B.C., is generally considered to have been one of great commercial activity, but it seems unreasonable to assume that that monarch largely increased the trade of the world. We are induced to lay more stress than is perhaps warranted on the commerce of Solomon's date, on account of the high position he holds in the Jewish Scriptures. It is probable that the trade which glorified his age had been carried on with similar briskness by his neighbours for some centuries past. The period of Solomon is one that witnessed the decadence of the great Assyrian Empire, and a corresponding rise to a state of prosperity of the hitherto obscure Jewish nation. This ascendancy was, however, very short-lived. Solomon, so it would seem, carried on by the aid of the Phœnicians and with considerable success the old-established eastern commerce. There is little reason to think that he originated or greatly increased, during his very short spell of domination, a commerce which had been non-existent or scanty in previous years.

From the days of Solomon we must pass to those of the second Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria, of Shalmanezar IV., and of Sargon, the same that carried captive the Ten Israelitish tribes, removed them to the cities of "Halah and Habor on

<sup>1</sup> *History of Art in Chaldea and Assyria*, Armstrong's translation, vol. i. p. 125.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

the river of Gozan and into the cities of the Med placed Assyrians and Chaldæans in the cities of Samaria. The empire of these sovereigns would seem to have extended as far east as the Indus. The period is B.C. 745-705. Biblical account of the religious changes introduced by conquests into Samaria, and the effect of Jewish influence the further east, is pertinent to the present inquiry shows the estimation in which the Assyrians held those of their neighbours, and *vice versa*. It points to religious toleration, and to a state of religious thought and belief as would directly tend to the acceptance by one people of the superstitions and symbols of their neighbours.

The Chaldæans and Assyrians who were sent westward to inhabit the desolated cities of Samaria informed the Syrian sovereign after their arrival that things were not going on with them, that they were suffering, so they believed from the displeasure of the "God of the land" because they did not worship him aright, they "knew not his manner," therefore he hath sent lions among them, and behold they slay them, because they know not the manner of the service of the land." The monarch, desirous of assisting his subjects and in the firm belief that the "God of the land" was vindictively injuring them, found it necessary in his wisdom to attempt to propitiate the offended Deity by sending to Samaria one of the expatriated Jewish priests. "Bring him hither," he commanded, "one of the priests whom ye have brought from thence . . . and let him teach them the manner of the God of the land."<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, nearly three centuries later, we find the Persian king, though firmly believing in Ahura-Mazda as the most powerful of the gods, yet credited the gods of the nations on his borders with not inconsiderable authoritative influence. In the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the 22nd (B.C. 465-425), we find the sovereign decreeing a number of important concessions to the Jews, and giving the following reason for doing so: "Whatsoever is com-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 6, 24.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 26, 27.

by the God of Heaven, let it be done exactly for the house of the God of Heaven; for *why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons?*"<sup>1</sup> He feared the displeasure of Jehovah the God of the Jews.

These two instances, separated by an interval of 280 years, afford an insight, as I have stated, into the religious feelings of the day. They show the feelings of the Assyrians in the eighth, and the Persians in the fifth century B.C. towards the God of the Jews. When the Assyrians and Chaldeans settled in Samaria in the eighth century B.C., they carried thither their own worship: "The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children to Adrammelech and Anammelech,<sup>2</sup> the gods of Sepharvaim."<sup>3</sup> It would be mere waste of time to enlarge on the feelings of the Jews towards the gods of their neighbours. Their belief in the power of those divinities was so great that, as the Scriptures tell us, the Jews perpetually excited the wrath of Jehovah by their idolatries. One after another they fell away to the adoration of Egyptian, Chaldean, and Assyrian deities, in sun-worship even going the length of stabling the horses of the sun in the court of the temple at Jerusalem. It can scarcely be doubted that the use of sun-symbols followed sun-worship.

It does not appear unreasonable to assume that there may have been a reciprocity of superstitious ideas between the Assyrian subjects of the empire and their eastern neighbours the Hindus, similar to that which existed between the same Assyrians and their western neighbours the Jews.

A century after the reign of Sargon, the Assyrian empire was finally destroyed, and Cyaxares the Median established on its ruins the foundation of the great empire that passed in the year 558 B.C. from the Medes to Cyrus the Persian. Cyrus, amongst other conquests, reduced the whole country

<sup>1</sup> Ezra vii. 23 (Revised version).

<sup>2</sup> Sun-god and goddess.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xvii. 30, 31.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

up to the Indus, including Afghanistan and Belūchistān he does not appear to have crossed the Indus by territorial aggrandizement. It is during the reign of that we first find mention made of India by any writer. This is Hekataius of Miletus (B.C. 549-486), by mentioning several places and cities in Northern India proves that that country was known to Europeans.

In B.C. 521 succeeded to the throne of Persia Hystaspis, who, fired doubtless by the knowledge acquired by his predecessors of the internal wealth and at the time of the weakness of Trans-Indus countries, crossed the great river about the year 515 B.C., and conquered and annexed to the Persian empire the rich country of Panjāb, and the Indus valley. Henceforward that portion of India lay under Persian domination till the breaking up of the Empire at the Macedonian invasion two centuries later. "The results of this conquest," writes Professor Rawlinson, "were the acquisition of a brave race capable of making excellent soldiers, an enormous increase of revenue, and a vast influx of gold into Persia, which led probably to the introduction of gold coinage, and the establishment of commercial relations with the natives, which issued in regular trade carried on by coasting vessels between the mouths of the Indus and the Persian Gulf." I can concur in the opinion that commercial relations were "established," if that word be taken to mean *first* established. It would seem more likely that commerce was consolidated and greatly facilitated by the conquests of Darius, when a new and important line of communication was opened up by water-way down the Indus to the Persian Gulf. The additional effect of the conquest and of Persian domination for two centuries would naturally be greatly to increase the spread of Persian ideas amongst the Hindus of the part of India, and still further to undermine the declining religion of the Vedas.

The conquered portion of India formed the 20th

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 431.



mentioned by Herodotus, and paid the enormous tribute of 360 talents of gold-dust to the imperial exchequer.<sup>1</sup>

It was about this time that the Buddha arose and founded his system of philosophy. The much-vexed question of Nirvāṇa chronology will not here be entered into; but if Buddha's death occurred after the year 515 B.C., he must have been perfectly aware of the great conquests of Darius Hystaspis, and the representatives of the reigning family of Magadha must have trembled for the safety of their kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Xerxes, who succeeded Darius in 486 B.C., retained all his father's provinces, including those in India, and a body of troops raised in the Panjāb served under his standard in his fruitless expedition against Greece. Herodotus describes the dress of these soldiers, the first representatives of Imperialism as understood by the Persians.<sup>3</sup> Their leader appears to have been a Persian or a Parthian—Pharnazathres, the son of Artabates.<sup>4</sup> They fought under Mardonius at Plataea.<sup>5</sup> "India" is mentioned in the Jewish Chronicles as forming part of the 127 provinces of Xerxes (Ahasuerus) and his successors.<sup>6</sup>

Herodotus, who flourished in the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus (465-425 B.C.), the successor of Xerxes, repeatedly mentions India, though his own knowledge seems to have stopped short at the Indus. Ktesias, physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 405-359), wrote an elaborate though untrustworthy account of India. A few years later, B.C. 330, the Persian empire was completely destroyed by Alexander the Macedonian, and four years afterwards this monarch crossed the Indus, and largely extended the boundaries of the empire. His age synchronizes with that of Chandragupta, the Mauryan, and marks an epoch in the early history of India.

<sup>1</sup> Herod. iii. 94, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> We read of no Indian troops being utilized for European warfare from the days of Xerxes to those of Lord Beaconsfield.

<sup>4</sup> Herod. vii. 65.

<sup>5</sup> *id.* viii. 113; ix. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Esther i. 1, viii. 9. 1 Esdras iii. 2, etc.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

To summarize the political condition of India up to this period, we see that its frontier marched, for nearly two centuries, with that of the powerful Assyrio-Chalcedonian empire, and that for the two succeeding centuries a considerable portion of India lay actually under direct Persian domination, forming a Persian satrapy, under Persian governors, and paying a heavy tribute to the Persian exchequer. When it is remembered that the original religion of the Turanian inhabitants of both countries was on the same, and that this was the faith cherished by the masses of the people, it would be natural to assume that the state of things resulted in religious changes and mutual assimilations.

It was owing to the expedition of Alexander that Buddhism was first really made known to European nations, for the conqueror took with him a number of learned and scientific men<sup>1</sup> specially selected for the purpose of collecting and recording all available information relative to the religions, customs and their inhabitants; and their works, condensed by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny, prove how earnestly they endeavoured to fulfil their task.

Alexander found in the Panjāb and Indus valley a number of petty princes, jealous of one another and practically powerless to defend themselves, but recognizing the supremacy of Persia as their suzerain and paying tribute to him. Only, Porus or Puru, attempted to check the invasion, but he was defeated without difficulty. The Greek army pressed on to Amritsar, their leader being determined to conquer the whole of the north of India as far as the mouth of the Ganges; but wearied by the heat, and exhausted by the troubles and difficulties of their protracted campaign, they were compelled to abandon this project, and to journey onwards along the banks of the Jhelum. Near the confluence of the five great rivers, Alexander made a long halt, and a city, which he called Alexandria, received there the mission of the neighbouring states, and constituted

<sup>1</sup> These were Bagoas, Diognetos, Nearchos, Onesikritos, Aristoboulos, and others.

capital of the satrapy. Journeying finally down the Indus, the Greek forces retired, partly by sea, partly by land through Beluchistān, and reached Susa B.C. 325.

Corroborative proof of the existence in those days of considerable land trade in India is found in the mention by Herodotus of long lines of highways, marked with what we should call mile-stones, which were deemed so important by Alexander that he had them surveyed.

Northern India was now, after eight centuries of proximity to the Assyrio-Chaldean empire, and after two centuries of partial Persian domination, subjected to the influences of the Greeks, which, though not felt during a long period of time, yet produced a serious impression on the arts of the country. It is now for the first time, so far as can be gathered, that the Hindus began to carve and construct buildings in stone. During the Greek period detachments of Greek soldiers must have guarded all important Greek points in the north, while in the Alexandrian cities of Bucephalia, near Jabalpur on the Jhelum, Nicæa, on the east side of the same river, Alexandria, the modern Uchch in the southern Punjāb, and Pātala or Haidarābād in Sindé,—there probably resided communities of Greek settlers.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile Chandragupta, an adventurer, was acquiring power in Magadha. Everything was in his favour. The Hindu princes were impoverished and enfeebled by internal disputes and Persian requisitions, while on the death of Alexander in B.C. 323, discord ensued in the ranks of the invaders. The Indian provinces fell to the share of Alexander's General Seleukos Nikator, but his weakness was Chandragupta's strength, and when, after several troublous years, the former found time to pay serious attention to the condition of his Indian feudatories, he found himself face to face with an empire. Chandragupta had acquired such power that the Greek was paralyzed, and was forced to come to terms. An alliance ensued. Seleukos abandoned his Indian possessions, and received in return a present of 500 elephants

<sup>1</sup> Article "India," Encyclop. Brit.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

from Chandragupta, a present which he commemorated on coins;<sup>1</sup> he gave his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta and sent an ambassador, Megasthenes, to the court of the emperor's putra.<sup>2</sup> This alliance altered the relative positions of the Greeks in India and the natives in the country. Up to it, there seems to have been a succession of mass attacks by the new comers by the Hindus. After the alliance, relations were established which must have largely contributed to the spread of western influences, both Greek and Persian. This friendship lasted into the time of Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta, who formed an alliance with Antiochus Theos, the grandson of Seleukos, in B.C. 185. Antiochus Soter, who murdered and then succeeded Seleukos, having in the meantime sent an embassy under Deimachos to Chandragupta's son and successor Bimbisára.

During the preceding two centuries Buddhism had been steadily gaining ground amongst the people, and Asoka made it the state religion. Proof that more intimate relations existed at this period between the Hindus and the Greeks of the west is found in the mention by Asoka, in his famous edict, of five Greek princes, Antiochus of Syria, Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonos of Macedon, Menander of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus, while the king bore witness that Buddhist ideas were spreading amongst western nations.

Fifty years after the time of Asoka, Euthydemus, the Græco-Baktrian, and his son Demetrius carried the Hellenistic influence into India (B.C. 191-181), and a city called Euthydemia was founded on the Jhelum.<sup>3</sup> Eukratides, who succeeded Demetrius, conquered the country as far as Alexander's river of Patāla, and appears to have sent expeditions into Sind and Gujarāt (B.C. 181-151). General Cunningham has expressed the opinion that the Indian provinces remained subject to the Baktrian kings during the reigns of

<sup>1</sup> Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Seleucid Kings*, plate i. represents the sovereign in a chariot drawn by elephants.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, vol. vi. p. 113, ff. (1877).

<sup>3</sup> Ptolemy *Geog.* vii. i.; McCrindle's *Ancient India*, p. 122; Ham's *Geog. of Anc. Ind.* pp. 180-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Num. Chron.* n.s. vol. ix. p. 160.

Antialkidas, Amyntas, and Hermæus. Menander's influence, indeed, extended still further to the east. Professor Weber thinks that the Græco-Baktrians advanced as far as Oudh.

We have corroborative evidence in the Bible of Indian trade with the west in those days, for it is stated there that in the time of the Maccabees, Antiochus Eupator of Syria had in his army 32 war-elephants carrying Indian mahouts.<sup>1</sup> This was in B.C. 163. The Persian army too, at that time, or only a few years previous, possessed 120 elephants.<sup>2</sup>

To return to Northern India,—the next great political event succeeding the Baktrian era was the invasion of the country by the Yueh-chi, as they are called by Chinese authors, Tartar tribes from the north-west. This took place in the first century B.C. The invaders are variously termed Scyths, Turanians, Śakas, Indo-Scythians. As to their invasion and its effect, I quote from Professor Max Müller's "*India, what can it teach us?*"<sup>3</sup> They swept over the country, overthrew the Mauryan kingdom, and "took possession of India, or at least the government of India, from about the first century B.C. to the third century A.D." The invaders belonged, in a sense, to the religion of the people, the religion that was merged into Buddhism, in opposition to the Vedic religion. "The rise of Buddhism and its formal adoption by King Aśoka had already considerably shaken the power and influence of the old Brahmanic hierarchy. The northern conquerors . . . were certainly not believers in the Veda. They seem to have made a sort of compromise with Buddhism, and it is probably due to that compromise, or to an amalgamation of Śaka legends with Buddhist doctrines, that we owe the so-called *Mahāyāna* form of Buddhism—and more particularly the Amitābha worship—which was finally settled at the Council under Kanishka, one of the Turanian rulers in India in the first century A.D." The four centuries of Turanian domination

<sup>1</sup> 1 Macc. vi. 30-37.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* viii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> p. 85 ff. and 274-277.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

caused a complete cessation of literary activity in though at the same time this period witnessed the construction in stone of some of the most elaborate and architectural monuments in the country.

About the year 20 B.C. we find an embassy sent from India to Augustus at Rome, the credentials of which were written on skins, showing how far western usage had overcome Brahmanical and Turanian prejudices. Intercourse with Rome is still further proved by the quantity of Roman coins found in all parts of India. It is possible, even, that a colony of Romans came to Madura, for it seems that the Pāṇḍyan king sent an embassy to Rome about this period, while a large number of Roman copper coins have been found in the river near that city in various scattered localities.<sup>1</sup> I lay down the coins being copper because, while a find of gold coins would not prove much, the discovery of copper coins in scattered localities seems to point to an occupation of the place by persons who used them in daily life. According to the Peutingerian Tables, if they may be held as an authority, we locate a temple of Augustus on the coast near "Mylapore" and certainly nothing would seem more natural than that the Roman traders engaged in the gold trade in the Viceroyalty should have erected a place of worship for themselves.

The testimony of Arrian (A.D. 150) must not be overlooked. His knowledge of India, north and south, was far more extensive and accurate to have been gained in any way than through informants thoroughly conversant with the country and possibly resident therein.

Mention must also be made of the Syrian colonies on the western coast, whose advent would seem to have occurred in the early years of our era.

The indigenous chronicles of Cuttack on the north-east coast of the Peninsula, though their testimony is

<sup>1</sup> For Southern India see the author's *List of Antiquities, Madras*, i. pp. 144, 190, 214, 218, 220, 222, 226-240, 244, 285, 286, 291.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Scott, a pleader in the District Court of Madura, has a quantity

<sup>3</sup> Desjardins, *Segment xi. Livraison 11.*

viewed with suspicion, contain several allusions to "Yavana" invasions of that tract, and even go so far as to assert that "Yavanas" held possession of that country as conquerors and rulers for 151 years.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, quite possible that this foreign conquest, if true, was a conquest by the Yueh-chi, with whose era it fairly synchronizes according to the compilation of Stirling and Hunter.

For present purposes it is not necessary to carry this cursory view of Hindu foreign political relations lower than the Roman period, since this is the age of the latest and most elaborate Buddhist stone structures. Enough has been said to show that the Hindus of the north lay open to constant foreign influence. I shall now attempt to show that these influences did actually take effect, as it is natural to suppose that they would have done, so that there can be nothing far-fetched in the idea that the symbolism of Buddhist days might have been, in part, of foreign and not indigenous origin.

To this end it is necessary to consider for a moment the state of religious belief in Chaldæa, Persia, and India, in order to ascertain whether it is reasonable to hold that the inhabitants of either of these countries might have adopted the religious ideas of their neighbours.

When the Aryans migrated to India they found in that country a race of non-Aryans—a people of a lower type than their own, long resident in their land. The Vedic hymns characterize these last as "non-sacrificers,"<sup>2</sup> "without gods," "without rites," but sufficiently civilized to possess "castles and forts." They seem to have been worshippers of trees and serpents—their principal deity was an earth-god. They practised all kinds of fetish-worship.<sup>3</sup> The Aryans brought with them their Vedas, and their worship of the manifesta-

<sup>1</sup> Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, vol. ii. p. 205, and the same author's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 65. Hunter's *Oriasa*, App. vii.

<sup>2</sup> This, however, would seem to have been a mistake. The Turanians appear to have immolated human victims in propitiation of the bloody and vindictive demons they feared.

<sup>3</sup> *Cave-Temples of India* (Fergusson and Burgess), p. 13.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

tions of a soul or spirit in nature—Indra, Varuna, Ushas, Vāyu and the Maruts, Savitri, Sūrya, Vishṇu and others. Once in India the Aryan religion became grossly corrupted. Ignorant superstition had its natural effect of evil and dread of the unknown supernatural, and by constant contact with people who feared and gradually overcame enfeebled confidence and trust in the beneficent powers. It is, I think, probable that contacts with the races that formed the powerful second Assyrian Empire in the two centuries preceding the age of Buddha were sufficient to bring about this state of things. This idea has often been held by Fergusson, who thought that the worship of Vishṇu was imported from the West, and that the grossness of the nothing more than the hawk-headed divinity of the Assyrians. Fergusson thus sums up the religious question as it stood in the sixth century B.C. "The blood of the Aryans had become so mixed and so impure that the Veda was no longer regarded as a rule of faith, and when Śākya-Muni availed himself of the opportunity so afforded . . . . his call was received in a manner which led to the most important consequences." He asserts, though with some hesitation, that as many as nine or ten of the Nandas, the immediate predecessors of Chandragupta, were serpent-worshippers.

The faith of the Chaldæans may be best summarized in the words of Professor Rawlinson:—"The worship was polytheistic. Various deities . . . divided the allegiance of the people, and even of the kings, who regarded with respect . . . some fifteen or sixteen personages. Of these principal gods were a far more numerous array of inferior or secondary divinities . . . recognized throughout the country. Finally the Pantheon consisted of a host of mere local gods or genii, every town, and every village in Babylonia being under the protection of its own particular divinity."<sup>3</sup> But this description, as actually have been written for Turanian India, if

<sup>1</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pp. 67-69.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 110.



judge of what Turanian beliefs were by considering what they are to this day, notably in the most Turanian tracts in Southern India. It is important for present purposes that this should not be lost sight of. The beliefs of the Chaldæans were almost identical with those of the masses in India. In Chaldæa, however, "the religion was to a certain extent *astral*. The heaven itself, the sun, moon, and the five planets have each their representative in the Chaldæan Pantheon among the chief objects of worship. At the same time it is to be observed that the astral element is not universal, but partial."<sup>1</sup>

The religion of the Assyrians closely resembled that of the Chaldæans.<sup>2</sup>

The early Persians, like the early Indians, were serpent-worshippers, and followed Turanian beliefs. As in India, so in Persia, a higher form of religion spread itself over the land. This last was, indeed, one and the same. I may be pardoned for again quoting Fergusson in this respect:—"At the time when the Greeks became acquainted with Persia, the whole country, under the influence of the Achæmenian kings, had been brought to acknowledge Zoroastrianism with its elemental fire-worship as their principal form of faith. This religion in its purity . . . . was the faith which the Iranians brought with them from their original seats when they separated from the Indian Aryans, and was practically their common faith both in India and in Persia. In the latter country, however, it was strangely mixed up with Magism, a religion of much more Semitic, or even, it may be suspected, Turanian form, and the two were at that time so blended in the Grecian accounts at least that it is now impossible to separate the one from the other."<sup>3</sup>

Thus, in Persia and in India there was a close similarity of religious belief,—Turanianism overlaid with the purer worship of divine manifestations of Power in Nature. The hostility of the priesthood practically proves the connection, for the great Persian Divinity *Ahura-Mazda* was an *Asura*,

<sup>1</sup> *id.* p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. i.

<sup>3</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 42.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

or malignant spirit to the Hindu, while the Hindu became a demon or *devil* to the Persian.<sup>1</sup> The difference consisted in the development rather than in the germ. Persians purified their religion into something a monotheism, the Hindus sank lower and lower in depths of Turanian poly-dæmonism. But in their religious beliefs were identical, and there is no reason for rejecting as absurd and fanciful a theory that their symbolism may have been the same. Sun-symbols might have survived to a late date in both countries.

The above summary, however, only goes to prove probabilities. It is necessary, now, to come to more certain clear proofs that the Hindus of Northern India did succumb, and that in no small degree, to foreign influences in pre-Buddhist days.

Professor Max Müller has noted an abrupt change in Hindu literature between the time of the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas (i.e. previous to 600 B.C.). This occurred during the period of the powerful later Assyrian Empire, when the frontiers of India and of that empire touched another along the whole of the north-west and west from Kābul to Karrāchi, and when Assyrian and Chaldean influences were likely to make themselves most felt. The change is stated by the learned Professor in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, to have been so important that it led to "a complete misunderstanding of the original intentions of the Vedic hymns." The old Aryan religion was revolutionized. The result is thus epitomized by a writer in this Journal,<sup>2</sup> "New gods were invented in place of the old, and some of these new mythological personages shadowed and supplanted the deities of the Vedas. Monstrous cosmogonies were invented and . . . a new mode of describing the world is adopted . . . In the new system of the world, the sun, moon, and stars, together with the zodiac and the twenty-seven lunar mansions,

<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 324. *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. J. Edkins, J.B.A.S. Vol. XVIII. n.s. Part I. p. 6 (Jan.

an entrance, and later the Ptolemaic system." It has also been pointed out that about a century or more after the probable era of the Brāhmaṇas, Śākyamuni found the Hindus believing in the doctrine of metempsychosis, which is by origin an Egyptian, not a Vedic doctrine. Now if all this is not an exaggeration, and there is little reason to suppose that that is the case, it seems to afford direct evidence that India was at that time subjected to some extent to Chaldaean influences.

MM. Perrot and Chipiez, in their admirable work on the *History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria*,<sup>1</sup> have given a clear account of the Chaldaean system of astrology and numerical calculation, with a description of its origin, which, though it stands unproved, at least seems most reasonable and admissible when viewed theoretically. In early days, say they, in Chaldaea, as in the early days of many families of the human race, fetichism, belief in demons, and spirits both malevolent and beneficent, reigned supreme, and worship or propitiation was associated with incantations and magic. As time passed on the priests added astrology to magic in their search after charms sufficiently powerful to compel to obedience those brilliant genii who inhabited the bright heavens and showed themselves to man at night.<sup>2</sup> But though simple minds might believe in the power of these charms, the priests, with more keen intellectual observation, noticed that neither sun, moon, nor stars ever changed their position in obedience to the command of man. Planetary motion, however, made itself visible, and the regularity of the motion of the sun and moon was also noted; and as all was favourable for study, the air clear, the nights balmy, men set themselves to work out the meaning of the motion of the heavenly bodies. Observatories, raised high above the mists, were built, and lofty platforms erected for the purpose. Students of Astronomy began to believe that the lives of individuals were affected from the time they were born by

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* vol. i. p. 65-73 (Armstrong's translation).

<sup>2</sup> "*Carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam.*" So Virgil many centuries later (*Bucol.* viii. 69).

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

the condition of the planets at the moment of birth. arose the whole system of astrology, which has had effect on the minds of men that it lasted in full force, Europe, down to the sixteenth century of our era, and present day claims here some few votaries, while in it still reigns supreme.<sup>1</sup> Astrology paved the way for Astronomy. In order to profit by the indications of the stars, in order, that is, to foretell success or disaster, it became necessary to foresee the positions the planets would occupy in the sky on a given day or hour—necessity arrived by repeated observation at an exact knowledge of the route followed by the planets across the sky, to distinguish them one from another by name. This was a close, accurate, and patient study, which had of incalculable benefit to mankind.

<sup>1</sup> The Chaldean system of Astrology spread far and wide. The Persians seem to have been second only to the irresponsible monarch. One, indeed, Pseudo-Smerdis, or "Gomates, the Magian," a priest, usurped the monarchy and held it firmly for a short time. Originally a Median caste, they appear to have adopted and carried on the sciences of the star-gazers, after the fall of Babylon and establishment of the Empire of the Medes; for when the Greeks and Romans came in contact with them, they were called indifferently "Magi" or "Chaldeans." A good deal of Chaldean magic, as intimately known to the Jews, who were largely indebted to it, is gained from the prophecy of Isaiah (xlvii. 12.), who, apostrophizing the goddess of Babylon under the title "daughter of the Chaldeans," says,—"*with thy enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries . . . wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from the things which are come upon thee.*" Though all forms of magic were forbidden by the Zoroastrianism, which was opposed to Magianism, the Magi contrived to pose as the representatives of the religion of Persia. Æschylus mentions them as a tribe. Sophocles writes of them with contempt. Plato held them in low esteem, and so did Xenophon. All over the civilized world the arts of astrology and divination, as taught by the Magi, came to be practised. The practice required a recognized position in society, their services being required on all occasions, alike by the king and the peasant. Under the Roman Empire swarms of impostors, professors in the Art of Magic, who were known as "Chaldei," "Mathematici." When Roman chiefs built their villas in the newly-conquered island of Britain, they brought with them the superstitions of their own country. The old *svastika* emblem was introduced into the decorated mosaic flooring of their principal rooms. It is found in the Roman villa at Whitestaunton in Somersetshire, as that at Brading in the Isle of Wight; and in curious connection with the latter mosaic is the figure of an astrologer with a divining-rod in his hand, in the field of the design, as if in the air, close by his head—i.e., where, under the Assyrians and Persians, an anthropomorphic sun would have been depicted,—an Oriental sun-emblem, the circle or *svastika* pillar, exactly as seen at Amaravati and Sanchi. It seems most probable that this design stamps the astrologer as a representative of eastern magic.

The Chaldæans, for purposes of calculation, established an intricate system of numeration. They began by counting on their fingers by units of five. Then they adopted a notation by sixes and twelves as an improvement on the former, since the figure ten could be divided neither into three nor four equal parts.<sup>1</sup> Numeration by sixes led to their division of time into the *sos* of 60 years, the *ner* of 600 years, and the *sar* of 3600 years. Lenormant points out that 60 may be divided by any divisor of ten or twelve. "Of all numbers that could be chosen as an invariable denominator for fractions it has most divisors."<sup>2</sup> Founded on a sexagesimal numeration, the metrical system of Babylon and Nineveh was the most scientific of all those practised by the ancients.

The Chaldæans began by registering the phenomena. They noted seven planets, including the sun and moon, and observed the apparent march of the sun through the constellations that are still called the "Signs of the Zodiac," and it seems that they even went so far as to recognize the annual displacement of the equinoctial point upon the ecliptic, but their instruments were too defective to enable them to go very far. They used for astronomical calculations the solar year of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, with which they made themselves acquainted, though for convenience they used the lunar year in civil life. The Greek astronomer, Epigenes, declares that the Chaldæans had preserved their calculations for an incredible number of years, and it is certain that many tablets containing stellar and planetary observations have been discovered. They believed in seven celestial deities, those of the Sun, Moon, and five great planets—*Adar* (Saturn), *Merodach* (Jupiter), *Nergal* (Mars), *Istar* (Venus), and *Nebo* (Mercury).

The modern European system of time-calculation is derived, almost certainly, from Chaldæa. Hence our sexagesimal divisions. We have sixty minutes to an hour, sixty seconds

<sup>1</sup> Aurès, *Essai sur le Système métrique Assyrien*, p. 10 (in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, vol. iii.).

<sup>2</sup> F. Lenormant, *Manual d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. ii. p. 177 (3rd edition).

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

to a minute, sixty divisions to a degree of space. & the Hindus, deriving their method equally from & divide time into cycles of sixty years, and their & sixty *ghaṭis* of twenty-four minutes each. A similar seximal division of years is in use both in China and probably carried thither on the introduction of B from India, for there are separate and distinct *indian systems* in use in both countries.

With regard to the days of the week, the Indians, with European nations, divide the days into groups & named in the same order in all countries, after & moon, and five great planets of the Chaldeans. Cunningham contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* & an interesting paper on this subject.<sup>1</sup> He writes: "good evidence to show that the week days, as named & seven planets, were in use, both in Persia and in & the same time as in the West, and perhaps even & We have the testimony of Celsus, who lived during the reign of Augustus and Tiberius, that the Persian & had seven gates, named after the sun and planets in & order, from Saturn to the Sun." Proof that this system was early in vogue in India is afforded by a passage in & of Apollonius by Philostratus. He says: "The Indian & Iarchas gave Apollonius seven rings, each bearing the & one of the seven stars, and he wore them alternately, & to the particular name of the day."<sup>2</sup> "As Philostratus derived his information from the Assyrian & actually accompanied Apollonius, this notice is connected with the date of his travels, between A.D. 20 and & use of the week days named after the seven stars was & fore, already established in India at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era." General Cunningham shows by diagrams how the calculation by Indians of twenty-four minutes each results in the same order of days of the week as the European division. He & by saying that though there is no direct evidence

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, xiv. 1 (Jan. 1885).

<sup>2</sup> Philost. *Vit. Apollonii*, iii. 41. Priault's *Apollonius of Tyāna*, "Postscript" below, p. 405).

the age of the scheme, it appears to have been in use in Media and Babylonia for several centuries before the Christian era. And with this conclusion probably few will be found to disagree.

In treating of the origin of the *triśūla*, which he connects with the Chaldæan cuneiform form sign for Taurus  $\Sigma\chi$ , the late Edward Thomas saw nothing fanciful in the supposition that the early Hindus possibly borrowed the *triśūla* symbol from their western neighbours. He wrote: "The dawning science of Astronomy, in its concurrent deceptive phase of Astrology, must readily have identified itself with kindred magic in the interchange of signs and symbols, as in other mutual aids."<sup>1</sup>

We find therefore that the Chaldæans succeeded in introducing into India their astronomical and hence their astrological system, their divisions of time and their nomenclature of the days of the week, all of which are in daily use at the present day. The system of astrology has fast hold of the people of India at the present day, as is well known. From highest to lowest, no man who can afford to pay for it ever dreams of entering on any new or important undertaking without obtaining the opinion of the astrologer of the village or family as to when a lucky moment will occur. Most of the villages of Southern India have, to this day, a paid astrologer for domestic use.

Other and very important evidence of foreign influence in India in early days is afforded by the alphabet in use in the days of Áśoka (250 B.C.). No other alphabet has been introduced since that day. All the alphabets at present in use are modifications of that original. Dr. Burnell believed<sup>2</sup> that the alphabet of Áśoka had been derived originally from Western Asia before the time of Alexander, and whether this view is correct or not, it was at least the view of a shrewd and critical scholar. He writes: "I have already mentioned the numerous indications that point to a Semitic origin of the Indian alphabets, and which are generally received

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S. (New Series), Vol. I. p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> *South Indian Palæography*, pp. 1-9.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

as sufficient; the immediate original is, however, certain. Three probable sources may be suggested: first is that the Indian alphabet came directly from Phœnicia and was introduced by the early Phœnician trade; second is that the original of these alphabets is to be found in the modified Phœnician alphabets used by the Hittites of Arabia, and this has lately been put forward as a well-established fact.<sup>1</sup> As a third possibility I would suggest that the Indian alphabets may be derived from an alphabet of a character used in Persia or rather Babylonia." He closes his discussion of the subject by admitting that the information at present available is too scanty to justify any precise inference, but that he inclines to look on the Phœnician character as the original.

Professor Max Müller also believes that the Indian alphabet was derived from the West. The Hindus themselves admitted that it was of foreign origin. Pāṇini's date is variously assigned to the fourth, third, and second century B.C., calls it the "*Yavanāni lipi*," though "*Yavana*" may apply to any nation of so-called barbarians outside India.

It must not be forgotten that the alphabet was introduced long before Aśoka's day; for though the earliest known inscription extant earlier than 250 B.C., it is not certain that the character must at that time have undergone modifications in India since its introduction, for no exactly corresponding to it has yet been discovered though many exist of a date considerably earlier than the great Buddhist monarch.

To turn now for a few moments to the architecture and sculpture of India in the earliest period known to us on this subject which is perhaps more important than all the rest for our present purpose. It will be remembered that no building or rock-cut cave exists in India of a date older than the third century B.C. Is the architecture of this period a growth? or does it show signs of Western influence?

<sup>1</sup> By Lenormant, *Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien*, table vi.



answer seems easy to give. The general shape of the structures would appear to be of Indian origin, derived from previously existing buildings, probably made in wood, and adapted to Hindu requirements; but in the ornamentation of these structures, in the decoration of the surface, and in the shape of such pillars as were erected by the Buddhists, they seem to have had recourse to Persian models. The style has been termed Indo-Persian, its *fons et origo* being at Persepolis.

This is so well known in the present day that it may seem superfluous, in a Society like this, to enlarge on the subject. It might be taken as an accepted fact. But it is, perhaps, well to note shortly the opinion of such a judge as Fergusson. He states that all the *lāts* or detached pillars of the time of Aśoka "are similar to one another. Circular stone shafts, . . . surmounted by a capital with the falling-leaf, or bell-shaped form found at Persepolis. This form of the capital, together with the Grecian or rather Assyrian honeysuckle ornament with which it is generally associated, are two of the most valuable ethnographical indications which the architecture of this day affords."<sup>1</sup> The presence of winged lions and other animals on the base and abacus of the pillar is another point of resemblance, the Hindu mythology containing no allusion to four-footed beasts with wings—and their position on the pillar being almost conclusive as to their origin. An excellent paper on the subject appeared in the periodical called the *Friend of India*, on the 13th November, 1875. The writer described in detail the close connection observable between early Indian and Western sculpture both Persian and Greek. And it is remarkable that for several centuries, down to the most flourishing period of Buddhist Art, the period of the Amarāvati Tope, the last and most exquisite of its class whose construction may in part belong to a period five centuries later than that of Aśoka, during the whole of which it would seem that the Arts had flourished amongst

<sup>1</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 94.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

the Buddhists, the same type of pillar-capital, shaft is found, and the same general form of construction. During all those years no indigenous art had arisen: the old foreign designs. The pillars and pilasters of the Amarāvati Tope are in form substantially the pilasters of Bharhut and Sāñchi.

It is now time to turn to the special subject of the paper, the symbols in use amongst the early Buddhists exhibited in the sculptures of the existent Topes. It has been shown that the Hindus lay open to Western influences for many centuries, and I have endeavoured to show that they succumbed in large measure to those influences. Their astronomical and astrological systems, their divisions of time, and nomenclature of days of the week, their art, and their architectural style, being all more or less derived from the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks. While it is significant that the old religion of the Hindus was revolutionized exactly at the period of the supremacy of the later Assyrian Empire. The Buddhist symbols then,—are they of indigenous origin, or were they derived from Western Asiatic sources?

Pure Buddhism was opposed to the use of idols and symbols. There was little in the doctrine of Buddhism that appealed to the senses, and nothing remained for the artists when they began to carve in stone but to fall back on art purposes on the old mythology, and the popular superstitions, the fairy and snake-stories of the people,<sup>1</sup> and old-world symbols long in use. It is another striking resemblance between the Hindus and their neighbours the Persians, that the former appear to have acted, with regard to the use of symbols, exactly as did the latter. The Zoroastrianism of the *Avesta* was wholly opposed to idolatry, yet the Zoroastrians "did not deny themselves a certain use of symbolical representation of their deities, nor did they scruple to adopt the idolatrous nations the forms of their religious symbols."

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Max Müller, Introduction to the *Parables of Buddhaghosa*, p. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 351.

Thus the Assyrian winged globe, which in its turn had been borrowed from Egypt as a symbol of Semitic Asshur, was adopted by the Persians as a symbol of Aryan Ahura-Mazda ; and thus, I believe, the *svastika*, the *dharmachakra* (so-called), and the *trisula* were borrowed by Hindu Buddhists from pre-existent forms, possibly in use in India in pre-Buddhist days, but ultimately derived from Assyria, Chaldaea, and Persia. And when it is remembered that all three of these symbols were probably sun-symbols, the theory is rendered still less improbable, for of all emblems which would be most likely to survive amidst the fall of old creeds and the upheaval of atheistic philosophies, that relating to the ancient worship of the sun would naturally be the most prominent, offending, as it did, against no prejudices, superstitions, or beliefs. The Jews, for instance, at one period, as I have stated above, saw no wrong in introducing all the paraphernalia of the old sun-worship into the very courts of the house of Jehovah at Jerusalem—and there is no reason to suppose that they had then revolted against their sacred creeds. They merely added adoration of the sun “and all the host of heaven”<sup>1</sup> to the worship of their own Divinity. Similarly, at a time when Buddhists began to use symbols, old-world sun-symbols were those which lent themselves most readily and with least perversion of ideas to the requirements of the new faith,—as it was then accepted by the masses of the Turanian-blooded people, being of necessity mixed-up with a great deal of the superstitions of former days.

The emblems most frequently met with on Buddhist Topes may be divided into two classes—symbols of which the origin is distinctly Buddhist, and symbols of which the shape cannot be traced to a Buddhist origin. In the first

<sup>1</sup> Under some of the kings of Judah the horses and chariots of the sun (2 *Kings* xxiii. 11) were stalled in the precincts of the Temple of Jerusalem. This dedication of horses to the sun was perhaps borrowed from the Persians (*Herod.* i. 189; *Curt.* iii. 3. § 11; *Xen. Cyp.* viii. 3. § 24). The Armenians and the Ma-sagetæ sacrificed horses to the sun (*Herod.* i. 216; *Xen. Anab.* iv. 5. § 35). It is noticeable that the horse is frequently introduced into the Amarāvati sculptures in a way not yet satisfactorily explained. Sun-images are frequently alluded to in the chronicles of Israel and Judah (*Levit.* xxvi. 30, etc.).

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

class must be placed (1) the *dāgoba*; (2) the empty throne of the Buddha, probably signifying a spot where Śākya-nirvāṇa resided or taught; (3) the feet-impressions, evidently referred to some locality considered sacred because the feet of the sage had trodden its dust. In the latter class come (4) the tree, and (5) the serpent, emblems founded on popular traditions of the people, and probably Turanian in origin, though the tree may have been adopted by the Buddhists as a symbol of the *saṅgha*, the church, and is aptly so; and, secondly, three emblems, all as I believe of sun-origin; (6) the *svastika*, an Asiatic not merely a sun-symbol; (7) the *chakra*, a wheel or fiery circle, generally represented as raised on a pillar; (8) the *trīśūla*, so placed on a pillar like the *chakra*, and sometimes used as the *Amarāvati*, merely as an ornament,—for instance, on the oft-repeated, it forms the crowning cornice of the inner shrine.

I am mainly concerned with the *svastika*, *chakra*, and *trīśūla*.

The *svastika* and *saurastika* are so well known that I need not dwell long on them. They appear to have been of Western-Asian origin, whether Semitic or Aryan, and to have been adopted as emblematic of sun-worship. The point has been much disputed, but the sun-theory is now the one most generally accepted. The symbol was found profusely amongst the ruins of the third, or but not of the second, century B.C. at Hissarlik, but not amongst those of the two earlier centuries. Its use spread, possibly with Aryan emigrations, possibly with Magian astrology, westwards as far even as Britain, and travelling eastwards, it was, if not introduced by the Greeks, at any rate adopted at an early date by the Hindus.

<sup>1</sup> Other figures carved on the Tōpe sculptures have been noticed as close resemblance to figures carved on monuments further West. Thus called attention (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 187, and note 3, to an ornamental design used on the roll-frieze of the outer rail at Amaravati—"an new . . . in so far as India is concerned,"—but which is found on representations of the Ephesian Artemis. It resembles the upper half of a demon with upraised arms. A representation will be found in *Ephesus*, p. 286. Amongst other points of resemblance between Western-Asian symbolism may be noted the fact that in both countries deities are often represented as holding in one hand a sceptre and in the other a bowl.

<sup>2</sup> See above, note 1, p. 383.

was made use of in their sculptures and inscriptions. Its general acceptance seems to have been as a token of good-luck and prosperity, while romantic Buddhist teachers feigned that the feet of the Buddha himself were marked with these *stigmata*, proving that they accepted the sign as one of an older date than the birth of Buddha.<sup>1</sup> Pāṇini mentions the *svastika* as a sign branded for luck on the ears of cows.<sup>2</sup>

The symbol called the *chakra* seems to be certainly an emblem of the sun. Its similarity, when raised on a pillar, to Assyrian types, has been repeatedly noticed, and it is useless for me to waste time by further discussion on the matter. As a symbol of the all-vivifying sun it was a most appropriate emblem of the Buddhist *Dharma*.<sup>3</sup>

There remains the doubtful *Trisūla*. What was its origin? Was it indigenous or exotic?

The figures given below are taken from Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and from Fergusson and Burgess's



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

<sup>1</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, plate lxxxvii, p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Max Müller, in Schliemann's *Ilios* (pp. 346-7); Goldstücker, *Pāṇini, his place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 59.

<sup>3</sup> The *chakra* occupies the most prominent place on the summit of the north gateway of the Sāñchi Topa, flanked by two *trisūlas*.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

*Cave Temples.* The first (*figure 1*) is the entire the second (*figure 2*) the mutilated form often seen in the latter form that the emblem commonly appears on coins.

It was an emblem not confined to architectural decoration. It is everywhere seen on the standards and arms of soldiers, and on most Buddhist coins. It was one of the favourite emblems of the age.<sup>1</sup> Representation elevated to a most prominent position on a flaming wheel are to be found at Amarāvati.<sup>2</sup> Is it possible that, like the *chakra* and the *svastika*, it was an old-world sun-emblem? My belief is—I say it with diffidence, because I am aware that the idea will sound at first preposterous to many minds, and I admit myself fully open to conviction if a better origin be eventually suggested—my belief is that the much-discussed *trishula* is nothing more nor less than a conventionalized scarab—a sun-emblem derived from the Assyrians and Persians, and thence remotely from Egypt.

It may not be inappropriate to show how other emblems have spread from nation to nation, and been adopted after creed after creed, in order to afford some basis for the supposition that this theory need not be scouted as improbable, more especially since I have already pointed out the apparently strong influence exercised by the Assyrians and Chaldeans on the early inhabitants of India. I will take, for example, first the old Egyptian *tau* or *cruz ansata*. Whatever this emblem originally signified, its rise began in Egypt. It was thence adopted by the Assyrians and is found on sculptures at Khorsābād, on ivory at Nimrūd, and on Ninevite cylinders. It is observed on numerous coins of the Mediterranean coasts at a late date, especially on coins of Cyprus. Ezekiel the prophet, impressed by the idea that the symbol was one of great antiquity, that, in his vision, he conceived the *tau* as marked on the foreheads of all those persons who were destined to be

<sup>1</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* plates lxx. lxxi. lxxii.

<sup>3</sup> Ezekiel ix. 4, 5, 6.

The use of the *tau* somehow spread into ancient America, for it is found on sculptures at Palenque and Copan. A peculiar anthropomorphic form of the *tau*, found at the demolition of the serapeum at Memphis, appears to have given rise to the earlier semi-anthropomorphic form of the Ephesian Artemis, whence it spread into Greece. As a sign of security the *tau* was adopted by the Christian order of St. Anthony of Ethiopia, one of the earliest religious orders ever founded by Christians, dating about 370 A.D. It is found on Hebrew and Gnostic charms, and Joseph von Hammer points to it as the all-potent sign of the Knights Templars.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly the winged globe of Egypt seems to have been accepted as a symbol of divine power and influence by the Chaldæans and Assyrians, as well as by other neighbouring races. Just as it was sculptured over the doorways of Egyptian pylons, so it finds similar place amongst the sculptured remains of those born imitators, the Phœnicians. In an anthropoid form it is universal in Assyria and Chaldæa where it represents the sun-god Asshur, and afterwards in Persia where it stood for Ahura-Mazda, overshadowing and protecting the sovereigns in all their successful undertakings, whether in war or the chase. It is found as a guardian of doorways even in Mexico and Central America, though how it got there is at present a mystery.<sup>2</sup> Whether the

<sup>1</sup> See notes in the *Antiquary* of March and August, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> See Catherwood's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1854), p. 385, for an example at Ocosingo in Chiapas. Also Lord Kingsborough's *Mexican Antiquities*, iv. 2; Baradère's *Antiq. Mexicaines*, pl. xxix. (*première expédition*), and Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Palenque* (1866), Introd. p. 15, where Catherwood's woodcut is reproduced.

For Phœnician examples see Renan's *Mission de Phénicie* (1864), p. 366, a stone found at Saida (Sidon), and now in the Louvre. M. Renan states that the winged globe is found on the gates of almost all the temples in Phœnicia. *Op. cit.* pp. 69, 70, for an example at Ain el Hayât, at Amrith on the coast of Syria. One of the latest instances is at Gêbeil, on the carved architrave of a Christian church or baptistery, dated A.D. 1264 (*id.* pl. xxxii. 7).

Also Lajard's *Culte de Vénus*, plates i. 16, iii. 9, 10, 11 (Cilicia), iiia. 11, iv. 11, v. 13, vi. (Persepolis), xii. 4 (a curious variety), xiv. 1, xix. 16 (Tharsus). The same author's *Culte de Mithra*, plates i. ii. x. 3 to 11, xiii. 2, xvi. 1, 2, xvii. (numerous examples), xviii. 7 (a very remarkable specimen shaped like a bird), xxxvi. 11 (the same, but even more peculiar). Di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, plates xxxv. 20 (where the emblem is clearly a large-winged scorpion), xxxvi. etc. Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, ii. 4, and note. Perrot and

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

winged globe had any intimate relation in origin with the scarabæus I will not stop to consider, but certain emblem called the *mihir*, as seen in some Phœnician examples, may equally be looked at as a form of the globe, or as a scarab in act of flight, and on the coins of some of the satraps the *mihir* stands in the same position to the monarch whose figure is depicted on the obverse as the anthropoid winged globe does to the conquering monarch of Assyria and Chaldæa. It protects and guards him. On the coin the symbol appears to be a flying scarab (*figure 3*) with its wings extended; in another (*figure 4*) of the same satrap it is shaped like the pennate globe;<sup>1</sup> while the one depicted in Di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, plate xxxv. 20, is a large-winged scarab. The *mihir* is found, in some



AR

Figure 3.



AR

Figure 4.

stances, on coins of Cyprus associated with Egyptian emblems;<sup>2</sup> and I desire to call especial attention to the emblems in the field of the coins depicted in De Luyne's *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, plate ii. figure



R

Figure 5.



15, and plate vi. figure 5), both over the lions on the obverse and over the male figure on the reverse occupy the position as does the *mihir*.

coins, protecting and guarding the principal figure. The emblem in question is often called the *taurus* symbol.

*Chipiez*, i. 87 (Armstrong's translation). De Luyne, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, pl. iii. (where several examples on coins of Cyprus are given).

<sup>1</sup> De Luyne, *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phœnicie*, ii. 3, 5).

<sup>2</sup> De Luyne, *Numismatique et Inscriptions Cypriotes*, pl. iii.



is sometimes represented with a perpendicular attachment below, as if elevated on a staff, sometimes without this. It appears to be similar to the half-*trīśula* seen so often at Amarāvati,<sup>1</sup> which half-*trīśula*—the *trīśula*, that is, minus the lower member and with reduced wings—is the form in which the symbol is depicted on most of the Buddhist coins (figure 7<sup>2</sup>), just as it is on these coins of Cyprus,



Figure 6.



Figure 7.

where it seems almost certain that its origin is Western Asiatic or Egyptian. The fact that in both countries the symbol is used in a mutilated form, apparently for the sake of simplicity, may be used as a strong argument in favour of a common origin, for it is surely not usual thus to cut a symbol in half. In India the form is most undoubtedly a half-*trīśula*, and in the Cyprian examples, though its origin is not so clear, its position on the coin suffices to identify it.

This mutilated form is constantly observed on Phœnician inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> where it is elevated on a pedestal or standard

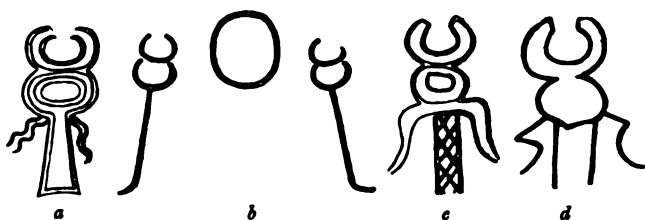


Figure 8.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Figure 2, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> The coin is from Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship* (p. 162, No. 1). a coin of Krapanda. The other emblems from Gen. Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*.

<sup>3</sup> Vaux's *British Museum Phœnician Inscriptions*, plates i. No. 2 (figure a); iv. 10 (figure b) (where the emblem becomes a simple caduceus, and is associated with a sun-symbol), vii. 20 (figure c), xiii. 37 (figure d), xviii. 52, xxvii. 74—inscriptions found by Nathan Davis on the site of ancient Carthage. Plate ii. fig. 5 gives an excellent illustration of the wheel of the sun as used by the Phœnicians.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

(figure 8), and sometimes has attached to it under a pair of flying strings, just as the Egyptian wing often has the serpents' tails, and as the Assyrian an form of the same emblem frequently has the flying the god's waist-sash (figure 9).



Figure 9.

To show how curiously symbols may be varied by sculptors, I may point to an instance of the globe found near the Limon Mine in New Se America (figure 10), and figured in Pim and S Dottings on the Road-side in Panama, Nicarag Mosquito (1869), p. 128. All the elements of the globe are here in its Assyrianized form—the central body, in this instance somewhat heart-shaped, the si the lower fan-shaped tail, and the two dangling en the wings. But whereas in Assyria the central converted into a wheel (the disk of the sun—whence the origin of the idea of the Buddhist *chakra*), and of an anthropoid deity, the fan-like tails being t of his robes and the dangling ends being the end sash, here in America the sculptor has ignorantly d the symbol just in the way that a child would. converted the central body into a face with roughly-



Figure 10.

mouth, and eyes, and feel self bound in some way to for the two ends that formed part of the emblem, he has made t two long moustaches d from the upper lip of face carved on the slab.

The above remarks will serve to show how the emblems of Egypt have spread into other count

become altered and conventionalized in the process. Now, without going necessarily so far away as Egypt, it is clear that the scarab was an emblem and a very important emblem to the Assyrians and peoples with whom the Hindus came in contact, and it is often found in a highly conventionalized form.



Figure 11.

The original Egyptian type, as used in the hieroglyphs, is given in figure 11, taken from a sarcophagus in the British Museum, and some of its more highly conventional forms in figures 12, 13, both from the work of MM. Perrot and Chipiez.<sup>1</sup>

Figure 12 is taken from a scarab depicted on a patera, and Figure 13 from a cup as given by



Figure 12.



Figure 13.

Layard. In both instances it is represented as elevated on a column or standard.

The scarab was also largely used by the Chaldæans, and they adopted its form for their gems and seals, just as did the Egyptians. Numbers of engraved scarabs are found in Babylonia.<sup>2</sup> That the emblem was in general use amongst the nations of Western Asia is shown by the numbers of scarabæi that have been found, not only in Assyria and Chaldæa, but in early Greek tombs all round the Mediterranean, in Cyprus, and in a hundred different places. One source whence they were derived has lately come to light,

<sup>1</sup> *History of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus* (Armstrong's translation), ii. 330, 331.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* i. 77.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

Mr. Petrie having found at Naukratis several scarabs intended for export to the Mediterranean, the isles of the Phœnician colonies, and Etruria. The scarab adopted by the Phœnicians at the same time as the (Assyria), and the cone (Asia Minor) as a pattern engraved gems, but the cylinder and cone gave way to the superior charms of the scarab and scaraboid, latter forms largely predominated in later years. A number of scarabs have been found in Sardinia at Cagliari. They bear engravings of degenerate Egyptian types, mostly belong to the period between the end of the fourth and the end of the third century B.C., when Carthage was supreme in the Western Mediterranean, and the Punic colonies in Sardinia enjoyed their greatest prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

A very important link between the Egyptian or Phœnician scarab and the Indian *trīśula* will be found figured in Lajard's *Culte de Mithra*, plate x. figure 3. It is



Figure 14.

in a highly-conventionalized form (figured) engraved on a gem, having in the center a sun and moon, and at the side a crescent and star, a legend, showing it to be probably of Semitic origin. That the figure is intended to represent a scarab is clear from the representation on it of the ball rolled up by the natural scarabæus, which ball is often found on other figures of the scarab much more closely resembling nature. If to the central member of the figure a pair of wings be added, there will be found the entire and unmistakable Buddhist *trīśula* (trident) complete in all its parts.

Comparison of the two designs can hardly fail to show any one that, if not intentional, the resemblance is extraordinary. The details of course vary, but the general outline is identical.

The *trīśula* is found repeated over and over again at Amarāvati, at Buddha Gaya,<sup>2</sup> at Sāñchī, and indeed

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1886, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 116, where it is figured.

**Buddhist Topes.** That it was in use before the Sāñchī Tope was erected is shown by the coin, given on *figure 7* above, of Krapanda, brother of Amogha, whom Thomas believed to be one of the nine Nandas, the predecessors of Chandragupta. Fergusson differs from this, asserting that the coin is more modern, but he declares it to be certainly older than the first of the Sāñchī gateways, and his view is probably correct. The coin is figured in *Tree and Serpent Worship* (p. 162, note 1). It contains several of the common Buddhist emblems, including the *trīśula* in its truncated shape, as in *figure 2*.

Fergusson, as I have already remarked, noticed the similarity between the *trīśula* symbol, the caduceus of the god Mercury, and the sign of the planet Mercury.<sup>1</sup> General Cunningham has made the same observation.<sup>2</sup> Describing a coin of Pharaspes or Pharnaspes of the Alexandrian period, he mentions that it bears on it "a caduceus without a handle, which is the zodiacal sign for Taurus." The symbol is, I contend, similar to the Buddhist truncated *trīśula* (*fig. 2*), and similar to the Cypriot emblem alluded to above (*fig. 6*). That it is a coin of Persian origin is proved not only by the fact of its bearing a legend in Pahlavi characters, but because the Assyrian man-headed winged bull on the obverse wears on his head a Persian tiara. My impression is that the *trīśula* and the caduceus spring from precisely the same original—the scarab.

The form of the Buddhist *trīśula* as represented (*figure 1*) at Amarāvati, for instance, is explainable thus. The body of the scarab is roughly drawn as a circle and often, as such, decorated with the circular lotus-disks of the outer rail with the conventional water-leaf ornament; the upraised fore-legs and the head become conventionalized into rounded raised arms with a prominent central member; the wings are depicted as leaf-like projections on each side of the body; the hind-legs are rendered in form similar to the

<sup>1</sup> *id.* p. 116, note.

<sup>2</sup> J.A.S. Bengal, L., part i. p. 171 (1881).

fore-legs, but, as is essential to the general idea, not decorated. The hind-legs, as I cannot avoid calling the *triśūla*, are specially noticeable, as the Amarāvati give them a strangely animal look, especially about the knee-joint. Moreover, it must be noted that the scarab proper (*figure 11*) is always depicted with certain necessary claw-like projections on the fore-legs, none, or very slight ones, on the hinder legs. And a similar difference is observable in the Indian *triśūla*, the extremities of the upper members being ornamented in trefoil-shape, while the lower extremities are

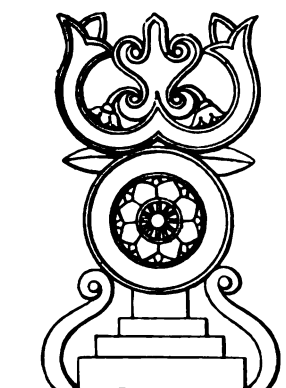


Figure 15.

marked. It was, perhaps, the absence of ornamentation on the lower members that led to their being discarded in the intermediate form given in *figure 15*—where the upper members are strongly ornamented while the lower limbs have dwindled into mere adjuncts. This form is derived from the summit of the gateway at Sāñchi.<sup>1</sup>

The form of the *triśūla* may be explained thus: the body of the scarab is drawn as before in a circle, and hind-legs are placed in the usual position, the extremities of the fore-legs having a certain development wanting in the hind-legs, in accordance with requirements. The wings are omitted, as, viewing the original form (*figure 11*), it is well might be. The whole being elevated on a staff, the original form being lost sight of, the shape is chosen to represent two snakes twisted round one another. The developments at the extremities of the upper members, taking, in this instance, the form of heads, the lower

<sup>1</sup> *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate x. a, p. 113.

ling to a point for the tail. *Figures 16, 17* show the transition.

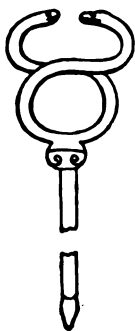


*Figure 16.*



*Figure 17.*

If the lower member be omitted, the caduceus assumes the form in which it was sometimes used by priests. There is a bronze specimen (*figure 18*) in the British Museum, of date 440–430 B.C.<sup>1</sup> Here, it will be observed,



*Figure 18.*

below (*figure*



*Figure 19.*

the figures can hardly be looked on as twisted snakes, for they have no tails. This has the appearance of a transitional variety—where the snakes' heads are merely introduced as an ornament at the ends of the two curved upper arms of the old *taurus* symbol (compare *fig. 6b*). In the Phœnician examples alluded to above (*figure 8b*), the same symbol is found. In a coin of Herod I. (B.C. 37–4)<sup>2</sup> the same symbol is depicted, but with two little projections below (*figure 19*). These projections are certainly not snakes' tails. They are more like small wings, yet the whole symbol has been accepted as representing a caduceus. These instances seem to point to the origin of the caduceus being, not serpents twisted round a staff, but the old *taurus* symbol developed.

There can be little doubt that the celebrated idol of *Jagannātha* (Vishṇu as Kṛishṇa) at Purī in Cuttack was originally one of these *triśūlas*.<sup>3</sup> *Figure 20*, taken from General Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*, represents this well-

<sup>1</sup> It bears the inscription ΛΟΓΓΕΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΜΙ ΔΕΜΟΣΙ . . . . "I am the public (herald ?) of the people of Longanē," a town in Sicily.

<sup>2</sup> Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, No. 4, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas (*J.R.A.S. n.s.* Vol. I p. 483) expressed his belief in the identity of this figure with the "Taurus symbol."

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

known image. It shows an anthropomorphic

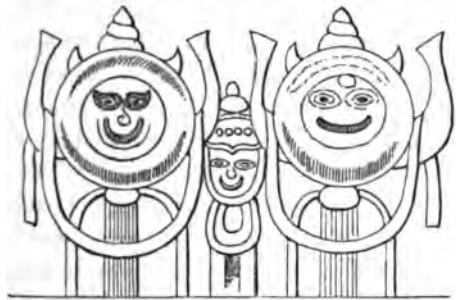


Figure 20.

similar to the instances given above of the Assyrian and Persian symbols of Asshur and Ahura-Mazda, and of the Ephesian Artemis, the former being derived from the circle, the latter from the Egyptian *tau*.



Figure 21.

I have in my possession a remarkable copper coin, of which a woodcut is given in figure 21. I know of no existing material identifying this coin, but the form of the design is archaic. It was given to me by Sir Elliot, who was unable to assign it to any hitherto known series. The figure of Vishnu here appears with four arms in an attitude singularly recalling the trisula and the Jagannātha idol above alluded to. The coin is clearly intended to represent Vishnu, and no other deity is shown by the Vaishṇava emblem, the tortoise on the reverse side (the *Kurma-avatāra*).



Figure 22.

The figure on this coin and at Purī further give rise to the question whether, after all, the symbol which Vaishṇavas at the present day use on their foreheads (figure 22), and which is generally regarded as some sort of trident, is not another modification of the *trisula*, the central circle being omitted (figure 7). I know of no other reasonable explanation of its form.

While recognizing the danger and uselessness of baseless identifications too far—of allowing mere sim-



of form to influence the mind—I cannot refrain from pointing out with diffidence, and I admit without any sanction of proof, a similarity which struck me six years ago, and which I have since seen no reason absolutely to reject as absurd.

On the angles of the base of a bronze statuette found in a tomb in the Polledrara cemetery at Vulci in Etruria, and figured in Dennis's *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (vol. i. p. 423), and Micali's *Monumenti Inediti* (1844), plate vi. fig. 2, is found the annexed figure (fig. 23).<sup>1</sup> This



Figure 23.

is in all respects similar to the forms represented above. It has all the members of the scaraboid form so often alluded to—the body, wings, fore-legs, and hind-legs—the only difference being that in this instance the curve of the lower members is altered so as to bring the upper and lower limbs into conventional regularity. It must also be noticed that numbers of scarabs have been found in Northern Italy. With reference to its date, the author writes: “The antiquity of this bust is proved, not only by the style, but by the workmanship,—not being cast, but being formed of thin plates of bronze hammered into shape, and finished with the chisel—the earliest mode of Etruscan toreutics.” That the ornament was intended to be looked at in the position in which I have depicted it is clear from its place on the bronze plinth. Now, if any one will take the trouble to look at this woodcut from the side of the page, instead of holding the page in the usual way, he will observe that the figure is precisely that of a conventional *fleur-de-lys*. This may be a pure flight of fancy, but still it is noticeable that Northern Italy was, if not the home of the *fleur-de-lys*, at least one of the sites of its firm adoption. I lay no great stress on this identification, however, contenting myself with simply calling attention to the curious resemblance. The *fleur-de-lys* has been derived

<sup>1</sup> Most unfortunately the portion of bronze plinth on which the ornament is cut appears never to have found its way to the British Museum, where the rest of the bust is. But Micali is a very accurate and trustworthy copyist, and that the plinth did actually exist is proved by his alluding to it in his text.

## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

from a hundred different originals. This is merely a and first.

### POSTSCRIPT.

The *Life of Apollonius of Tyāna* written by Ph has been alluded to above (p. 385). This work ally supposed to be historically valueless. It is that Apollonius travelled to India about the year but it is almost certain that this "Life," which ne its appearance till it was presented to the Empr Domna, the wife of Severus (A.D. 222-235), was a fabrication, based on the information recorded by writers. As such, however, it has an importance of which must not be lost sight of. The author of such is more careful than even a *bonâ-fide* traveller nothing that will not be believed. He may ex accepted fallacies, but only because they have been From this point of view certain passages of this ap "Life of Apollonius," written possibly as late as century A.D., become very valuable for our present I quote from Priaulx's work.

Apollonius is represented as having his first with Phraotes, king of Takila;—"The king ord Babylonian guide to be treated with the hospital to be shown to travellers from Babylon, and the sat to be sent back home with the usual travelling al while he converses with Apollonius in Greek and t with most marked courtesy. This shows at least Alexandrians of the third century A.D. believed overland journey from Babylon to India was a constantly made by travellers, that Babylonians the regular habit of making this journey, though seldom; that the Indian kings showed much courte travellers, and that such visits were so frequent travelling allowances paid to guides formed a recog well-known item of the expenditure of frontier so We further learn from the story that the author o

it probable that Greek influence in Northern India had been very extensive.

We learn from the narrative that the Greek and Indian Philosophers were mutually acquainted with each other's systems, and held one another in honour—a state of things that confirms the boast of Ásoka alluded to above (p. 375). The same king, Phraotes, tells Apollonius that he had been “brought up by his father in the Greek fashion till the age of twelve; that he was then sent to the Brahmans, and treated by them as a son, for ‘they especially love,’ he observed, ‘those who know and speak Greek, as akin to them in mind and disposition.’” Passages from Nicolaus Damascenus, Diodorus, Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Ælian, corroborate this account of the spread of Greek ideas, and the Greek language, amongst the Hindus.

Later on we are introduced to a dull-witted and unenlightened monarch, who insults Apollonius. Being afterwards convinced of his error, we are told, “the king burst into tears . . . and attributed his prejudices against the Greeks to the tales and falsehoods of Egyptian travellers, who, while they boasted of their nation as wise and holy and author of those laws relating to sacrifices and mysteries which obtain in Greece, described the Greeks as men of unsound judgment, the scum of men . . . etc. . . .” Third-century authors, then, believed that India was frequently visited by Egyptian travellers, as well as by Babylonians.

It is clear, then, that the author of this “Life of Apollonius” conceived that he would best impose on the credulity of his age by accepting a very close and frequent intercommunication between India, Babylon and Egypt, before and up to the date of Apollonius (40 A.D.), as in the regular nature of things. Had there been no such regular intercommunication, he would not have written the passages quoted above.

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## EARLY BUDDHIST SYMBOLISM.

NOTE BY SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD ON THE ABOVE

Every article of Hindu manufacture, excepting descript curiosities made for Europeans, had a significance, and their ornamentation was all symbolic himself, he had no doubt that nearly every symbol in India came originally from Mesopotamia. This has not yet been demonstrated in every case; but he thought his book he was preparing for the press would prove in great many cases: and it might be inferred, without proof, from the commercial history of India. He would not attribute much to the direct influence of Egypt, which was operative millenniums before the appearance of the Aryas on the scene of history, yet indirectly it must have had a great initial influence on the development of Art. As Egyptian caravan commerce became continuous with Mesopotamia about B.C. 2000, and thus helped to propagate a common Egypto-Mesopotamian type of industrial and decorative art from Inner Africa to Central Asia, and when the Aryas began to move into Persia, and into Anterior Asia, and Europe, they moved directly in this line of propagation of Egypto-Mesopotamian handicraft art, and this, probably, largely accounts for the resemblances between the household arts of all the ancient and semi-civilized countries of the Old World. The abiding influence of Mesopotamia on India, as still manifested, particularly in the arts of Southern India, and the effects of the Macedonian conquest were not direct. Art was not developed until the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Psammetichus I. in Egypt, and Nebuchadnezzar in Babylonia, first organized the navigation and commerce of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean, and this was carried on down to the conquests of the Saracens. But this itself was the direct result in his (Sir George Birdwood's)

<sup>1</sup> This note is the substance of Sir G. Birdwood's reply to the question whether he had observed any indications of symbolism in Indian fabrics, when Mr. Sewell's paper had been read at the Society's Meeting, 21st June, 1886.

opinion, as he had some years ago stated in the *Athenæum*, of this enlarged commercial intercourse; for Buddhism was simply commercialized, internationalized Hinduism, which reverted at once to the national, strongly anti-commercial type, formulated in "The Code of Manu," as soon as the old overland trade between the East and the West began to be broken up by the Mahomedans. Obviously as Buddhism itself, so its ritualistic symbolism also, must have owed much to the intercourse of the ancient Hindus with Mesopotamia. As to the *swastika* and the *trishula* being sun-symbols, they were phallic symbols before that. He (Sir George Birdwood) took no interest in phallic symbols until they assumed the poetic form of the Garden of Eden and the Tree of Life; but there was no doubt in his mind that the *swastika* was the first symbol of the Garden of Eden, or before that of woman, and the *trishula* of the Tree of Life, or before that of man. It was a most interesting circumstance that the latest brochure with manufactured for the present London season was all over decorated with the *swastika* symbol, of the same askew type as is stamped on the leaden image of the Asian Venus found by Schliemann in the ruins of "the 3rd," or "burnt city" ("the Homeric Ilion") at Hisarlik.

1894. Aug. When writing out the above I have purchased at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition a very primitive-looking wooden bowl from Junagahr, where it is used to pour the libations of *soma* in the sacrifices to Agni, "the god of fire," "the south," etc. The bowl is fashioned as the *yonis-lingam* symbol, and immediately over it is carved the symbol *Anandacarta*, "the Country of Bliss," in which the *swastika* is represented within a square or four-sided enclosure, while at the back of it is carved a tortoise, the universal emblem in the East of fecundity.—G.B.

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ART. XVII.—*The Pre-Akkadian Semites.* By G.  
M.R.A.S.



**Existence of a Pre-Akkadian Semitic Population in Mesopotamia**  
Notions.—Priority of the Semitic Civilization.—Names of S  
Explained by Akkadian.—Primitive Syntactical Order in Akka  
Semitic Babylonian.—Mutual Reaction.—Both Populations  
Same.—Examples of Primitive Semitic Babylonian.—Interme  
—Use of Permansive.—Pronoun-Suffixes.—Minimation.—Fe  
Abstracts.—Feminine Verb used with Masculine Subject  
Explanations.—Origin of the Syllabary.—Akkadian Reform  
Determinatives.—Inversed Reading of Compound Signs.—  
Writing.—Arrangement of the Groups on the Inscriptio  
Partly Reversed.—Semitic Names of Stars and Gods.—Akl  
netically Spelt.—Semitic Words Borrowed by Akkadian  
Ideograms.—Akkadian and Semitic Orientation.—Semitic  
gotten.—Everything Attributed to the Akkadians.—Greek  
Legend of Ninus.—Sargon.—Royal Canon.—Antediluvian Ki  
—Second Period.—Akkadian Establishment.—Third Period.—  
the Sumero-Akkadians and the Kassites.—Legend of Semirar  
Period.—Semitic Supremacy.—The so-called Secret Writing.—

ASSYRIOLOGY offers such a vast field still unexplored hardly possible to open a new tract without falling unexpected discovery. That is how, studying B astronomy, a subject so difficult that few scho ventured to take it, I arrived, after many doubts tations, at the conclusion that, when the Akkadians in Mesopotamia, the country was already occup Semitic population possessing a certain degree of c and the art of writing.

It required many strong evidences to bring me this opinion, for I, like most Assyriologists, acce statement of the Babylonians themselves, and also an excusable and natural enthusiastic desire to att the highest achievements to the Akkadians, looked as the inventors of the Cuneiform writing, and civilizers of Western Asia.

Though the Assyriologists were unanimous on the matter, they held very different opinions as to the way in which this Akkadian civilization was developed and imparted to the Babylonians, for the Babylonians attributing indeed everything to the Akkadians make no clear statement as to the origin of their civilization. Two opinions prevailed. Some thought that the Akkadians were in possession of the country, and had made the first steps in civilization, and invented writing, when the Semites invaded it either violently by force of arms or peacefully by slow colonization, substituting themselves little by little for the previous inhabitants. Others thought that the Akkadians invaded Babylonia, bringing "with them along with their religion, their legends and traditions, their laws, their art, their building knowledge, agricultural skill, and that great civilizer of nations—the art of writing." These were, however, mere suppositions, for, as far back as we can go, we see Semites and Akkadians living side by side on friendly terms, all remembrance even of the period of struggle of the two races seeming to have been lost in the Babylonian literature.

It is the study of the names of the stars in astrological texts of the Cuneiform inscriptions which revealed to me first the priority of the Semitic civilization. As already noticed by the late F. Lenormant,<sup>1</sup> several names of stars are evidently Semitic, and these Semitic names are found in the Akkadian column of the bilingual list as :

→†  𐎶𐎵 D.P. *da-pi-nu*,<sup>2</sup>  
→†  𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 D.P. *bi-ib-bu*,<sup>3</sup> etc.

More often, however, the names of stars are written ideographically, but their Semitic reading is made certain by the presence in the compound of prepositions, of the relative *ša*, and of the phonetic complements. For instance,

𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 is explained by *mus-ta-bar-ru mu-ta-nu*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Who however admits inability to detect the cause of this anomaly.

<sup>2</sup> W.A.I. vol. ii. pl. 48, l. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.* l. 53. These words are also found in the Semitic column in other lists.





<sup>4</sup> W.A.I. vol. v. pl. 46, l. 42. In the following pages, in the quotations of this work, the first number will indicate the volume, the second the plate, and the third the line.




























































































































































































































































































































































































































The name of the star is, however, clear enough: the scribe would not have had to dismiss it in this off-handed way, if he had not obstinately looked at it with the preconceived idea that it was Akkadian, and is to be read:

*nabu sarda D.P. anim rubu ša šame* 'it proclaims the royalty of Anu, prince of heaven.'

*bu* is the phonetic complement of the ideogram  'a word,' and here for 'speak, proclaim, announce,' *u* that of  'prince,' and  that of  'heaven' (this last is often found so written), *sarda* is the accusative in the construct state regimen of the verb and written phonetically, *anim* genitive with mimmation is also written phonetically, *ša* is the relative used as in Assyrian to express the emphatic genitive.

The scribes had even, in some cases, lost the tradition of the meaning. We have, for instance, the name                                                           

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                                            

                                          

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When the Akkadians invaded Babylonia, the form of their grammar was I 1358, this is shown by the order of the incorporated pronouns.<sup>2</sup> The grammar of the Semites in possession of the land had the formula IY. This is shown by the position of the pronouns which come before the verb at the periphrastic, which is the verbal form of the construct state. For instance, in *saknāt-ka* 's/he has thee,' we have *sakna* the verb, at the suffix of the 2nd feminine subject, and *ka* the suffix of the 2nd masculine regimen.<sup>3</sup> This ideological order is the one preserved in Hebrew and Arabic which has escaped to the Semite influence.<sup>4</sup>

I a. + s. + v.

- I a.+s.+v.  
II a.+v.+s.  
III v.+a.+s. 1 gen.+n. 2 n.+g+n. 3 adj.+n.  
IV v.+s.+a. 5 a.+v. 6 v.+a. 7 v.+s. 8 s.+v.  
V s.+a.+v.  
VI s.+v.+a.

<sup>3</sup> The primitive position of the Akkadian genitive and adjective, *w* in this formula, is preserved in the compound expressions, as usually we have  $\rightarrow \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$  *ana-saga-šu* 'in the midst of the sky,' *w* 'sky-midst-in.'

<sup>3</sup> Often languages preserve in the verbal forms traces of the diff through which they have passed. For instance, in French *Le chat tue la souris* s. + v. + a. of formula VI, which is the one of modern French; but nouns are represented by pronouns *il la tue*, it gives s. + a. + v., Latin formula; if now we consider that in the verb *tue* the subject by the suffix *e*, we have *la tu-e* a. + v. + s. formula II, which is that Aryan languages.

<sup>4</sup> I say 'Turanian influence, because I accept the Turanian affinity of

When the two populations came in contact, they must have found in the different, nay opposed, ideological order of their languages a great impediment in their intercourse. The Akkadian conquerors imposed their language; but, to be understood, they had to modify their syntax, and little by little these changes passed into the pure Akkadian. The Akkadians adopted partly the syntactical order of their Semitic subjects. The order of the nominative and genitive, of the noun and adjective, were reversed; the verb was left at the end of the sentence, but with the position of the subject and object reversed. The primitive ideological order was preserved in the verbal incorporation, no doubt, because the Semites having no such incorporation, it escaped their influence. The Akkadian texts give few, though very few, examples of the primitive syntactical order.<sup>1</sup>

The language of the primitive Babylonian Semites, which caused such a perturbation in the Akkadian grammar, was also deeply affected, as we see by the Assyrian of the literary period. It kept, when it was only a popular vernacular dialect, for a longer period its primitive syntactical order.<sup>2</sup> The proper names of the Semites preserved in the earliest commercial documents give us indeed specimens of the intermediary stages through which it had to pass. In these proper names we have many examples of verbs followed by their subjects, as *nidin-Nana*<sup>3</sup> 'N. gave,' *bani-Sin*<sup>4</sup> 'S. created,' *erib-Sin*<sup>5</sup> 'S. came,' *iribam-Sin*<sup>6</sup> 'S. increased,'

<sup>1</sup> These examples, already noticed by F. Lenormant, were considered by him as abnormal constructions.

<sup>2</sup> At Nineveh, which was far from the Akkadian centre of civilization, and where the Akkadians had remained, perhaps, in smaller number, the writers followed less closely the Babylonian syntactical order. Even in the official records of the Ninevite kings there is a great liberty in the arrangement of the words, the regimen of the verb is often rejected after it, etc. We have also in the Babylonian Semitic texts examples of similar inversions; but, of course, in literary works we must take into account the desire of the author for giving variety to his periods and the licence in which he indulges.

<sup>3</sup> B. 66, l. 34, and B. 83, l. 8. The private tablets of this early period (Rim-Sin, Hammurabi and Samsu-Iluna) have been copied by Dr. Strassmaier and published in the Transactions of the Orientalists' Congress held at Berlin.

<sup>4</sup> B. 57, l. 14.

<sup>5</sup> B. 42, l. 35.

<sup>6</sup> B. 65, l. 14; 71, l. 31; 91, l. 22, etc.

*ibni-Sin*<sup>1</sup> 'S. created,' *igmil-Sin*<sup>2</sup> 'S. favoured,' *ibus-Ea*<sup>3</sup> 'E. made,' *iskur-Ea*<sup>4</sup> 'Ea recorded,' etc. The proper names giving a complete sentence with an object are naturally rare; the examples we have show, however, that the object, being less intimately connected to the verb, was first rejected before; this is the intermediary stage, the formula of this construction being II:

*arda-luštamar-Samaš*<sup>5</sup> 'may Shamas enlighten the slave.'

*Samaš-ia-banīt-Beltu-Gula*<sup>6</sup> 'the lady Gula has created my light.'

To understand well the transformation of the early Babylonian grammar, we must not forget how the tenses of the Semitic verb were developed.<sup>7</sup> The Assyrian permansive, which took such a great importance in the cognate languages, was primitively the verbal theme, or a kind of verbal noun in the construct state followed by the pronominal suffixes forming a genitive of position: *nasa-ku*, 1st pers. permansive of *nasu*, is 'the bringing of me' or 'my bringing,' i.e. 'I bring or brought.' The name *Bani-Sin* gives an example of a noun being attached to the verb as the pronoun; the meaning is 'Sin created,' but really 'the creating of Sin.' This way of expression not being found clear enough, the Semites, by the use of auxiliaries, developed another tense, the aorist;<sup>8</sup> but, as the auxiliary became in time agglutinated

<sup>1</sup> B. 32, l. 7; 62, l. 34; 78, l. 27, etc.

<sup>2</sup> B. 65, l. 22; 73, 30.

<sup>3</sup> B. 57, l. 43; 84, l. 21; 89, l. 18, etc.

<sup>4</sup> B. 89, l. 18.

<sup>5</sup> B. 52, l. 15; 73, l. 9. See also Pinches, S.B.A. Proceedings, 1st December, 1885, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> S.B.A. Proceedings, 1885-6, p. 48, l. 33. In this name *Samaš* means not the Sun-god, but the 'guiding light,' as we say 'his guiding star,' and the French *astre* or *étoile*.

<sup>7</sup> See Bertin, *Suggestions on the Formation of the Semitic Tenses*, Journal of the R.A.S. Vol. XIV. pp. 105-118.

<sup>8</sup> This tense is called present or future by those who wrote Arabic grammars, but this name cannot suit, as in Assyrian it designated generally the past, and became the historical tense. I have proposed, in the paper quoted above, the name of aorist-past for the permansive or preterit of the Hebrew, and aorist-present for the other tense, in imitation of the terms adopted by de Rouge in his Egyptian Grammar. The permansive, as we know it in the late inscriptions, was not the one used in the early period, the first person in *ku*, and the third (this being the verbal theme in the masculine or feminine) may be the primitive forms, but the second person appears to be a later form introduced by Aramaean in-

to the verbal noun, and was considered as forming only one word with it, the subject was placed after by the Pre-Akkadian Semites, as in Arabic and Hebrew ; we have, therefore, such names as Igmil-Sin, Izkur-Ea, Ibni-Sin, etc. The nearly complete loss of the permansive in Babylonian and Assyrian is due, no doubt, to Akkadian influence. The preformatives of the aorist were, by false analogy, compared to the incorporated pronouns of the Akkadian verb, and this tense, being more easily understood by the Akkadian conquerors, was the one mostly used by the conquered Semites.

The force and origin of the suffixes of the permansive and of the prefixes of the aorist were lost at an early date, and that is not due to Akkadian influence, as the same thing happened in the cognate Arabic and Hebrew. We found, therefore, the pronominal suffixes of the accusative attached to the verb and followed by the noun subject :

*etel-ka-Sin*.<sup>1</sup>

The most important conclusion to which the study of these early proper names brings us is that the Babylonian Semites, before the arrival of the Akkadians, possessed already the fully-developed Semitic grammar : construct state and cases in the nouns as in Arabic, abstracts formed by the feminine suffixes, permansive, aorist and voices formed by affixes,<sup>2</sup> etc., as in Hebrew and other cognate tongues. The difference with later Babylonian is indeed most trifling, as the use of the mimmatum with the verb as in *iribam-Sin*, which is still noticed in the inscriptions of Hammurabi, and the use of *d* (perhaps *t*) by the side of *t* in the formation of abstracts, as in *sarda*, construct of *sarutu*.

There is, however, a peculiarity which would be of very great importance, if it could be established beyond doubt,

fluence ; the primitive forms of the permansive, which are composed by suffixing the personal possessive pronouns, must have been very similar to the aorist of Ethiopian.

<sup>1</sup> B. 42, l. 12 ; 53, l. 13, etc.

<sup>2</sup> The form *luštanar*, which we have seen above, is the precativum of the secondary Shaphel voice or Istaphel.

that is, what appears to be the use of the feminine masculine in the third person of the permansive, we

*nabat kakkabu*<sup>1</sup> 'the star proclaims,'

where the masculine noun in the nominative *kakkabu* is to be the subject of *nabat*, third person fem. of the permansive of *nabû*.

*nidnat Sin*<sup>2</sup> 'Sin gave,'

where the verb is also in the feminine. There are many examples, but, as stated before, we have also the 3rd masc.; the use of the feminine would not, therefore, be exclusive, and these examples would only indicate a tendency.<sup>3</sup>

Was there, we may ask, in Mesopotamia, when the Semites arrived in it, an older population having a different grammatical conception, and under the influence of which this tendency would have been developed? or are we to look for the result of an Akkadian influence, the Akkadian not being a sex-denoting language? or has it, after all, come from a natural decay, as in Egyptian?

There may be still another explanation. As we have seen, the permansive was not properly a tense, but the theme followed by the suffixes of the pronouns, the noun in the genitive by position. *Bani-Sin* 'the creating of Sin' came to mean 'Sin created' only by development. This happened also in Egyptian. The 3rd person of the permansive, for the same reason, has no suffix, for the subject was, so to say, suffixed to the verb, and ought to be followed by a feminine noun as well as by a masculine. We find among the proper names, indeed, *gamil-Gula* may be considered as the 3rd pers. of a permansive, formed by the name of the goddess, and 'the favour of Gula' 'Gula favours,' as in the case of *Bani-Sin*. The use of this tense, formed by means of suffixes with the noun as

<sup>1</sup> W.A.I. v. 46, l. 40. There exists in Syriac a feminine form for 'star,' but here the termination shows that we have a masculine word.

<sup>2</sup> B. 30, l. 24; 36, l. 24; 42, l. 29.

<sup>3</sup> On the other side, we have feminine noun with verb in the masculine, as *Nana* and *Gamil-Gula*.

<sup>4</sup> Strassmaier, No. 24, l. 23.

must have arisen in the Semitic tongues only when the notion of its formation had been lost, or perhaps also from the emphatic repetition of the subject.<sup>1</sup> In early Babylonian, as in the other Semitic tongues, the abstract nouns were formed by the suffix *at*, which is also the suffix of the 3rd pers. fem. of the permansive. In the cases mentioned before we may have abstracts in the construct state, *nabat kakkabu*<sup>2</sup> would be 'the proclamation or proclaiming of the star,' *nidnat-Sin* 'the gift or giving of Sin,' which carry to the mind exactly the same sense as the permansive.

What, however, seems to contradict this explanation is the fact that in the proper names of the earliest commercial documents we often find names composed with the same elements, but reversed, as *Sin-turam*<sup>3</sup> and *turam-ilia*,<sup>4</sup> *Gamil-Sin*<sup>5</sup> and *Sin-Gamil*,<sup>6</sup> and also the same root as the aorist form *igmit-Sin*;<sup>7</sup> if *turam* and *gamil* are verbal forms, so are no doubt the forms in *at*.

If we now turn to the syllabary, we find a great many proofs of the priority of the Semitic civilization.

It has been said that the Cuneiform syllabary is very badly adapted to Assyrian, but the same may be said with still more reason as regards Akkadian; the vowels, for instance, which play an important part in this language, are often doubtful. When the Akkadian conquerors tried to apply to their language the system of writing, partly ideographic and partly phonetic, of their Semitic subjects, they had to modify and reform it in a certain measure. The ideograms were taken bodily, but read in accordance with the Akkadian vocabulary; these new pronunciations were taken as new phonetic values, though in many cases the Semitic value was retained; hence the polyphonism. In practice, however,

<sup>1</sup> In the Latin tongues, and especially in French, the subject is expressed in the same way, though the person is implied by the flexion.

<sup>2</sup> We should expect the genitive *kakkabi* in this case, though the Babylonians often neglected it; we find *Belit biri* and *Belit biru* 'the lady of Wisdom,' one of the names of Tasmatum.

<sup>3</sup> B. 24, l. 25.

<sup>4</sup> B. 55, l. 24.

<sup>5</sup> B. 52, l. 60; 95, l. 22.

<sup>6</sup> B. 97, l. 2.

<sup>7</sup> See above.





All the pronunciations written in this way are Akkadian, which shows that the reform was done by the Akkadians; the Semites, however, adopted these signs so modified as mere ideograms, retaining the Akkadian explanations added to the primitive groups, no doubt to maintain terms understood by both populations.

There is a very interesting group, full of revelation; the ideogram for 'mother' *umu* in Assyrian; the primitive Semite term was no doubt *ama*, preserved in the Hebrew אִמָּה, 'handmaid,' trilateralized form of *ma*, which has been preserved in Egyptian. The Semites before the Akkadian invasion had the group 𒄠𒍪 *ma*<sup>1</sup> for 'mother.' When the Akkadians adopted the writing, they wrote in the group the pronunciation of *an* or *ana*, which was their term for 'mother,' thus: 𒄠𒍪𒀭<sup>2</sup> and 𒄠𒍪𒀭𒀭.<sup>3</sup> The Semites adopted this reformed group as an ideogram; but the Semitic word was in course of time adopted by the Akkadians, so that the group remained with the phonetic determinative of a word, abandoned only as a witness of the reform of the syllabary. It might be objected that the Akkadians would not borrow such a word as 'mother,' but it is easily explained for the Akkadians, as all the successful invaders must have taken wives from the conquered population; the Semitic mother of the young Akkadians taught their children to call them *ama* and not *ana*,<sup>4</sup> so the word passed into Akkadian.

The priority of the Semitic knowledge of writing explains the Akkadian reversed reading of certain compound groups. The Semites, to give the ideographic idea of 'king,' formed

now, though there is evidence to show that they borrowed this art. When the Semites used it, they never reformed it, and till the latest period they employed the same cumbrous and ill-fitted syllabary.






<sup>1</sup> We have no example of the use of this group with the meaning of 'mother,' but we have no document of the early period in which it would have been in use.



<sup>2</sup> W.A.I. iv. 14, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Sayce's Syll. No. 147. In the early texts the phonetic complement is written outside, thus: 𒄠𒍪𒀭𒀭.

<sup>4</sup> In our modern languages we see foreign words for other reasons taking the place of such fundamental native ones, as in English *papa* for *dada*, the infantine appellation for 'father,' in French *babé*, is now mostly used; this came through fashion. In Akkadian *ama* was substituted for *ana*, because the mother's language is that of home, as the language of the priest is that of church; all the Mahomedan countries have for this reason adopted the word *Alla* for 'God.'

## THE PRE-AKKADIAN SEMITES.

the group ,<sup>1</sup> analysed , the sign for 'one', the prince *rubu*, and  the sign for 'me'. When the Akkadians adopted the Babylonian syllable they translated the two compounds according to their idiom in that order, not yet modified by Semitic influence, *lu-ga* 'chief'; but treating the compound group as a single ideogram they did not change the order of its two elements; one of this there always was from the earliest period a sign to fuse the two characters into one, so that it became  at Nineveh, and  at Babylon.

So is to be also explained  , composed of 'chief,' and *ukki* 'assembly,' in Assyrian *puhru* 'assembly's chief' *ukki-gal*, which became *kigal*, explained in Assyrian by *muhiru* 'leader.' In the same way is to be also explained the other compound ideogram reversed reading.<sup>5</sup>

The words or ideographical compound groups in parts of their elements, generally the second and third reversed, have, however, another origin, and proceed from the primitive system of arranging the groups together.

The earliest documents appear to have been written on narrow strips of papyrus, bark, or leaves,<sup>6</sup> divided into columns containing two or three, rarely four, characters; their width, the groups forming one expression, as 'so and so,' 'my god so and so,' 'strong king,' 'I

<sup>1</sup> I give here the archaic form, which has preserved clearly the elements.

<sup>2</sup> *Nisus* means 'men' as a collective, for this reason it also translates *kalammas* 'country.'

<sup>3</sup> W.A.I. ii. 2, 398.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* ii. 1. 126.









<sup>5</sup> There are few compounds in which the position of the elements in the group must have been created by the Akkadian before they had changed the primitive grammar; these compounds represent ideas which did not exist among the Semites previous to the Akkadian invasion.

<sup>6</sup> Sayce, *Use of Papyrus*, etc., S.B.A. Trans. vol. i. p. 343 *et seq.* The use of papyrus or other similar materials was kept at all periods (see Pinches, *Trans.* vol. vi. p. 210). I take the opportunity to notice that the linear characters depend very much on the material used. The linear characters traced on soft stones, as sand-stone, for instance, and are no proof of antiquity of the document. We find inscriptions of the same king written in linear and some in cuneiform characters.

etc., were separated by a line. This primitive arrangement was retained when other materials were used for writing, stone, clay, etc., though the new materials afforded the means of a better arrangement; so we see the cylinder of Gudea divided in these narrow columns, many words having to be divided when larger columns would have enabled the scribe to write easily the whole of the words in one line. The columns followed one another from top to bottom, and the divisions of each column from right to left, but the groups of characters in each division of the column were arranged rather irregularly, though always beginning in the right-hand top corner, the second character was placed either on the left of the first or under it. This margin left to the scribe has thrown a certain confusion in the grouping of characters. The following diagram<sup>1</sup> will give an idea of these variations:

2	1	3 2 1	1	4	1	2 1	3 1	Col. I.
3			4 2		3			
4		4	5 3	5	2	4 3	4 2	
3 2 1	2 1	4 1	1	3 1	1	Col. II.		
		2			2			
4	3	6 5 3	3 2	2	3			
etc.						4 3 1	Col. III.	
						2		

So we find in the early inscriptions, for instance:



<sup>2</sup> and 
 

<sup>3</sup>  





<sup>1</sup> The irregular arrangement of the characters in each division reminds us of the Maya system of writing, sometimes called calculiform writing. There was the same or still greater hesitation and incertitude as to the sequence of the various elements in each division. There was, however, it seems, a greater tendency to arrange the characters in columns in Cuneiform as in Egyptian, especially if their forms fitted to this arrangement; as for the name of Lagas (see above). It must be borne in mind that at a later time the Babylonian scribes altered their way of writing, so that the characters were placed on the side; therefore, the columns ran from left to right, and the groups followed one another also from left to right. It is thus that we print it in our quotations.

<sup>2</sup> Unpublished inscription, but this order is rare for this name.

<sup>3</sup> De Sarssec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 4, A; pl. 6, No. 4. It is the group-  
ing mostly used no doubt because the characters fitted better in this order.



It must also be granted that, if the Semites had adopted a syllabary already invented by the Akkadians, they would have either borrowed bodily the ideogram corresponding to the Akkadian gods, or would have written the name of theirs phonetically. This is not the case; the Semites, though they seem to have identified their gods with those of the Akkadians, have a different set of ideograms to represent them. The ideograms of the Akkadian gods can besides often be explained by the Akkadian phonetic reading of their components, and the names of the Semitic gods are rarely explained by reading the characters phonetically; but when it is so, the Semitic, not the Akkadian, value of the signs must be taken. In other cases the names are compound ideogrammatic groups.

As already noticed, many words passed from Akkadian into the Semitic Babylonian, and from the latter into the former. Many Akkadian words were borrowed at the earliest period, when they had not yet lost their ending in *ka*, and before it had been weakened into *ga*.<sup>1</sup> On the other side, certain words which had no ideogram, because they expressed ideas unknown to the Semites, had to be written phonetically in Akkadian, as  $\text{𒀭} \text{𒀬} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭}$  *pa-te-si*.<sup>2</sup>

The words borrowed by the Akkadians from their Semitic subjects indicate a more advanced state of civilization, like *štm* 'price,' *ma-na* 'a mine' or 'measure,' always written phonetically even in the earliest Akkadian texts,<sup>3</sup> *amel* 'slave,'<sup>4</sup> etc.

Before leaving the syllabary, another group of evidence



<sup>1</sup> See S.B.A. Proceedings, vol. v. p. 20.



<sup>2</sup> The word is always written phonetically even in the inscriptions of Ur-Bau, and in the lineary inscriptions. It is a thorough Turanian word, representing an idea unknown to the Semites, and for which there was no ideogram in the Semitic hieroglyphic writing. From this word very likely came the eastern *Iudisha* (De Sarzec, *Déc. en Chaldée*, pl. 8; also pl. 6, No. 4, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> De Sarzec, pl. 8, inscription of the Ur-Bau, also in the lineary inscriptions in the B.M. 82-7-14.
























<sup>4</sup> I have no doubt of the Semitic origin of this word, which meant a man as a worker. The word in Hebrew and Arabic has, as first vowel, the guttural *y*, which is often represented in Babylonian by a simple vowel. I do not give any more examples, which would require too much space in order to prove by comparison that the words are really Semitic. Akkadists are too prone to admit that words have been borrowed from Akkadian.

## THE PRE-AKKADIAN SEMITES.

of the priority of the Semites in the knowledge of the world must be pointed out, that is, the very formative ideograms. The Akkadians brought with them the horse. If they had invented the writing, they would have used an ideogram for such an important animal. This is not the case. They use the Babylonian sign for 'ass,' which denotes many large quadrupeds, followed by the sign for 'horse.' The horse was therefore in their eyes the animal of the country *par excellence*. It is written in Babylonian  .<sup>1</sup>

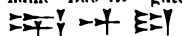




The sign for 'behind'   represents the back and designates also the West, that is, the country the Semites left 'behind' when they arrived in Mesopotamia.

This raises the interesting question of the orientation of the temples and other buildings. The orientation is an important part in all religions. If the Semites had a different orientation, and traces ought to be found in the monuments. In a note published several years ago I pointed out the difference of orientation of the old temple of Babylon, that is, the temple of Bel, described by the classics, called by the Babylonians E-sagil, and of which are still designated by the Arabs under the name of Babil. The monuments in Babylonia are all built with the corners all turned to the points of the compass; the only exception is this temple of Bel, the faces of which are opposed to the points of the compass; this is also the

<sup>1</sup> It may be that we have here another example of phonetic determination. The group                          

tion of the Egyptian monuments. Though we must admit a different influence to explain the different orientation, we can hardly admit that of Egypt in a later time, for the temple of E-sagil is always designated by the Babylonians as the oldest temple; round it seems to be gathered the most ancient legends; it is in fact the starting-point from which the growing city developed, as Rome did from the Capitol.<sup>1</sup> It is therefore likely, not to say certain, that this temple was built and orientated according to the Semitic notions before the arrival of the Akkadians. These barbarians, who knew no building but the huts in which they used to dwell, were struck by the height of the temple of Babel, and called it *e-sag-il* 'house of the high head.' During their long rule the name was adopted by the Semites; but from the traditions reported by the classics, it seems that an older name, 'Temple of Bell,' clung to it in the popular mind.

The Akkadian and Sumerian supremacy lasted such a long time that we cannot be surprised if the Babylonians had lost even the remembrance of the Semitic period of independence

<sup>1</sup> The name of the citadel of Rome has a similar etymology to the Babylonian temple, *e-sag-il*. As for the name of Babylon itself, there are many explanations. Some follow the Jews, and take it from *Babel* 'confusion,' on account of the many languages spoken there; but this fact would prove that it is not primitive, as, if there were people of many languages in the town when it was named Babel, this name is not primitive. Others say that this name is a play on the name *Bab-ili* 'gate of God,' which is itself a translation of the Akkadian  *Ka-dingir-ra-ki*. At the time of the second Ninevite empire and second Babylonian Semitic empire, we find , which might be read *Bab-ilani* 'gate of gods,' and the name phonetically spelt is *Bu-bi-il-u*, *Bu-bi-il-i* or *Ba-bi-i-lam*. Sometimes the double *i* is not expressed, *Bu-bi-lu*, etc. Perhaps on account of the different spellings some argue that the Akkadian name is the translation of a Semitic expression, but only of the sounds, not of the meaning (as we have seen for *habaḫiranu*); but this does not explain the etymology of *Babel*. I will venture in adding two more explanations to the several already given. 1. *Ba* is the primitive Semitic word for 'house' (see Bertin, *Origin of the Phœnician Alphabet*, p. 12; it has been preserved in  'cavity, aperture, gate,' and in the preposition , see Gesenius's Dict.), and the god *par excellence* of the Semites was *Bel* 'the lord'; we have therefore *Ba-bel* 'the house of Bel,' as we have  'the house of Istar,' towns often taking for name that of the temple round which they grew (the etymology of *bab-bel* 'the door of Bel,' has been proposed long ago, see Gesenius's Dict., *sub voce*). 2. It may be taken from the verb *babalu* 'to dispense,' with the idea of 'to benefit'; if applied to the temple, it would be the participle *babiltu* 'the benefactor, 'the dispensing one.' We have *Habilat nuḫai* as one of the names of the Tigris, on account of his bringing fecundity to the land (W.A.I. ii. 1, 26).

## THE PRE-AKKADIAN SEMITES.

before the Turanian invasion. At the time of the renaissance the scribes attributed everything to the Akkadians, and regarded them as their masters in every branch of sciences and arts. They borrowed Akkadian words wholesale. All the traditions were carried back and attributed to the Akkadians, the names of the gods, the names of cities, and even many other thorough Semitic words, were changed to Akkadian. In other cases the Semitic words were translated into Akkadian badly Semiticized, or hybrid forms used in preference to the real Semitic words.<sup>1</sup> Akkadian became the language of the learned in Latin in the Middle Ages. Even at the height of the Semitic supremacy Nebuchadnezzar, in his inscriptions, affects to use Akkadian words in their oldest form. Akkadian expressions found in the texts of the Assyrian rulers, and as late as the reign of Seleucus we see the use of an imitation of the most ancient style of writing.

Something similar happened in England after the Norman Conquest. The Normans, being in a minority, could not for a time impose their language, and little by little the Anglo-Saxon element came up again to the surface. Under Norman rule was, however, long enough to influence the language. At the renaissance of letters the French, at the time, imbued with the classical literature, especially French had remained the court language, looked to Latin sources, even to explain the etymology of words: 'heir' was written with an *h* to assimilate it to Latin *heres*.

What contributed, no doubt, to propagate the false notion of the Akkadian origin of the Babylonian civilization was the transformation through which the Akkadians passed. When they appeared in Babylonia, they were regarded as barbarians; but, like the Goths in Italy and Spain, and the Franks in Gallia, they adopted the civilization of

<sup>1</sup> The same thing happened in Egypt; but there it was a Semitic word which threatened the language of the Pharaohs. It became necessary to Semiticize everything; if the word did not exist in the Semitic language an Egyptian word was disfigured to give it a Semitic appearance (*Histoire Ancienne*, p. 337).



quered population, with the changes necessary to suit their genius. Their kings encouraged science and literature; their and the Semitic legends and folklore were an inexhaustible mine exploited by the poets and artists; the traditions and religions of the two populations were assimilated or incorporated. It is difficult, if not impossible, for us to separate the two elements, as is the case with the Greek and Latin mythologies, so much mixed by the Roman poets that, with more documents than in the case of the Semitico-Akkadian legends, it requires all the criticism of modern science to extricate one from the other.

Though we do not find bilingual inscriptions before Hammurabi, the Semitic language was not despised and excluded. We see the early poets writing works in the Semitic as well as in the Akkadian language,<sup>1</sup> just as happened in England under the Norman kings when the same authors used to write in French as well as in English.

The Greek authors, who wrote about Assyria and Babylonia, never consulted the learned Babylonian scribes, but seem to have gathered their information from ignorant dragomans; these always gave the popular accounts and traditions, and we may find in these faint echoes of the first period. The Semites came into Mesopotamia, not through the Syrian Desert, but probably through the ordinary way of Northern Syria, the road of commerce at later times. They peopled, naturally, Assyria first, and after extended southward in the fertile regions of Babylonia; so it was related that Ninus founded Nineveh before the existence of Babylon. When the Semites had arrived at a certain degree of civilization, the barbarians, attracted by the wealth of this country, invaded it, and overran all Western Asia, from the Mediterranean Sea to the 'Mountains of the East.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An unpublished fragment of a tablet in the British Museum gives a portion of a list of classic authors, with the names of their works; these show that the same authors have written poems or relations in Akkadian and also in Semitic Babylonian. Prof. Sayce has, in the preface of the second edition of G. Smith's Chaldean Genesis, given a translation of the greatest part of this fragment.

<sup>2</sup> This name is the one given by the Babylonians to that mountain chain extending from Armenia to the east side of the Persian Gulf. It seems to mark the limit which the Semitic element never passed to settle in a permanent way.

These barbarians were called by the Assyrians under the convenient name of SUTTIANS, but they called them 'the strong ones,' translated by the Semites by 'Coming from the north,' as their sign was at first they crowded the Southern Mesopotamia. In the account Ninus was placed under the SUTTIAN rule, represented the Semitic element. Herodotus says that he the first who shook in the yoke of the SUTTIANS, the ruled for fifteen centuries.

In the Cuneiform inscriptions we find a legend might be brought back to the same source. Tale of Sargon. As very aptly shown by Mr. Smith appears to have been a legend in Assyria, and about a king named Sargon, who would reappear and raise power of the country, as the legend of Arthur in England. Now, though we have Akkadianized forms of the Sargon, it has all the appearance of a Semitic not historic King Sargon of Agade, or Agade was a Semite was Sargon of Nineveh. Most probably the legendary Sargon was a Semitic king of the Pre-Akkadian period, or of the forgotten period of the Semitic resistance the Akkadian invasion, who was deified, and who was expected as the signal of a Semitic restoration. A second Sargon who reigned at Agade was perhaps a

<sup>1</sup> A syllabary (W.A.I. II. 75) gives for the ideogram of Akk. that is, *gar* three repeated, in the Akkadian reading *gar gar gar* but an unpublished fragment in the B.M. gives the Assyrian *gar gar* the oldest form of *gar* 'strong' is *gar gar gar* twice repeated represent Geseus, it is to be noticed, had not the right expansion of the *gar* which is Semitic. Smith seems to have been of this opinion. I rule the group by *gar* in the Akkadian line and *gar gar* in the Semitic (S. vol. iii. p. 336). The national name of these people is therefore *gar gar* preserve the usual name of Akkadians in respect for Sir H. Rawlinson the first to detect in 1852, the existence of the non-Semitic language syllabary, and therefore of the non-Semitic population, and gave the name of *Akkadian* (see Hicks's paper in the Royal Irish Ac. T. 1852).

<sup>2</sup> Justin I. 1.

<sup>3</sup> S.B.A. Proc. vol. vii. p. 71. This idea of a kind of Messianic prince is met with in a great many countries. The Servians expect of the ancient king, who will re-establish the great Servian Empire Abyssinians, the Soudanese, etc.

<sup>4</sup> The reading is still uncertain. Sargon *never* calls himself king *Akkad*, but always of *gar gar gar gar gar*. It is not proved the names designate the same town; the presumption is the reverse.

as the promised champion of the Semitic population; all his inscriptions are written in Semitic Babylonian, and in later times he was called the king *par excellence*. His reign is the turning-point in the dual civilization of Babylonia, and marks the beginning of the period in which the Semitic element regains power.<sup>1</sup> For these reasons we may consider the inscriptions of Sargon of Agade as giving a fair idea of the system of writing of the Pre-Akkadian Semites: use of numerous ideograms with phonetic complements.<sup>2</sup>

The Babylonian royal canon gives us also evidences of the priority of the Semites, if we analyze the meaning of the names. Though we do not possess this canon, but only one fragment published by G. Smith,<sup>3</sup> it can be partly restored by means of the indications of Berosus, and the two lists published by Mr. Pinches.<sup>4</sup>

This royal canon, the fragment of which was published by G. Smith, gave, it appears, the dates of the kings from the earliest period. We cannot unfortunately restore these dates, but we can at least reconstruct the great lines of the Babylonian history as written down by the Babylonians themselves. It can be divided provisionally into four long periods. The first or pre-diluvian period is known to us principally by the fragments of Berosus; the names of the ten kings which compose the dynasty have been shamefully mutilated, but a few of them have been preserved in the Cuneiform documents: these leave no doubt as to their Semitic origin.

The hero of the Flood is called by Berosus, according to his Greek copyists, Sisithros or Xisythros. This name is, as pointed out by G. Smith,<sup>5</sup> found in the Flood-story of the Cuneiform inscriptions under the form of 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗 𒂗𒂗

<sup>1</sup> The king Sargon seems to have extended his rule over the whole of Western Asia, from Elam to Syria, and all the neighbouring countries were paying tribute to him; he built at or near Babylon a town or citadel called *Dur-Sargani*.

<sup>2</sup> The texts of Sargon are principally known by Ninevite copies; in these the syntactic order is the same as in later times, being affected already by the Akkadian influence. The greatest part that has come down to us is astrological, for astrology was an especially Semitic science.

<sup>3</sup> S.B.A. Trans. vol. iii. p. 357.

<sup>4</sup> S.B.A. Proc. vol. iii. p. 37, and vol. vi. p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> S.B.A. Trans. vol. v. p. 532.

## THE PRE-AKKADIAN SEMITES.

𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 at-ra-ḥa-sis 'come back wise one,'<sup>1</sup> but the two of the name have been transposed either by Berosus to conform the name to the Assyrian grammar, with the verb at the end, or by the Greek copyists for unknown. But Berosus, or his Greek copyists, have another mistake. Atra-ḥasis is not the Babylonian but a god who acts as messenger of Ea to him;<sup>2</sup> at any name is undoubtedly Semitic. The name of the hero of the flood is written in the Babylonian document 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 two ideograms with phonetic complement; that is what we should expect for a pre-Akkadian Semitic name; it is so by Dr. Delitzsch *Pir-napistim*, 'the offspring of 1' more correctly by Mr. Pinches *Um-napištim* 'day 1'. With either reading we have again a thorough Semitic name. Berosus gives Ardates for father to the Babylonian who is the 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 of the Deluge tablet. The name is composed of the ideogram for 'servant' 𒀭𒀭𒀭𒀭 Assyrian, and the name of the god *Tutu*. The repetition of three dentals has been avoided by Berosus or his copyists, pointed out also by Smith.<sup>4</sup> The real name was *Atra*

<sup>1</sup> *Atra* is the imperative of *ataru* 'to come back,' a well-known Assyrian verb. The form *atra-ḥasis* is the primitive form, no doubt with the *v* beginning; *ḥasis-atra* would be the form adopted after the Semites. The Akkadian influence, changed the order of their syntax (see next note).

<sup>2</sup> In the Babylonian Flood-story the tale runs in the first person. Ut-napishtim relating to Gisdubur how he was preserved from the general destruction, Column IV. Atra-ḥasis is introduced (l. 22) as messenger of Ea, and Ea gives him the blessing of Ea (l. 27-29). Then Um-napištim speaks again in the first person, having merely repeated the words of Atra-ḥasis. If Smith has assigned the name of god to 𐎶 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 Um-napištim, it is an oversight, or the desire to find in the Babylonian document an equivalent of Berosus' Ardates.

but there is no evidence for the assimilation of the two names. Mr. Pinches points out to me that in an unpublished bilingual text the ideogram 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 is given as that of the name *at-ra-ḥa-sis*, 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 and 𐎶𐎵 *atra*; so that in the ideogram of the name we have the form of the name by Berosus. This important passage shows also that this name can be written the same as 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵, as the same name could hardly have been written in two different grammatic ways of being written.

<sup>3</sup> *Philological Society*, Presidential Address, for 1882, p. 80, note.












<sup>4</sup> *S.B.A. Trans.* vol. v. p. 532. The ideogram 𐎶𐎵 𐎶𐎵 is read Akkadian, and it has been suggested that the Akkadian reading of *Umbarsa-Tutu* was the name transcribed by *στιαπρης* (a variant of Berosus' fragments); but we have then to suppose a mistake of transcription for *στιαπρης*; but even with this correction it is difficult to explain the *u* of *umbarsa*; *στιαπρης* is more probably mistranscription for *Δ*

It would be dangerous to try to explain the names known to us only by the Greek copyists of Berosus when we know how names are often mutilated by them. However, Daonos, the sixth antediluvian king, is no doubt *dainu* 'the judge'<sup>1</sup> in Assyrian.

Of the second period we know only a few names given in the oldest list of the British Museum, and from the remark of the scribe its chronology seems to have been uncertain. The names preserved are some Semitic, some Akkadian; it is probably the period of establishment of the Akkadian invaders; the old Sargon is in this period.

The third period is subdivided into three epochs: the first contains almost exclusively Kassite names; the second epoch contains three series of names, Sumerian, then Akkadian and Sumerian again; the third epoch gives a new line of Kassite kings. This is the period of the Akkadian and Sumerian supremacy, interrupted twice by a Kassite conquest.<sup>2</sup>

The succession of the names explains clearly the course of events. The first Kassite dynasty was overthrown by an Akkadian population of Southern Babylonia, called by the Assyrians Sumer,<sup>3</sup> and speaking a dialect less pure than









<sup>1</sup> The Greek transcriptions of the names known to us show what we may expect: *aparanadios* for *asur-nadin*, *saosduchinos* for *Samas-sumu-ukin*, etc. Smith's assimilation (S.B.A. Trans. vol. v. p. 353) of   , which he read *amil-uru-gal* with the fifth king *amegalaros*, comes from an error, this group being an ideogram of the name of a priest or religious officer, not a proper name. The name of the fifth antediluvian king is besides read also *megaluros* et *metalaros*. Some names suggest no doubt Assyrian ones, but it is difficult to reconstruct them. In *Euedoreschos* or *Euedorachos* we may detect for instance the name of Merodak, as in *Iluardam* for *Emil-Merodak*; but the whole name escapes us. Sargon of Nineveh gives the name of the first Babylonian king as         *a-di-i-D.P. ur* 'my covenant (is) of Ur' (the god Ur is the Moon-god), which is also a Semitic name, and in this King Adi-Ur we have perhaps the original name of the first king of Berosus *ἀλῶρος* for *ἄδωρος*. This name, 'my covenant is of the Moon God,' is very appropriate for the first king, who, according to the legend, was chosen by God to instruct and conduct the Babylonians. The names of Annedotos or Oannes and his successors Euedokos (Merodak?), Eneubulos, etc., seem also to be Semitic.







<sup>2</sup> The series of names are, in the tablet, interrupted by several gaps, the ends and beginnings of the columns being lost. In one of them must be placed Sargon of Agade. To this period must also belong the hero Gisdubar (this reading is still uncertain), who slew the foreign tyrant Humbaba. It is probable that the Kassite conquest contributed largely to weaken the Akkadian and Sumerian element, and hastened the return of the Semitic supremacy.

<sup>3</sup> This name, as that of Akkad, is Semitic, and means 'guardian' (there are a great many places called so in the Bible); it answers to the old word 'march' in

## THE PRE-AKKADIAN SEMITES.

Akkadian proper. After this first Sumerian dynasty an Akkadian restoration,<sup>1</sup> that is, return of the supremacy, of that population which had preserved purer language; then the Sumerians, or the Southern population came to power again till the second Kassite. We might find in this succession of rules the explanation of another classical legend. The Akkadians were assimilated to the inhabitants of Northern Babylonia, because the purer dialect was maintained there long; for this reason, the informers of the Greeks represented locally the people of Akkad (confusing the Akka-

English, and designated the borderland, and especially that on the north-western portion of the Euphrates, the name of *šumer* (shomer) is still applied to the north-western portion bordering on what was Babylonia. The compound ideogram which represents the word is  -   ; but we have no syllabary giving its pronunciation. This group may be, after all, a compound ideogram to express the population of the marshy country at the mouth of the Euphrates.  is 'place,'  'lord,' sometimes replaced by , same meaning, and  'reed.' *Sumer* would therefore be the 'place of the lord of the reed.' It would be, in fact, the 'lowland,' in opposition to 'the highland,' though the primitive meaning of the latter is 'strong.' The pronunciation of the group *ki-en-gi* may, however, be very different from that of the characters, as *zir-gul-la* is pronounced *lagaš*.

<sup>1</sup> This proves the co-existence of the two populations and dialects. The Akkadian texts give us also many proofs. The Akkadian texts have *til*, form, instead of *tin* (change of *n* into *t*), which must have been borrowed from the southern population (Pinches, *Academy*, 1882, July 22). The Tigris gives us another striking example. It is written by means of compound ideograms,   and   ; the first is read *idi*, which is well known; together they are read *idigna* (W.A.I. iii. 70, 46) or *idigna* (v. 32, 30) in Akkadian, and *i-di-ik-lat* (*ibid.* iv. 12, 7) in Assyrian, read by the Hebrew *Hiddekel*, Aram. *diglah*, Syr. *deylat*; it shows the reason of the second compound to be in Akkadian *gana*, and if we found *gala* as the form in which the Semitic name is borrowed, it is that the Sumerian or dialect form has changed *n* into *t*, but not yet *g* into *d*. The full dialectic form is *gala* (*ibid.* iii. 70, 47), and translated *šupū* (also in a text iv. 5, 61-62), the *apu* (cf. ) 'to shine,' 'to be light,' and consequently 'to make shine,' 'cause to be light,' that is, 'to pour forth light.' The Tigris is the river shining or bright.' This explanation has escaped Dr. Delitzsch, who has not taken into account the meaning of the second compound ideogram, such as (*Wo lag das Paradies*, p. 170-172); but he is right when he gives the explanation given by the classics (Pliny vi. 127, Quintus Curtius iv. 1, Strabo x. 14, 8) is a folk-etymology of the Persian period. The *t* of *idigna* under the Aryan influence changed into *r*, we have the old Persian *teger*, Pelv. *tegera*, a name used for the river at the time when the Persians came in contact with the people of Mesopotamia. The form *di-ik-lat* in the inscription of Darius (W.A.I. iii. 39, 35), is the Aramaean form of the Persians derived the name *tigris*. The final *t* mark of the feminine added to the Akkadian primitive name, is of course neglected.

Semitic invasions in one) as Ninus, the supposed builder of Nineveh; going further, they represented the people of Sumer by his wife and successor, the supposed builder of Babylon. When they were asked for the name of this queen, they wrote in Aramæan שׁוּמֶר and pronounced *šumer*. The Greeks from this seemingly double word composed the name *Semiramis*, being the word pronounced with its inverted spelling at the end, a single *r* serving for both.<sup>1</sup>

The fourth period of the Royal canon may be called historical; it extends from B.C. 2232 to the Persian conquest, and contains nine dynasties. This is the Semitic period.<sup>2</sup> The way had been prepared by many wars, foreign and civil. We know that the Elamite Nanhunti towards the end of the last period (B.C. 2280 *circa*) took and plundered Babylon. During the long struggle against the Kassite sway, the Akkadians and Sumerians had been considered as the champions of Babylonian independence, with this difference: the Akkadians were the instructors and teachers of all, and their dialect was taken as the classic tongue; the Sumerians, who had twice broken the Kassite power, were considered as politically superior, and for this reason the early kings put Sumer first.<sup>3</sup> Under Hammurabi, the sixth king of the first dynasty, Akkadian is the official language; but the translation in Semitic Babylonian is given by the side of it, and many of the private contracts are entirely written in the Semitic dialect.

I cannot here refrain from noticing the folly of a certain school of Semitic scholars, who, through a rather too exclusive enthusiasm, will not admit the possibility of the Babylonian Semites having received their civilization from

<sup>1</sup> It may be argued that the explanation is too ingenious to be true; but all the other explanations brought forward till now have failed to satisfy all the points. Some have assimilated the legendary queen to Istar, without much ground; others to *Hammurabi* with only a faint similarity of sound; others to *Sammuramat*, the wife of Riman-Nirari, King of Nineveh; but this queen never ruled at Babylon, much less built it. This name, besides, does not correspond to that of the classics; it would have become in Greek either *Samorantis*, the Greek adding always the termination to the foreign name, as in *Beltis* from *Beltu*, or *Amormitis*, the Greek dropping the initial *s*, as *Arkeanos* for *Sargon*.

<sup>2</sup> A strong Kassite party maintained itself still for a long time in Babylonia, and they gave a long dynasty. The Kassite power seems to have been entirely broken down only by the Ninevites.

<sup>3</sup> They call themselves 'King of Sumer and Akkad.'

## THE PRE-AKKADIAN SEMITES.

a Turanian population, and had therefore to suppose the Akkadian, Sumerian, Kassite, etc., to be as many secretaries of writing.<sup>1</sup> If they had only waited without pre-conceived ideas the progress of science, they would have found the Babylonian Semites were in possession, before the Akkadian invasion, of the art of writing and the first elements of civilization.

### CONCLUSION.

At a very remote date, impossible now to determine approximately, a numerous tribe of Semites, having their first home in passing through Northern Syria, then became in later times the route of commerce, and entered Assyria, and from there advanced into the fertile Mesopotamia and Southern Babylonia, where they found according to some, a negroid population, which was either exterminated. These Semites had already then developed a grammar peculiar to their race; they brought with them into their new country the first elements of civilization, and most probably the art of writing, in the Cuneiform hieroglyphic stage,<sup>2</sup> their religion, their customs and traditions, and a faint remembrance of their first home. Once in Babylonia, they developed from these elements a new civilization according to the new conditions imposed by the country and its peculiar civilization. The most important science was astronomy from the atmospheric phenomena, principally the appearance of the stars. The art of building took a special character through the absence of wood and stone, the architect being obliged to use exclusively bricks. Agriculture flourished, the peasant and the handman making use of irrigating canals, and commerce took a great extension.

<sup>1</sup> The ludicrous notion of kings having their own praises and names written on their monuments in a secret writing, which their own subjects could not read, ought to have stamped out this theory at the outset. It must be to the credit of British common sense, that it never had one partizan in England.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we have, in the carved stones found at Hamath and other places in Syria, the remnants of this hieroglyphic stage. In this case the Cuneiform would have their prototypes in this hieroglyphic writing, and might be a key to it.



As for their political institutions, they were probably what we see them in Syria till the time of David. The population was divided into small tribes, having each its king or chief. A Turanian tribe, the Uri or Akkadians, inhabiting the North-Eastern frontier, attracted by the wealth of Babylonia, made a sudden irruption, and easily overran the whole of the country, ill-organized for resistance; but they soon adopted the civilization of the conquered race, and, after a reform, adapted the system of writing to their own language. The Akkadian kings encouraged the literary spirit of their subjects; the two races were little by little intimately united their religions, their traditions, and their legends were assimilated or fused in one another. During this period of fusion the languages of the two races exercised a strong influence on one another, to the extent of bringing two opposed syntactical orders to one common one. A Kassite invasion, and a long period of foreign kings, contributed to cement the union of the two races. The Akkadians were, even by the Semites themselves, considered as the natural masters of the country, as the civilizers, legislators, and teachers of every science and art. A branch of the Akkadian nation, the Sumerians, overthrew the Kassite yoke; but the struggle with the Kassites continued during an Akkadian and a second Sumerian dynasty, and the Kassites succeeded in the end. In this long struggle the Akkado-Sumerian population seem to have been worn out, and the Semitic element reappeared, took the lead, and remained prevalent till the destruction of the Babylonian Empire.

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ART. XVIII.—*The Arrangement of the Hymns of the Granth.* By FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S.

EXACTLY two years ago it was my good fortune to lay this Society my discovery of the system on which the of the Rig-Veda were arranged,—a discovery of the interest to the student of the Vedas, not only by throwing light on ancient philosophical theology; but by back to the world the Liturgy of the ancient Brahmins, knowledge of the true character of which had been lost in India itself, for about 3000 years. Again I appear you in the character of Veda-Vyâsa, in order to lay you the system on which the hymns of the *Adi Granth* arranged.

Special difficulties have presented themselves in the task from the fact that the *Adi Granth* contains 3384 or considerably more than three times the bulk of the Veda; and also from the circumstance that the system followed by the writers of the *Granth* appears to have been forgotten by the Sikhs themselves. Dr. Trumpp made earnest inquiries into this subject, and he says, "Sikhs themselves seem now to have lost all knowledge of the metrical laws of the Granth, for I never met a Sikh who could give me the least clue to them."<sup>1</sup> Not only the metrical laws apparently lost, but the entire system which the *Adi Granth* was arranged is also unknown. I need only cite the following words of the learned Dr. Trumpp, whose statement must be accepted as correct. After giving a list of the Râgs into which the Granth is divided, he says, "The verses of the different Gurus

<sup>1</sup> Translation of the *Adi Granth*, Introduction, p. cxxviii.

been distributed into these fore-mentioned Rāgs, apparently without any leading principle, as hardly any verse is internally connected with another. The name of the Rāg is, therefore, a mere superscription, without any reference to its contents. . . . No system or order is, therefore, to be looked for in any of the Rāgs. In the first four Rāgs the most important matter was collected, and they are, therefore, also comparatively of the largest compass; the following minor Rāgs seem to be a second gathering or gleaning, as materials offered themselves, no attention being paid to the contents, but only to the bulky size of the Granth. By thus jumbling together whatever came to hand, without any judicious selection, the Granth has become an exceedingly incoherent and wearisome book.”<sup>1</sup> This is sufficient to show that Dr. Trumpp had no inkling of the system on which the book was arranged; and if the able translator of the text, who spent many years in its study, considered the *Adi Granth* to be a mere promiscuous heap of verses, it is safe to conclude that the principles on which the book is arranged are quite unknown.

I shall now proceed to show that the book is arranged on a definite plan from end to end, that it does not consist of two or more “gatherings or gleanings,” that each hymn is placed where we find it in accordance with fixed principles; and hence it follows that the latter portion of the book, which Dr. Trumpp did *not* translate, is just as important as the earlier portion which he did translate. It is not generally known that the Translation we possess gives little more than one-third of the entire book. The *Adi-Granth* contains 15,575 stanzas, of which Dr. Trumpp has translated 5,719; and of these all but 472 stanzas occur at the beginning of the book, where they were placed, not from any specially interesting characteristics of their own, or because they were a first gleaning, or considered older, or more genuine; but simply because they properly fell into that position according to the principle on which the book was arranged.

<sup>1</sup> Translation of the *Adi Granth*, Introduction, p. cxx.

## ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

The *Adi Granth* is divisible into three parts, the first of which is liturgical, the second contains the general collection of the hymns, and the third part is supplementary, consisting of heterogeneous matter which could not well be included in the former portions. The Sikhs are fully aware of the distribution of the contents of the *Adi Granth*. They know that the first part contains the *Jap-ji*, or general collection of hymns of faith, together with selections from the body of hymns to be used at evening-prayer, etc.; the second part is intended to consist of different clusters of hymns sung to a variety of Râgs or tunes; and the last part is named the *Bhog*, because it comprises certain panegyrics on the lives of the Gurus. This arrangement it will be seen accords with the system of the Rig-Veda; the first Maṇḍala of which is likewise followed by various sets of hymns, and ending with a collection of short hymns, or miscellaneous collection.

The liturgical portion of the *Adi Granth* requires no explanation. It begins with the confession of faith, the *credo*, and ends with the prayers offered before resting at night. The Râgs which follow are more correctly arranged in their arrangement. Their order depends on the system of India, of which, unfortunately, I have very little knowledge; but I can state sufficient to show that the arrangement is methodical.

The characteristic peculiarity of Indian music is based on the theory that each musical sound corresponds to some emotion of the human heart. When any particular sound predominates in a tune, that tune is supposed to give rise to a peculiar Râg, or emotion; hence it follows that there can be as many Râgs as there are musical notes. The number of Râgs in Sanskrit treatises, is, however, uncertain, there being generally reckoned six primary Râgs, which has five (sometimes said to be six) assistant, and eight subordinate Râgs. This would give a total of 39 or 40 Râgs and Râginis; but the *Saṅgita-Pârijâta* mentions no less than 122 species. In modern Indian music, as it was, probably, the only kind of music known to the compilers of the *Granth* there are about 32 Râgs, and each

sidered specially applicable to some season of the year, or some time of the day. With the minuteness of detail which characterizes Indian science, the day is divided into numerous portions, providing accommodation for Râgs applicable to midnight, early morning, sunrise, etc., etc., down to evening and night again.

Now, the Indians divide the full day into 8 *pahars*, each of which contains 8 *gharṭs*, giving a total of 64 *gharṭs* for the entire day. If we allow 2 *gharṭs* for every Râg, we get 32 Râgs, just the number which modern Indians consider necessary. It happens, however, that the *Adi Granth* contains 30 or 31 Râgs; the doubt as to the number arising from the fact that, after the book had been arranged by the Fifth Guru, Arjun, the Ninth Guru, Tegh Bahâdur, composed four hymns in a peculiar strain, which have been classed as a separate Râg and inserted, sometimes in the middle of the book, and sometimes at the end. This Râg is named Jaijâvantî, and the authorities accessible are evenly divided as to its position, there being four<sup>1</sup> which insert it as the 12th Râg, and four<sup>2</sup> which place it at the end. This, taken in connection with the fact that this Râg was composed long after the *Adi Granth* was originally arranged, is sufficient to show that it is in the nature of an excrescence. Still it deserves remark that if the day be divided into 32 portions of 2 *gharṭs* each, there will be 31 points of division; and the 31 Râgs which the *Adi Granth* contains would provide a separate Râg for each such period of the 24 hours.

If we consider the 30 Râgs, which must have been the entire number dealt with by Guru Arjun, we find that they exactly correspond with the 30 semitones of the Indian *stabaka*, or musical staff, reckoning the minor intervals as single tones. There are nine major tones on the *stabaka* each divisible into semitones, or 18 half-notes; there are also six natural semitones, and six natural minors; making

<sup>1</sup> India Office MSS. 2477, 2483, 2484, and British Museum MS. Or. 2158.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Trumpp; India Office MS. 2868; and British Museum MS. Or. 1126; Addit. 25,680.

## ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

a total of 30 tones, each of which might form the basis of a special Râg.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem from the foregoing that, as arranged by Guru Arjun, the *Adi Granth* had a poem for every musical semitone of the *staba*. It can be no doubt that the basis of arrangement was for directions as to the tunes and the keys in which the poems are to be sung occur throughout. There is a hymn in the book unaccompanied by musical notes, as will be shown further on when setting forth the arrangement of the individual hymns. Furthermore we find the biographies of the Gurus that their poems were sung to an accompaniment of the *rabâb*.

The character of each Râg depends upon the starting point of some particular note, technically called the *ânsâ*, from which two other notes are deduced, called the *nyâsa* (न्यास) or inceptive, and the *nyâsa* (न्यास) or closing. These three notes forcibly remind us of the subdominant, and tonic, of Europe. The *ânsâ* exerts a predominating influence over any melody played in which it governed; for it must be remembered that it is not a tune, but a tune dominated by a particular note. Every tune governed by the same note is in the same Râg, and this explains the fact that poems of various lengths are found classed under the same Râg in the *Adi Granth*.

The order in which the Râgs occur in the *Adi Granth* probably depends on musical laws at present unknown, but there are verses in the book itself which prove that the arrangement is methodical. In the very first verse, at the end of the First Book, Guru Amar-Dâs says, *ਮਿਠੀ ਰਾਗੁ ਹੈ ਰਾਗਾਨ੍ਹ ਵਿਚਿ ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ ਹੈ*, "Among the Râgs the *Sirî Râg* is chief." This was written before the book was compiled, and it satisfactorily accounts for the position accorded to the *Sirî Râg*. The last poem in the book also repeats the assertion that the *Sirî Râg* is the chief.

<sup>1</sup> In this calculation I omit the *śrutis*, or quarter-notes, and the *śruti* as being too minute to serve as bases for separate Râgs. They make a total of 66 intervals.

of the Râgs. It is followed by the Râg called *Mâjh*, or Middle; and then comes the *Gaurî*, or Râg peculiar to the evening. The first three Râgs may then represent morning, mid-day, and evening. Towards the end of the *Granth* a similar indication of method is observable; for the Râgs Bhairau, Basantu, Sârang, and Malâr, follow each other in succession; and these Râgs are held to be respectively appropriate to Autumn, Spring, Summer, and the Rains.

The reason for the order in which the Râgs are found is not so apparent as that which regulates the order of the hymns themselves. Here, happily, we are on solid ground; and whatever may be thought of the foregoing speculations on the Râgs, there can be no doubt about the principles on which the poems themselves are classified. The hymns which are to be sung in a particular Râg were first placed together; and were then arranged under the following heads:

1. *Chaupadûs*, containing an average of four verses each.
2. *Astpadûs*, containing an average of eight verses each.
3. Special long poems.
4. *Chhants*, consisting of 6-line verses.
5. Special short poems.
6. *Vârs*, consisting of two or more Sloks, and a *Paurî*, or concluding stanza.
7. Poems of the Bhagats, or Saints.

There is absolutely no deviation from this clearly-defined principle, as will be seen by the following analysis of the Râgs. All the Râgs do not contain the whole of these kinds of versification; but, whether short or long, whatever they do contain, is invariably arranged on this system.

Under the foregoing seven heads the poems are yet further classified according to their authorship; the poems of the Gurus being placed first in chronological sequence, followed by those of the Bhagats, according to a tolerably well-defined order of precedence, in which all the Hindû writers come before the Muhammadan faqir Shekh Farid; who is only followed by the solitary female composer Mirî Bâî.

## ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

The following is a list of the authors comprising the *Râgs*, in their order of precedence :—

1. The First Guru.	<i>The Bhagats—</i>
2. The Second Guru.	8. Kabir.
3. The Third Guru.	9. Nâmdév.
4. The Fourth Guru.	10. Ravidâs.
5. The Fifth Guru.	11. Trilochan
6. The Ninth Guru.	12. Bepî.
7. The Tenth Guru.	13. Jaidev.
	14. Bhikhân.
	15. Sadhnâ.
	16. Sainu.
	17. Dhannâ.
	18. Paramânand
	19. Surdâs.
	20. Pipâ.
	21. Shekh Farid
	22. Mirî Bâi.

The general Table of the contents of the *Râgs* follows shows that, however many or few of these are represented in a *Râg*, they invariably occur in the order.

The hymns having been collected under their *Râgs*, and separated into *chaupadâs*, *astpadis*, etc., these heads arranged in the order of their respective *gharus*, were yet further classified according to the *gharu*, clef, in which each hymn was to be sung. According to the Indian method of singing, the accent falls, and the *gharu* and falls, in different positions, according to the *gharu* in which the verses are sung. It is needless to dwell on this matter further; for my object is simply to show that the hymns are arranged on a definite system; and the remarks will enable any one to understand the following list of the contents of the entire *Adi Granth*, which gives the hymns in the order in which they occur in the book. This list gives the *Râg*, the nature of the hymn, the *gharu*, the number of the hymns, and the verses contained in each cluster. A simple inspection of the list (now that its principle is explained) will show that a part of the *Adi Granth* is arranged methodically, and the list will also indicate where the compositions of a particular author can be found in the book. It is of considerable interest.



for a correct appreciation of the development of any faith to read the statements of its founders in the chronological order of the writers; and this list will enable the student readily to pick out the passages ascribed to any particular author from any part of the *Adi Granth*.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE ADI GRANTH.

*Liturgical.*

1. *Japu*, by the First Guru, 39 stanzas.
2. *So daru* (extracts from Âsâ and Gûjrî Râgs).
3. *So Purkhu* (extracts from Âsâ Râg).
4. *Sohilâ* (extracts from Gauṛî, Âsâ, and Dhanâsarî Râgs).

## THE RÂGS.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
<i>Sirt Râg.</i>					
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I. <sup>1</sup>	i.	23		
		ii.	2		
		iii.	2		
		iv.	5		
		v.	1		
			<hr/>	33	122
	III.	i.		31	127
	IV.	i.		6	24
	V.	i.	21		
		ii.	2		
		vi.	3		
		vii.	1		
		i. <sup>2</sup>	3		
		<hr/>	30	118	
<i>Astpadî</i>	I.	i.	16		
		ii.	1		
			<hr/>	17	138
	III.	i.		8	64
	V.	i.	1		
		v.	1		
		<hr/>	2	16	
Special Poems	I.	iii.		1	24
	V.			1	21
<i>Paharâ</i>	I.	i.		2	9
	IV.			2	9

<sup>1</sup> The capital letters indicate the Gurus, as I. = the First, or Guru Nânak.

<sup>2</sup> These three in *gharu* i. apparently out of order, are panegyrics on Nânak, and no doubt placed at the end of the *Chaupadd*s for that reason.

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns
<i>Chhant</i>	IV.	ii.		
	V.			
<i>Varjadr</i>	IV.			
<i>Vār</i>				
Paurī	IV.			
Slok	I.			
"	II.			
"	III.			
"	V.			
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir			
	Trilochan			
	Beni			
	Ravidās			

## Rāg Mājh.

<i>Chaupadd</i>	IV.	i.		
	V.	i.		4
<i>Astpadī</i>	I.	i.		
	III.	i.		3
	IV.			
	V.	i.	3	
		ii.	1	
		iii.	1	

Special Poems	V.			
<i>Vār</i>				
Paurī	I.			
Slok	I.			
	II.			
	III.			
	IV.			

## Rāg Gaurī.

<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.			2
	III.			1
	IV.			3
	V.			17
	IX.			
<i>Astpadī</i>	I.			1
	III.			
	IV.			
	V.			1
<i>Chhant</i>	I.			
	III.			
	V.			4

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
<i>Vār</i>					
Paurī	IV.				29
	V.				25
Slok	III.				7
	IV.				53
	V.				50
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabīr			76	327
	Nāmdev			1	2
	Ravidās			5	21

*Rāg Áśā.*

<i>So daru</i>	I.	i.		1	22
<i>So Purkhu</i>	IV.			1	25
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	ii.	30		
		iii.	2		
		iv.	1		
		v.	1		
		vi.	5		
				39	158
	III.	ii.	12		
		viii.	1		
				13	54
	IV.	ii.	8		
		vi.	3		
		viii.	2		
		xvi.	2		
				15	57
	V.	ii.	37		
		iii.	1		
		v.	1		
		vi.	12		
		vii.	51		
		viii.	18		
		ix.	2		
		x.	7		
		xi.	6		
		xii.	5		
		xiii.	9		
		xiv.	2		
		xv.	5		
		xvii.	7		
				163	581
	IX.			1	2

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.
<i>Asṭpadī</i>	I.	ii.	10	
		iii.	2	
		viii.	10	
			<hr/>	22
	III.	ii.	3	
		viii.	12	
			<hr/>	15
	V.	ii.	1	
		iii.	1	
		iv.	3	
Special Poems			<hr/>	5
	I.			1
	III.			1
<i>Chhant</i>	I.	i.	3	
		ii.	1	
		iii.	1	
			<hr/>	5
	III.	i.	1	
		ii.	1	
			<hr/>	2
	IV.	i.	2	
		ii.	5	
		iv.	6	
		v.	1	
			<hr/>	14
	V.	i.	2	
		iv.	1	
		vi.	6	
		vii.	4	
		viii.	1	
			<hr/>	14
<i>Vār</i>	Paurī	I.		
	Slok	I.		
		II.		
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabīr			37
	Nāmdev			5
	Ravidās			6
	Dhannā			1
	Shekh Farid			2
<hr/>				
<i>Rāg Gūjrt.</i>				
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	i.		2
	III.	i.		7
	IV.	i.	6	
		iii.	1	
			<hr/>	7

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	V.	i.	7		
		ii.	18		
		iv.	5		
		ii. <sup>1</sup>	1		
			<hr/>	31	93
<i>Asṭpadi</i>	I.	i.	4		
		iv.	1		
			<hr/>	5	40
	III.	i.		1	10
	IV.	ii.		1	8
	V.	ii.	1		
		iv.	1		
			<hr/>	2	16
<i>Vār</i>					
Paurī	III.				22
Slok	III.				44
Paurī	V.				21
Slok	V.				42
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir	ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
			<hr/>	2	8
	Nâmdev			2	7
	Ravidâs			1	5
	Trilochan			2	9
	Jaidev			1	5
<hr/>					
<i>Râg Dev-gandhârt.</i>					
<i>Chaupadd</i>	IV.	i.		6	12
	V.	ii.	26		
		iii.	4		
		iv.	1		
		v.	2		
		vi.	4		
		vii.	1		
			<hr/>	38	79
	IX.			3	6
<hr/>					
<i>Râg Bihâgrâ.</i>					
<i>Chaupadd</i>	V.	ii.		1	4
	IX.			1	3
<i>Chhant</i>	IV.			6	24
	V.	i.	3		
		ii.	6		
			<hr/>	9	37

<sup>1</sup> This hymn is placed a little out of order, at the end of the *chaupaddas* of the 5th Guru, on account of the nature of its contents.

Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	V.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	8		
			<hr/>	11	44
1	III.				20
k	I.				22
	II.				9
	III.				16
	Kabir			5	19
	Ravidās			3	10
	Shekh Farid			2	7

*Rāg Bilāvalu.*

la	I.	i.		4	16
	III.	i.		6	25
	IV.	iii.		7	26
	V.	i.	3		
		ii.	2		
		iv.	25		
		v.	50		
		vi.	6		
		vii.	30		
		viii.	9		
		ix.	2		
		Partāl	2		
			<hr/>	129	370
	IX.			3	7
	I.	x.		2	16
	III.	x.		1	8
	IV.	xi.		6	48
	V.	xii.		2	18
	I.	x.		1	20
	III.	x.		2	20
	I.			2	8
	IV.			2	9
	V.			5	22
	IV.				13
	I.				1
	III.				25
	IV.				1
	Kabir			12	35
	Nāmdev			1	2
	Ravidās				6
	Sadhnā				4

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir			11	33
	Nâmdev	ii.	1		
		iv.	1		
		iii.	1		
			<hr/>	3	11
	Ravidâs			7	27
	Bhikhan			2	5

*Râg Dhanâsart.*

<i>Chaupaddâ</i>	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	5		
		iii.	2		
			<hr/>	9	38
	III.	ii.	8		
		iv.	1		
			<hr/>	9	35
	IV.	i.	6		
		v.	7		
			<hr/>	13	40
	V.	i.	21		
		ii.	7		
		iii.	2		
		vii.	1		
		viii.	21		
		ix.	2		
		xii.	4		
			<hr/>	58	163
	IX.			4	8
<i>Asṭpadî</i>	I.	ii.		2	16
	V.	vi.		1	8
<i>Chhant</i>	I.	i.		3	14
	IV.	i.		1	5
	V.			1	4
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir			5	17
	Nâmdev			5	18
	Ravidâs			2	6
	Trilochan			1	6
	Sainu			1	4
	Pipâ			1	2
	Dhannâ			1	2

*Râg Jaitsiri.*

<i>Chaupaddâ</i>	IV.	i.	6		
		ii.	5		
			<hr/>	11	44

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.
	V.	iii.	4	
		iv.	9	
			<hr/>	13
<i>Chhant</i>	IX.			3
	V.	i.	1	
		ii.	2	
			<hr/>	3
<i>Vār</i>				
Paurī	V.			
Slok	V.			
<i>Bhagat</i>	(no name)			1
			<hr/>	
			<i>Rāg Jaijāvanti.</i>	
<i>Dupadd</i>	IX.			4
			<hr/>	
			<i>Rāg Tōḍī.</i>	
<i>Chaupadd</i>	IV.	i.		1
	V.	i.	2	
		ii.	13	
		iii.	2	
		iv.	2	
		v.	11	
			<hr/>	30
<i>Bhagat</i>	IX.			1
	Nāmdev			3
			<hr/>	
			<i>Rāg Bairṛī.</i>	
<i>Dupadd</i>	IV.	i.		6
	V.	i.		1
			<hr/>	
			<i>Rāg Tilang.</i>	
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	i.	1	
		ii.	1	
		iii.	3	
			<hr/>	5
	IV.	ii.		2
	V.	i.		5
	IX.			3
<i>Rā, isd</i>	I.	i.		1
	IV.			1
<i>Bhagat</i>	Kabīr			3



Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		<i>Râg Sûhi.</i>			
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		vi.	5		
		vii.	2		
			<hr/>	9	36
	IV.	i.	4		
		ii.	3		
		vi.	4		
		vii.	4		
			<hr/>	15	46
	V.	i.	6		
		iii.	35		
		iv.	5		
		vi.	1		
		vii.	11		
			<hr/>	58	222
<i>Astpadî</i>	I.	i.	1		
		ix.	1		
		<i>Kâfî</i>	3		
			<hr/>	5	34
	III.	i.	2		
		x.	2		
			<hr/>	4	58
	IV.	ii.	1		
		x.	1		
			<hr/>	2	46
	V.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		ix.	1		
		<i>Kâfî</i>	2		
			<hr/>	5	40
<i>Kuchajî</i>	I.			1	1
<i>Suchajî</i>	I.			1	1
<i>Gun-vantî</i>	V.			1	1
<i>Chhant</i>	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		iv.	2		
			<hr/>	5	25
	III.	ii.	1		
		iii.	6		
			<hr/>	7	28
	IV.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		v.	2		
			<hr/>	6	24

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	£
	V.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
		iii.	8		
			<hr/>	11	
<i>Vār</i>					
Paurī	III.				
Slok	I.				
	II.				
	III.				
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir			5	
	Ravidās			3	
	Shekh Farid			2	

## *Rāg Bilāvalu.*

<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	i.		4
	III.	i.		6
	IV.	iii.		7
	V.	i.	3	
		ii.	2	
		iv.	25	
		v.	50	
		vi.	6	
		vii.	30	
		viii.	9	
		ix.	2	
		Partāl	2	
			<hr/>	129
	IX.			3
<i>Astpadī</i>	I.	x.		2
	III.	x.		1
	IV.	xi.		6
	V.	xii.		2
<i>Thiti</i>	I.	x.		1
<i>Vārsat</i>	III.	x.		2
<i>Chhant</i>	I.			2
	IV.			2
	V.			5
<i>Vār</i>				
Paurī	IV.			
Slok	I.			
	III.			
	IV.			
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir			12
	Nāmdev			1
	Ravidās			2
	Sadhna			1

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
<i>Râg Gaud.</i>					
<i>Chaupadd</i>	IV.	i.		6	24
		i.	2		
		ii.	20		
			<hr/>	22	86
<i>Astpadî Bhagats</i>	V.	ii.		1	8
		i.	3		
		ii.	8		
	Nâmdev	i.	4	11	43
		ii.	3		
			<hr/>	7	29
	Ravidâs	ii.		2	8
<i>Râg Râmkalî.</i>					
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	i.		11	43
	III.	i.		1	6
	IV.	i.		6	25
	V.	i.	11		
		ii.	47		
		iii.	2		
			<hr/>	60	229
	IX.			3	9
<i>Astpadî</i>	I.			9	96
	III.			5	111
	V.			8	77
<i>Anandu</i>	III.			1	40
<i>Sadu</i>	III.			1	6
<i>Chhant</i>	V.			5	20
<i>Rutî</i>	V.			1	8
<i>O, ankârt</i>	I.			1	54
<i>Sidh-gosî</i>	I.			1	73
<i>Vâr</i>					
Paurî	III.				21
Slok	I.				18
	II.				7
	III.				27
Paurî	V.				22
Slok	I.				1
	V.				43
	Rai Balvandi			1	8
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabîr	i.	9		
		ii.	3		
			<hr/>	12	48
	Nâmdev	i.	3		
		ii.	1		
			<hr/>	4	15
	Ravidâs			1	3
	Benî			1	9

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.
<i>Râg Naṭ-nârd, in.</i>				
<i>Chaupaddâ</i>	IV.	i.	6	9
		Partâl	3	
	V.	i.	9	10
		Partâl	1	
<i>Asṭpadî</i>	IV.			6
<i>Râg Mâh-gaurâ.</i>				
<i>Chaupaddâ</i>	IV.			6
	V.			8
<i>Bhagat</i>	Nâmdev			3
<i>Râg Mâru.</i>				
<i>Chaupaddâ</i>	I.	i.	11	12
		v.	1	
	III.	i.		5
	IV.	ii.	2	
		iii.	4	8
		v.	2	
	V.	ii.	9	32
		iii.	7	
		iv.	7	
		vi.	7	
		vii.	2	
	IX.	i.		3
	I.	i.	8	
		ii.	3	11
	III.	v.		
	V.	iii.	3	1
		iv.	3	
		viii.	2	8
<i>Solahâ</i>	I.			22
	III.			24
	IV.			2
	V.			14
<i>Vâr.</i>				
Paupî	III.			
Slok	I.			

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
	II.				1
	III.				23
	IV.				3
	V.				2
Pauri	V.				23
Dakhanâ	V.				69
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabîr			11	41
	Nâmdev			1	4
	Jaidev			1	2
	Ravidâs			2	5
	Miri Bâi			1	3
<hr/>					
	<i>Râg Tukhârî.</i>				
<i>Bârah Mâhâ</i>	I.			1	17
<i>Chhant</i>	I.			5	22
	IV.			4	18
	V.			1	4
<hr/>					
	<i>Râg Kedârâ.</i>				
<i>Chaupadâ</i>	IV.	i.		2	6
	V.	ii.	1		
		iii.	1		
		iv.	6		
		v.	7		
			<hr/>	15	30
<i>Chhant</i>	V.			1	4
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabîr			6	20
	Ravidâs			1	3
<hr/>					
	<i>Râg Bhairau.</i>				
<i>Chaupadâ</i>	I.	i.	1		
		ii.	7		
			<hr/>	8	30
	III.	i.	9		
		ii.	12		
			<hr/>	21	91
	IV.	i.	4		
		ii.	3		
			<hr/>	7	28
	V.	i.	13		
		ii.	43		
		iii.	1		
			<hr/>	57	224
<i>Asṭpadî</i>	I.	ii.		1	8
	III.	ii.		2	21
	V.	ii.		3	24
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabîr				
Chaupadâ		i.	8		
		ii.	10		

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Gharu.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.
<i>Asṭpadī</i>		ii.	2	
	Nāmdev			20
<i>Chaupadā</i>		i.	6	
		ii.	4	
<i>Asṭpadī</i>		i.	1	
		ii.	1	
	Ravidās	ii.		12
				1
<hr/>				
<i>Rāg Basantu.</i>				
<i>Chaupadā</i>	I.	i.	8	
		ii.	4	
				12
	III.	i.	17	
		ii.	1	
				18
	IV.	i.	2	
		ii.	5	
				7
	V.	i.	18	
		ii.	3	
				21
	IX.	Hindolu	1	
		i.	4	
				5
<i>Asṭpadī</i>	I.	i.	7	
		ii.	1	
				8
	IV.	ii.		1
	V.	i.		2
<i>Vār Slok Bhagats</i>	Kabir	i.	6	
		ii.	2	
				8
	Nāmdev			4
	Ravidās			1
<hr/>				
<i>Rāg Sārang.</i>				
<i>Chaupadā</i>	I.	i.		3
	IV.	i.	6	
		iii.	1	
		v.	6	
				13
	V.	i.	14	
		ii.	5	
		iii.	4	

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Ghara.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.	Total Stanzas.
		iv.	105		
		v.	1		
		vi.	10		
			<hr/>	139	313
	IX.			4	8
<i>Asṭpadī</i>	I.	i.		2	16
	III.	i.		3	24
	V.	i.	1		
		vi.	1		
			<hr/>	2	20
<i>Chhant</i>	V.			1	4
<i>Vār</i>					
Paurī	IV.				36
Slok	I.				33
	II.				9
	III.				23
	IV.				6
	V.				3
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabīr			2	8
	Nāmdev			3	8
	Paramānand			1	3
	Sūrdās			2	4
	Kabīr <sup>1</sup>			1	2
<hr/>					
<i>Rāg Malār.</i>					
<i>Chaupadā</i>	I.	i.	5		
		ii.	4		
			<hr/>	9	37
	III.	i.	9		
		ii.	4		
			<hr/>	13	55
	IV.	i.	7		
		iii.	2		
			<hr/>	9	35
	V.	i.	18		
		ii.	4		
		iii.	8		
			<hr/>	30	76
<i>Asṭpadī</i>	I.	i.	3		
		ii.	2		
			<hr/>	5	43
	III.	i.	2		
		ii.	1		
			<hr/>	3	24
<i>Chhant</i>	V.			1	4

<sup>1</sup> The position of this short hymn *seems* anomalous ; if really so, it is the only anomaly in the *Adi Granth*.

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Ghara.	No. of Hymns.	Total Hymns.
<i>Vār</i>				
Paurī	I.			
Slok	I.			
	II.			
	III.			
	V.			
<i>Bhagats</i>	Nāmdev			2
	Ravidās			3
<hr/>				
	<i>Rāg Kānarā.</i>			
<i>Chaupadd</i>	IV.	i.	6	
		v.	6	
			<hr/>	12
	V.	ii.	11	
		iii.	8	
		iv.	13	
		v.	1	
		vi.	3	
		vii.	1	
		viii.	2	
		ix.	5	
		x.	1	
		xi.	5	
			<hr/>	50
<i>Astpadī</i>	IV.	i.		6
<i>Chhant</i>	V.			1
<i>Vār</i>				
Paurī	IV.			
Slok	IV.			
<i>Bhagat</i>	Nāmdev			1
<hr/>				
	<i>Rāg Kālī, ān.</i>			
<i>Chaupadd</i>	IV.			7
	V.	i.		10
<i>Astpadī</i>	IV.			6
<hr/>				
	<i>Rag Prabhātī.</i>			
<i>Chaupadd</i>	I.	i.		17
	III.			7
	IV.			7
	V.	i.	12	
		ii.	1	
		Partāl	2	
			<hr/>	15
<i>Astpadī</i>	I.			7
	III.			2
	V.			3
<i>Bhagats</i>	Kabir			5
	Nāmdev			3
	Bepī			1



*Bhog.*

Nature of Hymn.	Author.	Total Stanzas.
Slok Sahañskriti	I.	4
	V.	67
Gāthā	V.	24
Phunhā	V.	22
Chaubolā	V.	9
Slok	Kabir	244
	Shekh Farid	130
Saveyai	V.	20
	Various Bhaṭṭs	122
Sloks in excess of Vārs	I.	33
	III.	68
	IV.	30
	V.	22
	IX.	56
	X.	1
Mundhāvāṇī	V.	2
Sloks	I.	19
Ratanmālā	I.	25
Story of Rai Mukām		1
Rāg Mālā		12
Unclassified		12
Total stanzas		15,575

It will be seen that the *Bhog*, or last division of the *Adi Granth*, contains what are called Sanskrit Ślokas, Gāthās or semi-secular songs, Sloks of the Bhagats, Sloks in excess of Vārs, that is to say, Sloks which have not been worked up into Vārs by the addition of Paurīs; also Saveyais or Pane-gyrics on the various Gurus; ending with a Rāgā Mālā, and a few unclassified fragments. It must be mentioned that the last cluster of 19 Sloks, the Ratan Mālā, and the story of Rai Mukām, are held to be of doubtful canonical authority, and are not included in all copies of the *Adi Granth*.

The following list collects the totals in the foregoing tabular statement; and it shows at a glance the amount which each writer contributed to the book. The Fifth Guru Arjun was the collector and arranger of the *Adi Granth*; and we see from this list that he actually himself wrote nearly half the book he was engaged on arranging.

# ARRANGEMENT OF THE ADI GRANTH.

Author.	No. of Stanzas.
Fifth Guru . . . . .	6204
First Guru . . . . .	2949 (including
Third Guru . . . . .	2522
Fourth Guru . . . . .	1730
Kabir. . . . .	1146
Nâmdev . . . . .	239
Ninth Guru. . . . .	196
Shekh Farid . . . . .	149
Ravidâs . . . . .	134
Second Guru . . . . .	57
Trilochan . . . . .	20
Beñt . . . . .	19
Dhannâ . . . . .	13
Rai Balvandi . . . . .	8
Jaidev . . . . .	7
Bhikhan. . . . .	5
Sainu. . . . .	4
Sadhnâ . . . . .	4
Sûrdâs . . . . .	4
Mardânâ. . . . .	3
Paramânand. . . . .	3
Miri Bâl. . . . .	3
Pîpâ . . . . .	2
Tenth Guru. . . . .	1
Various Bhaṭṭs. . . . .	122
Unnamed Bhagat at end of Râg	
Jaitsari. . . . .	6
Râg Mâlâ, etc.. . . . .	25

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Total stanzas 15,575

The orderly statement of the contents of the *Adi* given in this paper conclusively proves that the arranged on a clearly traceable system, depending on the tunes to which the poems were sung ; secondly, the nature or metre of the poems themselves ; thirdly, their authorship ; and, fourthly, on the clef or key appropriate to them. It follows, as a corollary, that the positions of the hymns have no reference to their religious or dogmatic importance ; and, also, that the *Adi Granth* is a single systematic collection, into which the later additions (those of the Ninth and Tenth Gurus) were inserted in appropriate places.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

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It is proposed to commence, from the 1st October, a paper under this head, at the conclusion of each number of the Journal. Its object will be :

1. To report the Society's meetings, papers read, and any discussions which may ensue. Such papers as are published in the Journal *in extenso* will be very briefly summarized.
2. To supply an abstract of the Proceedings of Foreign and Branch Societies on matters within the legitimate province of the Royal Asiatic Society.
3. To publish letters or notes from correspondents conveying information, making inquiries, or correcting errors.
4. To supply a list of books in all languages on subjects coming within the scope of the Society, reviewing such as appear to merit special notice.
5. To give currency to miscellaneous information which would naturally interest our Members, whether in the form of extracts, notices, or otherwise.

Advantage is taken of the space provided in the present number by this announcement to enter three communications received during the past quarter. One is from our late President; the second from Mr. Sidney Churchill, at Tehran: the third from our Member and contributor, Dr. Theodore Duka.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

### 1. MUIR'S LIFE OF MAHOMET.

*Edinburgh University, 24th April,*

Sir,—I find that at p. cclxvi of vol. i. of the large of the *Life of Mahomet* (1861), I mistook the word for *lâ lahu*, in the couplet at the top of that page:

المغروالاله الطالب \* والاشرم مغلوب ليس الغالب

*Whither will ye flee while the Lord is pursuing? Al is vanquished, not the Vanquisher.*

(*Ashram* is Abraha, the Abyssinian Viceroy of Yemen, who attacked Mecca in the year of the Prophet's birth, and his army perished miserably of small-pox.)—Yours faithfully

W. J.

The Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society.

### 2. THE ALCHEMIST.

*Note.*—Mr. Sidney Churchill has favoured the Society with a note on Mr. Guy Le Strange's translation of the above, which appeared in the *Journal*, Vol. XVIII. Part I. for January 1886. After conveying his assurance that Mírzá Karájedaghí is living, and has verbally expressed his wish that he is not the inheritor of the fortune attributed to him, he gives the Mírzá's own account of his relations with the Akhúndzádeh, Mírzá Fath 'Alí. He (the Mírzá) is fortunate enough to make his (the Akhúndzádeh's) acquaintance, but, by correspondence with him, discovers that he was not only a native of Karájedágh, but a relative of his own. Mr. Churchill adds:

"Mírzá Ja'far is—according to his own statement—about fifty-four years of age. Some years ago he was in the employ of Jelál-ud-Dín Mírzá, author of the Persian history called '*Námeh Khusrauván*.' W

<sup>1</sup> M. Barbier de Meynard, in his Preface to the "*Trois Comédies*," in Paris this year, mentions the authority on which he also accepts the above, given to Mr. Guy Le Strange.

history was completed and lithographed, copies were presented to different friends of its author. One of these—perhaps only by reputation—was the Akhúndzádeh. A copy was sent to him, and in return he presented the prince with a copy of his plays, expressing the hope—on the lining paper inside the copy—that it would be found interesting enough to be translated into Persian. For a long time this little book lay unnoticed in a niche, until one day, by some chance, Mírzá Ja'far got hold of it. Charmed with the perusal of it, he determined to put into execution the author's wish that a Persian version of it should be made. 'The Alchemist' was the first piece he attempted. On its completion, he showed it to the prince, who was so pleased with it that he urged on him the translation of the remaining plays. Eventually the translation was finished, and the whole was lithographed at odd times, as will be noticed by the dates borne by the several pieces. The translator was considerably out of pocket by the whole affair. His patron died, and for some years he wandered about from one post to another, never getting a permanent berth anywhere. For a little over two years he has been entirely without employ, living retired, unknown and unheeded, fretting away the remainder of his life in sorrow at the thought that what he considered a great educational, and, to his countrymen, a universally beneficial work, has been too often rejected and doomed to oblivion by them.

"The Akhúndzádeh, in his correspondence with Mírzá Ja'far thoroughly approved of the translation, and entirely shared the translator's ideas regarding their purpose of exposing pernicious customs and elevating the vulgar intellect to a higher standard.

"Mírzá Ja'far has two hobbies: the one of which is the rôle that the drama bears as an agent in civilization; the other is to do away with the present system of elementary education, whereby, after a child has been taught his letters, he is made to read the Korán for some years, thereby losing all opportunity of getting at a sound knowledge of his own language. He is convinced that the child should first learn his alphabet, and then read some of the very elementary reading books

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

lately published at Tehrán, after which he would :  
some of the plays or some other entirely Persian work  
second pet notion of his he has wedded to his only fr  
companion, a little girl, left alone in the world with h  
to cheer his waning years.

"As to the English translation, I would make one  
it is that the word *ماند* *mandát* is the Persian name  
rouble.

"SIDNEY J. A. CHUR

"*Tehrán, March, 1886.*"

### 3. NOTE ON THE TURKO-TATÁR AND FINN-UGRO CONTROVERSY.

In connection with, and as a supplement to his gr  
on "The Ethnology and Ethnography of the Turkis  
published by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences  
Professor Arminius Vambéry gave a discourse on  
this year, at the annual meeting of that scientific bod  
excited great interest. The occasion afforded an op  
to the opponents of his teaching, of which they readil  
themselves, to protest against his conclusions.  
interest the readers of the Royal Asiatic Society's J  
obtain a short *resumé* of the proceedings at Budap

Professor Vambéry maintains that "all the ancient  
regarding the origin of the Magyar" nation are  
mistaken assumptions, because the propounders of th  
to connect it with tribes which either never existed  
at best played a very subordinate part in the eventfi  
tion of those nations located between the Altai Moun  
the Karpathians. He asserts, moreover, that, in  
obtaining from such studies the light that might b  
expected to clear up the dark ages of history, the su  
become more than ever clouded in confusion and un  
To quote his own words, "It is only at the present  
that the veil has been lifted, thanks to the assistance  
obtained from the study of ethnography, history, ge  
and philology. The fatal mistake consists in this, th

the search after the origin of the Hungarian nation it was assumed that the language of the present day was the only true criterion to guide us. Yet we ought to know that the spoken language of a nation passes through greater changes than does its physical character. We cannot indeed sufficiently deplore that, in setting up such an a priori philological argument, the eyes of a certain class of investigators should be closed to all other arguments. Having thus set aside the lessons of anthropology, psychology and ethnology, they have preserved to us the Hungarian ancestors and their deeds, migrations, and fundamental national characteristics, under an entirely false aspect."

Professor Vambéry further declares that his mode of inquiry into this important subject differs in toto from those hitherto pursued. He starts with the proposition that the study of the question should be commenced at a period when the Hungarians first moved from their original home, which was on the slopes of the Altai Mountains. Commencing with those prehistoric times, the mighty wave of the Turco-Tartar migration subdued the Finnish-Ugric elements, which at that time had also their home there, and drove them to the north-east and the north-west. From the period of this important ethnographic revolution, which effected manifold admixtures between Turkish and Ugric elements, Professor Vambéry dates the origin of the "Magyar" nation, and, owing to the moral and physical advantages thus acquired, and always observed in cross-breeds, he considers that the Magyar element assumed a more favoured position than that of the sister nations which remained purely Turkish.

Space will not admit of a full analysis of the Professor's argument. He admits the hypothetical nature of the starting-point or primary origin of the mixed race, but proceeds to the discussion of its development. The Magyar stem, he contends, remained Turkish, while the branches, by the process of engrafting, assumed an Ugric character. This peculiarity should, however, be noticed—that whereas, in other instances, the conquerors identified themselves with the conquered *en masse*, often losing their own nationality, here the original

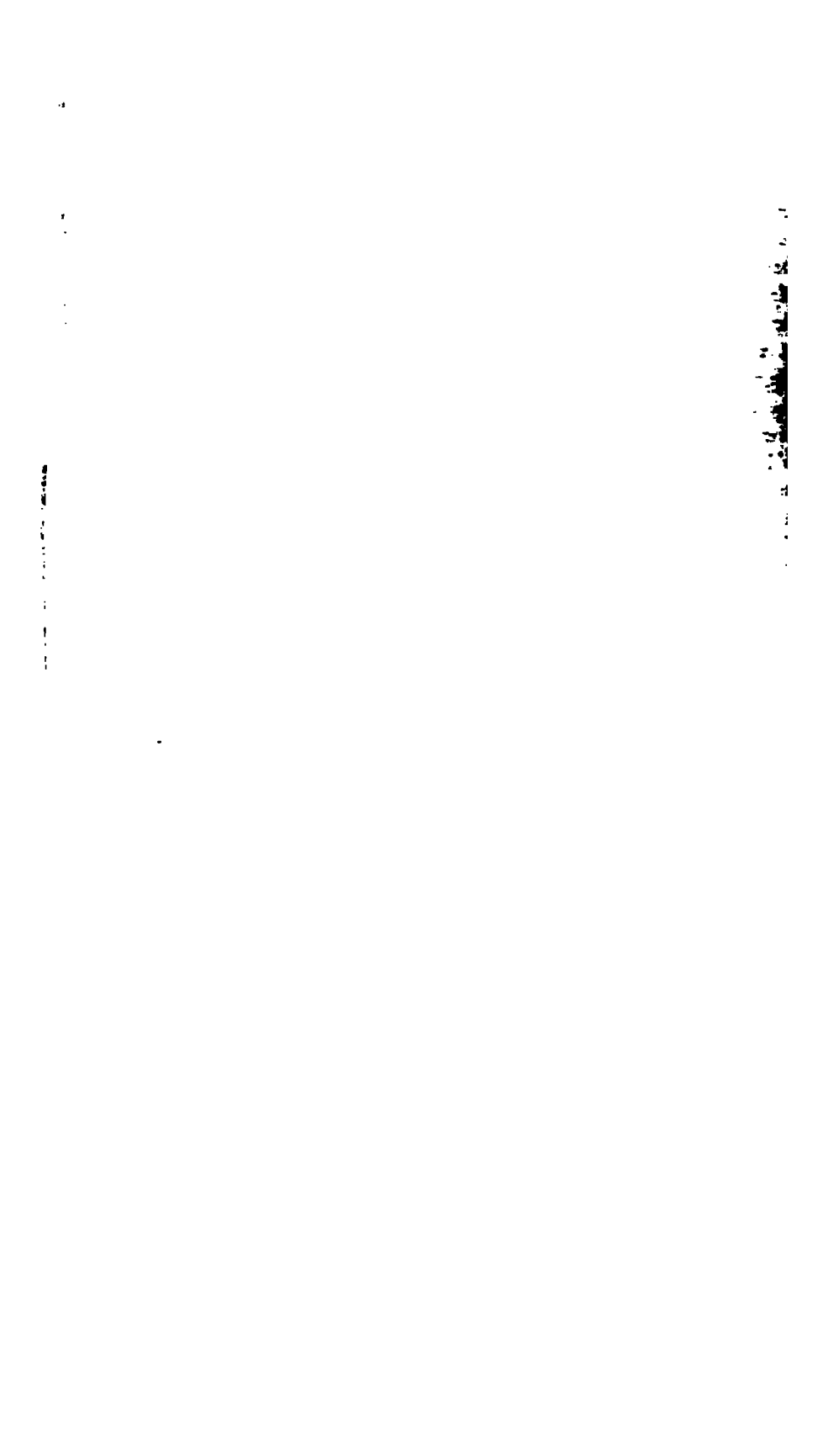
## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

language only (Turkish) was changed under Ugrie i but the Magyar nation was for centuries preserved i type and characteristic originality.

At the next meeting of the Academy, on May Hunfalvy severely criticized M. Vambéry's theory. summary of the purport of his criticism will be mo ppropriate in these pages than a repetition of langua called forth a special protest.

Not a single authority, it is urged, is quoted for the origin of the Hungarian from non-existing tri the course of reasoning explained by which such con reached. As to the assertion that the seed from Magyar nation sprung was Turkish, but that it beca through contact with the Ugers, the proposition is st at variance with all philological experience. The tongue, like the properly so-called Ugrie dialect, di the Finnish and Turkish by peculiar verbal affixe over, the verb is the bone and marrow of every which cannot be exchanged, altered, or transplanted into another. If therefore, it is argued, the se development of Magyar national growth were Tur this last could, under no circumstances, undergo a that is to say, the Turkish verb could never have rec peculiar verbal inflection mentioned, being the cha of the Magyar tongue. Lastly, M. Hunfalvy point relationship which existed between the Magyars and the Kazars in the eighth and ninth centuries, warra hypothesis that the Turkish words found in Mag derived from that source: words, for instance, with a z change the z into r, as *öküz* T.=*ökör* Hung.; *Tenger*; and so on.





漢武梁石室畫像一

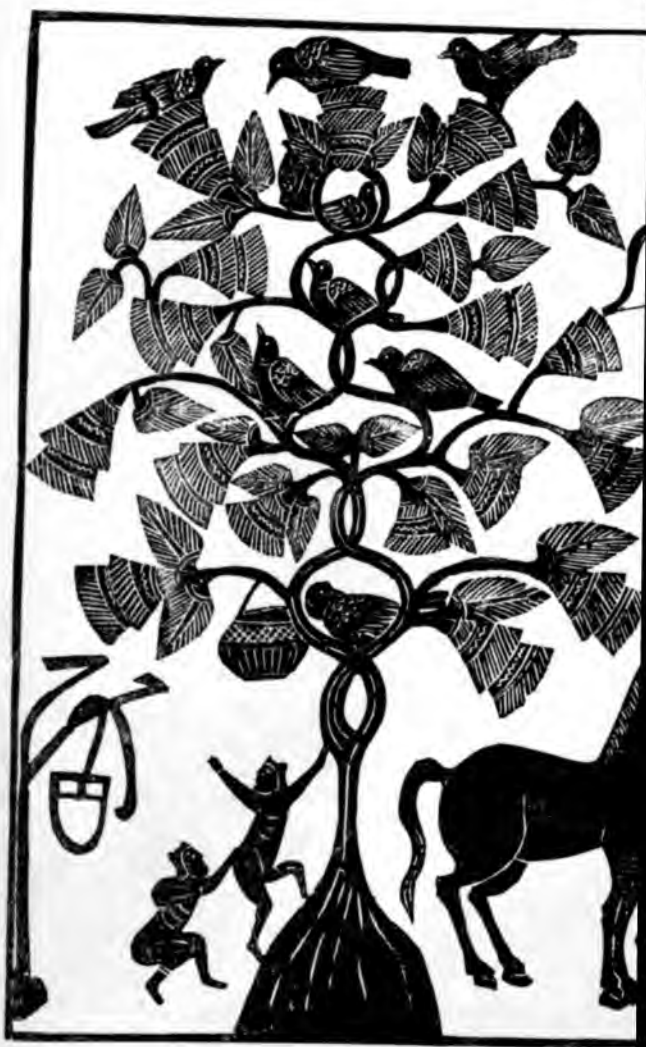


伏羲氏冠上方下圓前  
衣有緣  
邊手執矩  
又一人冠五梁  
衣相侶皆有  
尾而相交中  
有雙龍  
其袖而雙尾  
題云伏羲倉  
精初造玉素  
畫卦結繩以  
理海內鵠按  
王文蒼霄靈  
光殿賦伏羲  
麟身女媧始  
軀注引玄中  
記云伏羲龍  
身是心被齒  
于殿此刻于

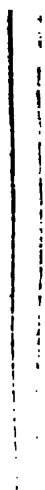
1. The first part of the paper is devoted to a general discussion of the problem.

2.

3.



*J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. n.s. Part IV. Plate II.*





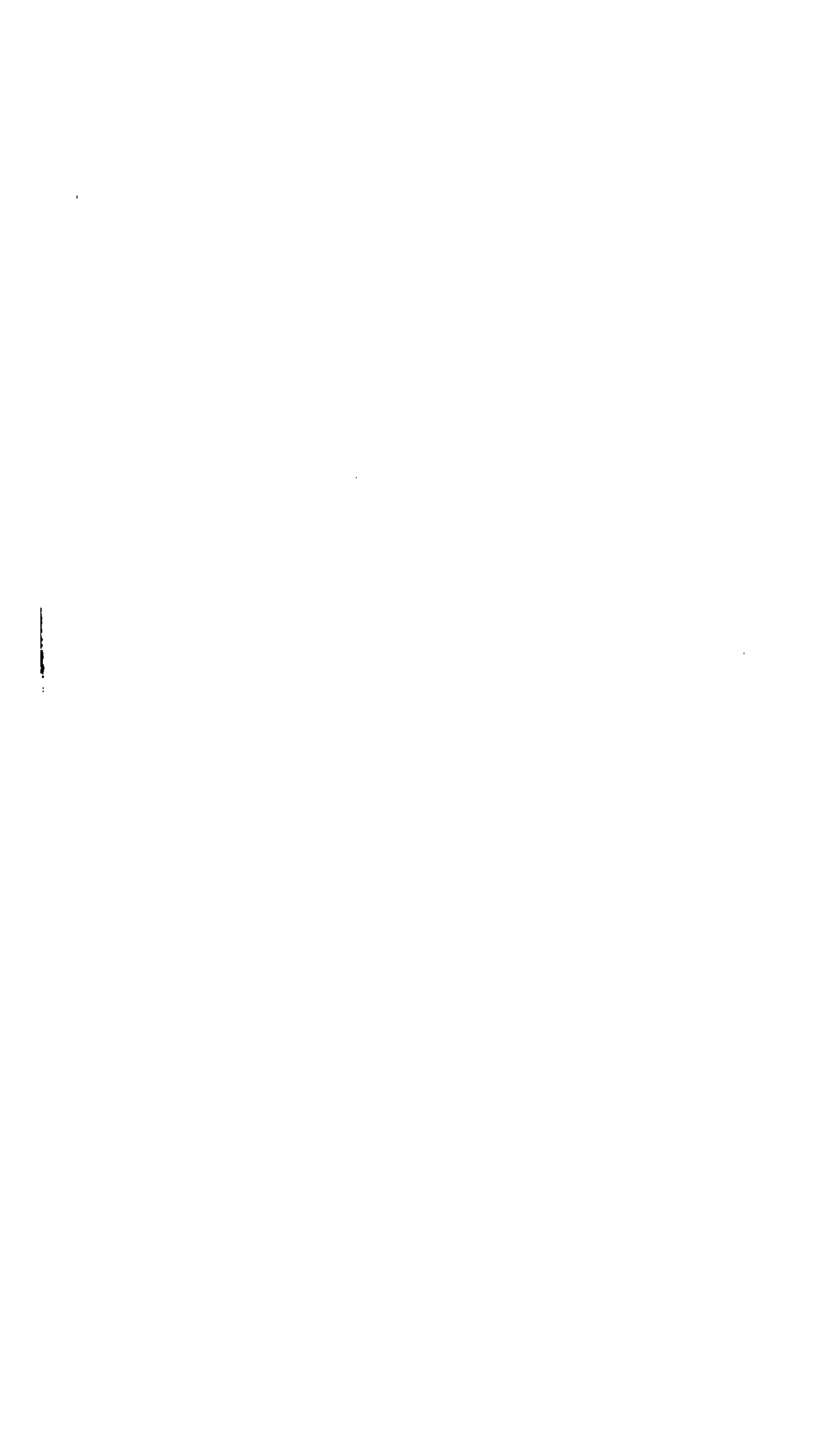


此第二層其第一層畫三首鳥第三層畫婦女未錄



人作  
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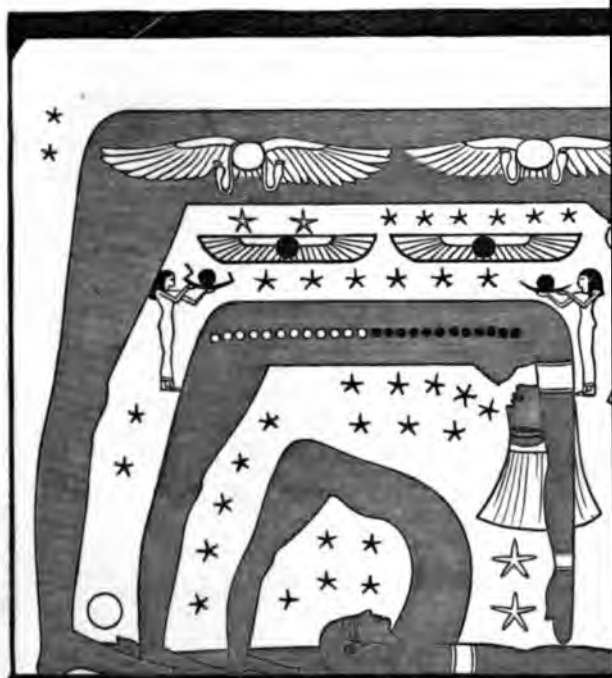






*J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. n.s. Part IV. Plate V.*

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*J.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII. n.s. Part IV. Plate V*

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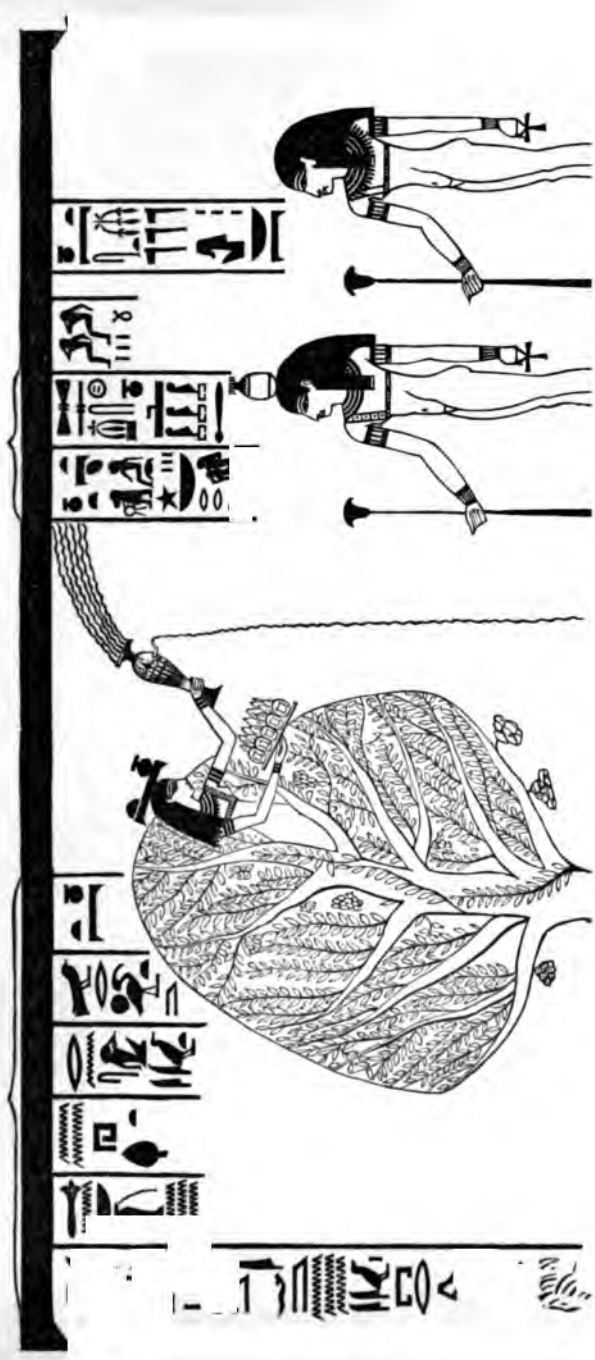
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獸尾有兵皆是耳通奇人  
 似短器用項手日更















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# JOURNAL

OF

## THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

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ART. XIX.—*Ancient Sculptures in China.* By  
DOUGLAS, M.R.A.S., Professor of Chinese  
College, London.

HITHERTO China has yielded few sculptured figures which can be regarded as of importance by students of comparative archæology. More than usual interest therefore attaches to a set of engravings collected in a Chinese work entitled *Soh* (1806),<sup>1</sup> in which are represented a series of sculptures which stand on the walls of the sacrificial temple of a family in the neighbourhood of the district city of K'ien-lung in the province of Shan-tung. These works of art were executed in A.D. 147, at the cost of the two sons of Liang, whose sacrificial temple they were intended permanently to adorn. By a change in the course of the Yellow River, however, the temple was reduced to ruins, and not until the reign of K'ien-lung (1736–1795) were the sculptured stones dug up and recovered. The discoverer, Hwang Yi by name, carefully numbered the stones as they were found, and built the present temple for their reception. The subjects of which the sculptures differ from all other Chinese sculptured designs which we know of, in that many of the scenes they depict exhibit a curious similarity to some of those to be met with in the mythologies of Egypt, Babylonia and Greece. I have, I believe, been taken of them, but not having had the opportunity of comparing a copy with the engravings

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this work was, I believe, presented by Dr. Bushell of the Oriental Congress of Berlin, 1881. The British Museum also possesses a copy.

*Shih Soh*, I am unable personally to answer for the exact accuracy of the Chinese artist. I have, however, the authority of the Marquis Tsêng, who had visited the Wu temple, for saying that the engravings are truthful reproductions of the originals. In the following notice I propose to refer to some few out of the many scenes depicted, which obviously suggest comparisons with mythological ideas anciently current in countries further westward. The art, it will be at once seen from the accompanying plates, is purely Chinese; but there is much in the attitudes of the figures and of the architectural surroundings to remind us of the sculptured remains of other lands. The sculptures in question are arranged in double tiers round the hall, and though in some instances the scenes immediately above and below each other appear to have some connexion, this is not so in all cases. The series begins with a sculpture (see Plate I.) of three figures, two of which represent a man and a woman with human bodies and heads and with serpents' tails which are intertwined. The male figure holds in his hand a carpenter's square, which he appears to be handing to the female figure, while between these two, hanging in the air by their sleeves, is a boy with two shapeless legs. The Editor's note at the side has reference to the male figure only and reads, "Fu-hi Ts'ung-tsing was the first to practise royal duties. He drew the (eight) diagrams, and knotted cords in order to govern the people within the seas." The female figure is recognized as that of Nü-kwa, who by some historians is said to have been Fuh-hi's sister, and is here represented as his wife, and by others to have been separated from him by many generations. Of the boy the Editor can make nothing.

Now we know that according to Chinese legends both Fuh-hi and Nü-kwa had human bodies and dragons' or serpents' tails; that they instructed men in the rudiments of civilization, the use of letters and the arts of common life; that they taught the people to clothe themselves, to cook food, and established marriage.

The benefits they thus conferred upon mankind forcibly remind us of those attributed to the Fish God of Babylonia,

## ANCIENT SCULPTURES IN CHINA.

who rose from the sea every morning and who is the people bordering on the Persian Gulf in the sciences. But we are further told in the Chinese history that Nü-kwa had the head of a cow, a peculiarity leads us beyond Babylonia to the banks of the Nile, where we read of the Goddess Isis, who wears an ox-headed helmet, and who, curiously enough, in common with the God Osiris and their son Horus, form many of the features of which could not be more accurately represented than by this sculpture in Shantung. The well-known triad Osiris and Isis are commonly represented as husband and wife, and sometimes as brother and sister, and Horus, as a boy. Osiris holds in his hand a crook and a whip and he stands on the cubit of truth. Isis, we know, as a punishment for having befriended Typhon in his battle with Horus had her diadem torn off and a false one made in the shape of an ox's head substituted for the real one. It will also be observed that in the Chinese sculpture the legs of the two larger figures are shapeless. This detail acquires interest when we read in Plutarch's account of Egyptian mythology that Isis, like Osiris, suffered the consequences of an irregular birth, and weakness in his lower limbs.

Plate No. II. represents an artificially-trained tree, with a bush at the base of the stem. On the branches are a variety of birds, at which an archer is shooting. Two monkeys are in the act of climbing the tree, while a basket hangs from the lowest branch. In this connection it is curious to find that in the Egyptian orchards<sup>1</sup> that the trees were trained into particular shapes, that they were surrounded at the base of the stem with a circular ridge of earth, in the case of vines "great care was taken to preserve the clusters from the intrusion of birds; and boys were constantly employed, about the season of the vintage, to frighten them with a sling and the sound of the voice. W

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, new edition, vol. iii. p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," new edition, vol. i. p. 275.



grapes were gathered, the bunches were carefully put into deep wicker baskets. . . . Monkeys appear to have been trained to assist in gathering the fruit, and the Egyptians represent them in the sculptures handing down figs from the sycamore trees to the gardeners below.”<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to identify the kind of tree represented in the Chinese sculpture, but in the accompanying illustration (Plate III.) from Wilkinson’s *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 107, which, together with the succeeding plates from the same source, I am, by the kindness of Mr. Murray, allowed here to reproduce, a number of birds are depicted as resting on lotus flowers, identical in shape with those on the Chinese tree, while at the side a man is hurling a ‘throw-stick’ at them.

In Plate IV. is shown an object which strikingly resembles an Egyptian obelisk. It will be remembered that obelisks were built to keep off the evil influence of the air, and were, it is believed, dedicated to the sun.<sup>2</sup> In the Chinese sculpture we have, as will be seen, a being with shapeless legs, similar to that shown in Plate I., in opposition to a figure which may possibly be intended to represent a spirit of evil. The Editor of the *Shih Sok* describes the subject of this Plate as being in appearance a man cutting a tree. But this, in common with all the other notes supplied by the Editor, is merely a guess, hazarded without any special knowledge, and in complete ignorance of every thing beyond the frontiers of China.

The 5th Plate to which I would draw attention shows the arch of heaven formed by a double-headed dragon. The same idea we find frequently represented in Egyptian mythology. In the accompanying plate (Plate VI.) from Wilkinson’s *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. iii. p. 206, the goddess Pe, whose emblem was the firmament, is depicted bending forward with outspread arms overshadowing the earth and encompassing it in imitation of the vault of heaven, reaching from one side of the horizon to the other. Again, in the 17th chapter of

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, new edition, vol. i. pp. 380, 381.

<sup>2</sup> Hatshepsu erected two obelisks of *amu* metal and dedicated them to Amen-Rā. See *Records of the Past*, vol. xii. p. 135, line 135.

## ANCIENT SCULPTURES IN CHINA.

Naville's Book of the Dead, the vault is formed by whose head a cat, which is seated within the semicircle cutting off with a knife.

Plate VII. represents a triad consisting of a female figure with the head of an animal producing a boy from her mouth while opposite to her is a figure with a somewhat human head which, in this case, is surmounted by a serpent. In her right hand this figure holds a weapon, and in her left a sceptre. On the ground by the first figure is a large lotus.

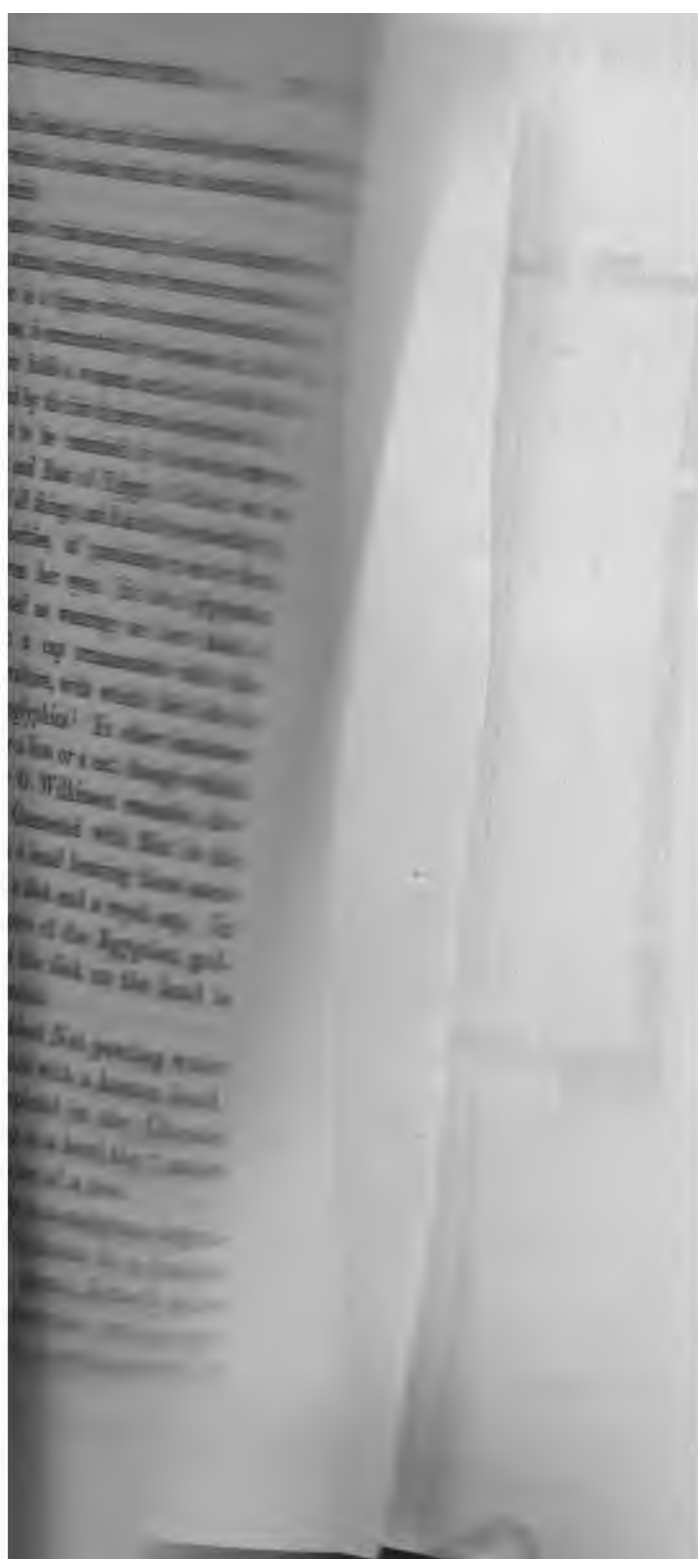
It is impossible not to be reminded by these figures of the goddesses Mut and Bast of Egypt. Mut, we know, was the mother of all things, and had the power of producing life according to some authorities, of producing rain from her mouth and things from her eyes. In the Egyptian sculptures she is represented as wearing on her head a double crown, placed upon a cap ornamented with the head, body, and wings of a vulture, with which bird she is usually associated in the hieroglyphics.<sup>1</sup> In other representations she is given the head of either a lion or a cat, though it is intended to be is, as Sir G. Wilkinson remarks, frequently difficult to ascertain. Connected with Mut is the goddess Bast, who is graced with a head bearing the features of a cat; on her head she carries a disk and a royal uraeus; in her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Egyptian goddesses. In some of the sculptures the disk on the head is omitted, and the asp alone is represented.

In Plate VIII.<sup>2</sup> is shown the goddess Nut pouring milk from a tree into a bowl held by a bird with a human head. A somewhat analogous scene is depicted in the Egyptian sculptures, in which a man is receiving in a bowl the "dew of life," which is pouring from the branches of a tree.

Plate IX. forms a companion picture to a sculpture representing a deity being drawn through the clouds in a chariot by three doves, five horses, and three dragons, forming the pattern of dragons found in the Assyrian sculptures. The chariot is covered by a canopy which is surmounted by a bird.

<sup>1</sup> Wilkinson, vol. iii. pp. 31, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 62.



a dove's head, and the cortège, which is accompanied by winged figures and doves, is met and welcomed by a male figure. In this Plate another chariot, drawn by seven dragons, bears a man in an opposite direction through the clouds into the presence of a winged standard-bearer, who is standing on a dove-headed cloud. It was suggested to me by my friend Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie that these sculptures might possibly bear some relation to the legendary visit of Muh wang (B.C. 1001-946) to Si wang mu, the Royal Mother of the West, and of hers to him. On further investigation I am convinced that this is so, and that while the sculpture referred to represents Si wang mu's cortège, that shown in Plate IX. depicts that of Muh wang. Si wang mu, the Royal Mother of the West, was, according to Chinese legend, "a fabulous being of the female sex dwelling upon Mount Kwên lun," where, by the border of the Lake of Gems grows "the peach tree of the genii whose fruit confers the gift of immortality . . . and from whence she despatches the azure-winged birds or doves who serve (like the doves of Venus) as her attendants and messengers."<sup>1</sup> Sometimes she is described as having a human head and a bird's body. The description of this goddess bears a curious resemblance to that of Athor, who was known also as "Het Heru, or Horus's (the Sun's) mundane habitation,"<sup>2</sup> and as Mut or Mother, and especially as Mother of young Horus. This goddess, to whom the cow was sacred, was thought to live behind the Western Mountain, of Thebes, and it was into her "arms that the setting sun as it retired behind the mountain was said to be received."<sup>3</sup> The persea tree which, as Sir G. Wilkinson says, "was often confounded by ancient authors" with the peach, was sacred to her. Like Si wang mu, also, she is said to have been occasionally "represented as a bird with a human head."<sup>4</sup> We find then that these two goddesses both dwelt on or behind the Western Mountains, the home of the sun ;

<sup>1</sup> Mayer's Chinese Reader's Manual, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> Wilkinson, vol. iii. p. 121.

## ANCIENT SCULPTURES IN CHINA.

that the same superhuman form is by some attributed to both of them; that the peach tree was common to both; that the attribute of mother is given to both; that they both employed doves as their attendant messengers. But to complete the analogy between the myths of Athor and Si wang mu, we should find reference to the sun sinking into the arms of the goddess. And this we do in legendary records which are collected round the career of Muh wang (B.C. 1001-959).

In the history of this prince, which is said to have been found in a tomb of one of the Wei Princes in 281 A.D., we have an account of a journey made by him to Si wang mu, which so many of the characteristics of the Sun-god have introduced that it is impossible not to recognize it as the counterpart of the Greek Phœbus. We are told that he started on his journey amid rain and snow, that after passing over the gold-plated hill he reached the Mountain of Spring, and eventually arrived at the abode of the Mother of the West. In Plate IX. he is represented as being drawn through the clouds by seven dragon steeds which bear a resemblance both in number and significance to the celebrated horses of Phœbus, as the following table shows:

### *Phœbus's Horses.*

### *Muh wang's steeds.*

<i>Βροντη</i> = Thunder.	Yu lun = A wheel passing.
<i>Εως</i> = Daybreak.	K'ü hwang = Wide spreading.
<i>Αιθοψ</i> = Flashing.	Tao li = Fleet racer.
<i>Αιθων</i> = Fiery.	Ch'ih ki = Red steed.
<i>Ερυθρός</i> = Red producer.	Hwa liu = Effulgent red.
<i>Φιλόγαιος</i> = Earth-loving.	Shan tsze = Son of the Mother.
<i>Πυρόεις</i> = Fiery.	Luh urh = Green-eared.

It is curious also to observe that a winged bull figure among the animals forming part of the cortege.

In the text of the work above mentioned an eighth steed is added to the seven, which is called Poh i, which may be translated "Manifested righteousness." The legend

states that Muh wang had four jewels which appear to correspond to the four planets anciently known to the Chinese, viz. Mars, Venus, Mercury and Saturn; of these Mars was said to be red in colour, Venus golden, Mercury silver, and Saturn yellow. The colours of the first three are fittingly symbolized by the Suen chu, a Redstone, Hwang Kin kaou 'The richness of yellow gold,' and Chuh yin, 'Bright silver.' But the fourth of Muh wang's jewels is Yuh kwo, 'the perfection of gems,' a name which curiously resembles the title of "beautiful," given to Saturn both by the Egyptians and the Greeks.

Muh wang, we are further told, was, like Apollo, armed with a bow which shot forth darts at men, and was followed by dogs which, as though he were the protector of flocks and herds like the Greek God, were the enemies of beasts of prey.

On the last day of the Sexagenary cycle Muh wang reached the abode of Si wang mu, who entertained him on the shores of the lake of gems with such delights that he forgot to return homewards until reminded of his duties by the goddess, who sang him the following song :

White clouds float across the sky,  
The mountain peaks appear on high ;  
Long and distant is your way,  
Where the streams through mountains stray :  
Immortal may you ever be,  
And oft return to visit me !

Accepting the hint, Muh wang sang in response :

Again to Eastern land I wend my way,  
To bend the summer to my general sway ;  
When men have peaceful and contented grown,  
Again I'll turn me to your royal throne :  
When thrice the year has run its race amain,  
Across the wilds I'll hither come again.

He then ascended his chariot and departed.

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Building shown in black: the rest is modern rubble masonry.



**PLATE XX.—The Mosque of Sultan Nasir Mohammed  
Kalaoun, in the Citadel of Cairo. By Major C.  
WATSON, R.E.**

(Communicated by H. C. KAY, Esq., M.R.A.S.)

THE mosque of Sultan Nasir ebn Kalaoun, which stands at the centre of Cairo citadel, although one of the most interesting in the city, seems to have received less attention than it deserves. This is probably due to the fact that, many years past, it has ceased to be used as a mosque, and has been thrown into the background by the great Mosque of Mohamed Ali Pasha, which is visited by at least a thousand persons for every one who takes the trouble to enter the royal mosque of the citadel.

It was used for a considerable time as a prison, and during recent years has been a military store-house, where heaps of all kinds of articles were piled up in confusion. High walls of rough rubble masonry had been built between the pillars, in order to divide the space into compartments suitable for prison or store purposes.

In consequence of the position I recently held in Egyptian War Office, I was able to have the whole of the stores, with which the mosque was encumbered, removed to other places, and to take down a number of the partition walls which closed the intervals between the pillars.

William Freeman, of the Royal Sussex Regiment, gave me material assistance by allowing the military prisoners, from whom he was in charge, to work upon the removal of the walls. Sufficient of these have now been pulled down to show the beautiful interior of the mosque to full advantage. Certain of the walls I was afraid to remove, because, before they could be done with safety, it would be necessary to take measures for the security of the pillars and arches,

of which are in a dangerous condition. I applied to the Egyptian Committee for the Preservation of Arab Monuments for a grant of funds for this purpose; but they, while fully acknowledging the importance of the work, were obliged to refuse, in consequence of the small amount available for the restoration of ancient buildings.

It will be seen from the plan of the mosque attached to this paper, that the east and south arcades are now almost completely cleared. In the north and west arcades the partition walls still remain.

I have annexed a set of photographs of this most interesting monument, which give a better idea of its present condition than any written description can do. These photographs, with the exception of two, which were taken by M. Facchinelli, were taken by M. Sebah, of Cairo, at the request of the Committee alluded to above.

The Mosque was built in the year 1318 A.D. by Sultan Nasir Mohammed, the son of Sultan el Mansoor Kalaoun. Sultan Nasir had an eventful reign, having come to the throne at a very early age, and having been twice dethroned and twice restored. It was during the period after his second restoration that he built the citadel mosque.

For some reason that is not quite clear, it is sometimes erroneously called the Mosque of Salah ed Din, and almost every Dragoman who professes to exhibit the sights of Cairo to travellers, calls it by this name. Perhaps Salah ed Din may have built a mosque on the same site which was afterwards replaced by that of Nasir.

Makrizi's notes upon the mosque run as follows:

"This mosque, situated in the citadel of the mountain, was erected by the order of King Nasir Mohamed ibn Kalaoun in the year 718 of the Hegira. He caused a magnificent dome to be placed upon the summit of it. An iron maksourah<sup>1</sup> was also constructed; and, at the entrance of the mosque, was a maksourah of iron, in which the Sultan performed the duties of prayer. The mosque was endowed with funds which largely exceeded the

<sup>1</sup> A kind of screen.

## THE MOSQUE OF NASIR EBN KALAOUN AT CAIRO.

expenses, and it became one of the richest and most magnificent mosques in Egypt."

The mosque stands in the central court of the citadel in plan is approximately square, measuring 206 feet north to south and 186 feet from east to west. In spite of the direction of the sides of the mosque, it is convenient to consider that the east wall runs north and south, although of course, as in all Cairo mosques, it really runs more or less north-west and south-west.

The principal entrance to the mosque was in the centre of the west wall, but this doorway is now built up. In its place the door is a minaret of a description by no means common, the stones being carved in a very bold zigzag pattern. The summit is covered with green enamelled tiles, beneath which is an Arabic inscription encircling the minaret.

The door is in a deep recess, and over it is a tablet which is the following inscription :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أمر بانشاء هذا الجامع  
 في السعيد لوجه الله تعالى سيدنا ومولانا السلطان  
 ناصر ناصر الدنيا والدين محمد بن مولانا السلطان  
 علاء الدين في شهر ربيع الثمانية وعشرة وسبع مائة من  
 النبوية

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious. He ordered the building of this mosque, the Blessed, the Happy, the sake of God, whose name be exalted, is our Lord and Master, the Sultan and King, the conqueror of the world and faith, Mohamed, son of our Lord the Sultan Kalaoun Es Saleh, in the month and year of the Hegira of the Prophet seven hundred and eighteen."

This corresponds with the year 1318 A.D.

In an upper part of the west wall is a row of clerestory windows which goes all round the mosque. These were formerly filled with beautiful tracery and stained glass, but only a few fragments now remain.

The door which is now used is in the north side of the mosque. Over it is an Arabic inscription, of which the lower half is broken away, but the two lines which remain intact are identical with the two upper lines of the inscription over the west door. At the north-east angle is the second minaret of the mosque. It is of a different pattern to the west minaret, but, like it, the summit is capped with green enamelled tiles.

The exterior of the east wall of the mosque is much concealed by rubbish, and by some mean buildings which have been erected against it, and the south side is in a similar condition. In the latter wall is a doorway into the mosque, which was probably the Sultan's private entrance. This door is now blocked up with masonry. Close to it are some ancient masonry vaults of great strength, which are well worth investigation. They may have formed part of the outer wall of the original fortress, but it is not at present easy to follow their plan.

As I have already stated, the only entrance to the mosque now available is that in the north wall. From this a passage leads into the centre court.

The plan of the mosque is a simple one. An arcade runs round the whole of the interior, having four rows of columns on the east and two upon each of the other sides. The width of the eastern arcade is 64 feet, that of the northern and southern 37 feet, and that of the western 29 feet 6 inches. In the centre of the eastern arcade and over the kibleh, the pillars are replaced by ten monolithic granite columns of very large size. These columns supported the magnificent dome described by Makrizi, which unfortunately has fallen in. The Kibleh, also, which, according to tradition, was specially magnificent, has been removed, and the space which it occupied has been filled in with rubble masonry. The columns of the dome have no bases, and the capitals are very plain. There is no doubt that they, as well as the other pillars of the mosque, were carried off from Memphis, or some other ancient city. Photograph No. 6 gives a good representation of some of the great columns.

# THE MOSQUE OF NASIR EBN KALAOUN AT CAIRO

The dome columns are surmounted by arches of alternate red and white stones, and above these is an inscription upon a broad wooden band, which runs round the side of the dome. This inscription commences from the south side, and runs as follows :

## *South Wall.*

الرحمن الرحيم يا ايها الدين امنوا اركعوا واسجدوا واعبدوا  
وافعلوا الخير لعلكم تفلحون

## *East Wall.*

الرحمن الرحيم انما يعمر مساجد الله من امن بالله واليوم  
رواقم الصلوات وايتا الزكوات ولم يخشي الا الله

## *North Wall.*

ليكن أن يكونو من المهتدين . . . أمر بانشائه مولانا  
سلطان الملك الناصر بن مو

## *West Wall.*

ان المرحوم الملك المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين قلاوون  
ببرحمته وذلك مسهل سبعة . . . . .

"In the name of the Most Merciful God. O true believers, believe in God, and bow down and prostrate yourselves and worship your Lord, and do good works, that ye may be happy.

"In the name of the Most Merciful God. But he who visits the temples of God who believeth in God and the Day of Judgment, and is constant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms and trusts in God alone.

"These perhaps may become those who are rightly guided. Who ordered the building of it, is our Lord the Sultan Nasir, son of our Lord.

"The deceased Sultan, the victorious King, Sword of God and the faith, Kalaoun. May God cover him with his mercy. The work was begun in the year seven . . . . ."

The end of the inscription, giving the date, has been fallen and is not decipherable.

The smaller pillars of the arcades all exist, with the exception of five on the western side, which, with the arches above them, have completely disappeared. The square pillars of rubble masonry which have taken their place are modern work.

The central court of the mosque measures 117 feet 6 inches from north to south, and 76 feet 6 inches from east to west. The ancient *hanafieh* in the centre has been replaced by a modern one.

Above the arches which surround the central court are a row of windows similar to those in the exterior walls of the mosque.

On the interior of the south wall are remains of marble mosaic work, which, when perfect, must have been very beautiful. There are traces of similar work upon the north wall, but the greater part of the mosaic has completely disappeared. Upon the west wall there is no trace of decorative work, although there can be no doubt that large sums were spent upon its embellishment.

The ceiling of the mosque is specially worthy of notice. Photograph No. 4 gives a good idea of the general design. It was painted in bright colours, with much gilding, and ostrich eggs are fixed in the spaces between the corners of the hexagonal panels. The ceiling is in a bad state of repair, and I fear that, before long, it will have fallen altogether.

It is to be regretted that no complete history has been written of this mosque, which, during the time of the Memlook Sultans, was one of the most important in Cairo. If local tradition is correct, it began to be neglected soon after the Turkish conquest of Egypt, and successive Governors have gradually absorbed the whole of the revenues of which Makrizi spoke, until, at present, there is not a piastre left which could be used in keeping the mosque in repair.

Knowing the absolute indifference with which Egyptian officials for the most part regard ancient monuments, I hope that the attention of archæologists may be directed to this

## THE MOSQUE OF NASIR EBN KALAAOUN AT CAIRO

mosque before it is again applied, as is quite possible for some secular purpose.

### *Description of Photographs of the Mosque of the Sultan ed Din Mohamed ebn Kalaoun, in the Citadel of Cairo*

- No. 1. North side of Mosque, showing north-east corner.
- No. 2. West side of Mosque. On this side is the principal entrance, but this is now closed up.
- No. 3. Inner Court, looking towards north-east corner. The rubble stone filling in the arches has nearly all been removed.
- No. 4. Main arcade, looking towards the north-east corner.
- No. 5. Great pillars under dome. North side in perspective. East side in perspective.
- No. 6. Base of Dome, looking towards south-west corner.
- No. 7. Base of Dome, west side.
- No. 8. Pillar behind south-west angle of base of dome.

These photographs were taken by Sebah of Cairo, with the exception of two which were taken by M. Facchinelli.

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<sup>1</sup> The whole set may be seen in the Royal Asiatic Society's Rooms in Grosvenor Street.

ART. XXI.—*The Languages of Melanesia.* By Professor  
GEORG VON DER GABELENTZ, of the University of  
Leipzig.

Prepared at the request of, and communicated by, Dr. B. N. CusT, Honorary  
Secretary, with a Note.

[THE writer of this communication is the son of H. C. Von der Gabelentz; and is, like his distinguished father was before him, one of the most remarkable Linguistic Scholars of his time. He treats of a subject which is of the greatest importance, and which has this year been brought prominently to the notice of scholars by the Comparative Grammar of the Melanesian Languages compiled by the Rev. R. H. Codrington of the Melanesian Mission, and published by the Clarendon Press. The Archipelago of Islands, known by the name of Melanesia, from the dark colour of their Negrito inhabitants, as distinguished from the fair Polynesians further to the East, extends in a chain of Islands from the Southern Point of New Guinea to Fiji, and includes in addition to those Islands the Groups known as Solomon, Santa Cruz, Banks, Torres Islands, New Hebrides, Loyalty and New Caledonia. They have been the scene of outrages on the part of the white traders, and vengeful murders on the part of the natives: they are a bone of contention betwixt England and France: their population is wasting away by kidnapping to supply the wants of Planters in Queensland and the Fiji Islands, and by infectious diseases, and spirituous liquors introduced by Europeans. The Bible has been translated into several of the languages (and each of the larger Islands has its own language or even several distinct languages), but it is calculated that in a few years the population will, like that of Tasmania, have totally disappeared, and the languages remain as literary survivals.]



## THE LANGUAGES OF MELANESIA.

In this valuable book<sup>1</sup> the work begun and enlarged by dear father,<sup>2</sup> and continued by Dr. A. B. Meyer and I, is taken up on a new plan and on a somewhat broader basis. My father's work comprised twenty-three languages all, while in the book before us the number of languages treated in separate grammars and grammatical notes amounts to thirty-five, eleven of which are identical with those contained in my father's book. Besides these grammatical notes are inserted on four other languages of the family. Leaving these aside, forty-seven Melanesian languages may henceforth be counted as more or less analyzed in regard to their grammatical structure. Life has been analyzed in my father's two volumes, has since been the object of *Notes grammaticales sur le langage de l'Aneityum* par A. C., Paris, 1882, 8vo. On Aneityum we have a *Dictionary of the Aneityumese Language*, etc., also a *Grammar of Aneityumese Grammar*, by J. Inglis, London, 12mo. On Mota, the author's own *Grammatical Notes*, London, 1877, 8vo. While Professor H. Kern of Leipzig recently made Fijian the subject of copious and valuable comparative researches (*De Fidjitaal vergeleken met de Verwanten in Indonesië en Polynesië*, Amsterdam, 4to.). These works and a *Dictionary* by the Rev. J. Brown, Wesleyan Missionary, of the Duke of York's Language, New Britain Group, also a *Grammar* of the same, printed in thirty copies by hectography, 1882, 4to., are the principal exponents of Melanesian linguistic literature that have come to my notice. It is little, indeed, considering the width and weight of the subject, and sincere thanks are due to the learned author for the extensive and painful researches the results of which are now at his fellow-labourers' disposal. The following abstract will furnish an idea of the plan followed.

<sup>1</sup> *The Melanesian Languages*. By R. H. Codrington. 8vo. pp. 312 (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1885).

<sup>2</sup> H. C. von der Gabelentz, *Die melanesischen Sprachen nach ihrer grammatischen Bau und ihrer Verwandtschaft*, etc. 2 voll. *Abhandl. d. K. Ges. d. Wissensch.* Leipzig, 1861, 1873.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. xix. of the same *Abhandlungen*.

An introduction, pp. 1-31, describes the geographical extension of Melanesian nations and languages; a general map of Melanesia is added, and further on, there are special maps of the single groups. Then the author points out the kinship of the Melanesian languages as well between themselves as with the Malayo-Polynesian family, finally leading up to a new theory on the origin and prospects of these languages, to which I shall refer towards the end of this paper.

The second section is devoted to comparative lexicology. The nine words in fifty-nine languages collected by Mr. Wallace, and seventy words in forty languages synoptically arranged by the author, are discussed and compared between themselves and with corresponding words in Malay, Malagási, Maori, and, here and there, other languages akin, such as Batta, Samoa, etc. On p. 60, No. 10, it might be observed that in Mafúr *Kôr* (not *Kur*) 'bone,' corresponds to Malay *tulang*.

A short comparative grammar of Melanesian languages in connection with Malay, Malagási and Maori, follows, pp. 101-192. Here the principal common facts and forms of the Melanesian branch are set forth and discussed. Without entering into details, I shall content myself with stating that, in the majority of the cases where my views differ from the author's, this is owing to his general hypothesis already alluded to.

Phonology, pp. 193-219, and numeration, pp. 220-251, are treated in separate sections. In the former, little attempt has been made either to group the languages in respect to phonetic laws, or to gain something like the laws, which form the pride of Indo-Germanic science: laws, I mean to say, which declare peremptorily that this sound in one language must correspond, under the same circumstances, to that in a certain other language. Observations of this nature, indeed, are to be met with interspersed in the grammatical monographs. But even if this were not the case, the defect would be of less importance than might seem. Apparently in those insular languages articulation has been of old, and is partly now, less distinct,

## THE LANGUAGES OF MELANESIA.

less firm and fixed, than it is in our Arian family. wise speaking, had the ancestors of those islanders an alphabet of their own, containing, as is the case of Devanágari, just as many symbols as there were really distinguished in the language, this alphabet would have been far poorer in symbols, and its symbols poorer in phonetic value, their pronunciation allowing more variety, than would Devanágari. So, indeed, the Melanesians acknowledged only three vowels and thirteen consonants. This fact of lax articulation explains the irregularity of the alphabet, apparently capricious, occurring to any one who undertakes a lexical comparison of the Malay languages, nor has it been eliminated even by such careful and judicious research as is contained in Brandes' *Bijdragen tot de vergeten Klankleer*, etc.

The last part of the book, pp. 253-572, contains geographical and grammatical sketches of thirty-five Melanesian languages, geographically arranged. Of these, Monro occupies pages 253 to 310, so that the average space allotted to each of the other thirty-four does not exceed seven and a half. Scanty as this may seem, the geographical materials brought to the reader's notice are somewhat more than would have been possible had the author followed a different plan. The arrangement of the monographs, taken as a whole, is worthy of approval and agreeing with the nature of the languages in question. Syntax has not been made the object of separate chapters. Examples consisting of complete sentences are to be found in a small number only in a part of the sketches, and so are the reasons. Reasons independent of his intentions may have prevented the learned author from being so munificent in this respect as we should have desired. As it is, let us hope that he will find enough encouragement in his praiseworthy endeavours to publish some day a second volume containing more glossaries and as many analyzed or translated texts as possible.

It would go far even to enumerate the languages less made known by the work before us. The Banks and Torres Islands, not yet accessible to my father's re-

are now represented, the former by twelve, the latter by two: so is the Santa Cruz Group, while other groups have been filled up by new members. Of the languages treated by my father, Fiji, Aneityúm, Erromanga, Tanna, Mallikólo, Lifu, Uea, Gera of Guadalcanar, Eddystone, Bauro, Mara, Ma-siki, and the three New Caledonian, have been left aside, while for the eleven others the author had such materials at hand as made him wish to see them produced anew.

Let us now, in the author's own words, explain the theory developed in his introductory chapter. "Suppose," he says, "in the islands adjacent to the Asiatic continent a population of dark-coloured and curly-haired physical character with their own language. Suppose the islands to be settled with this population, originally of one stock, and the gradual settlements of the islands further away to the south-east to be going on by the people of the one stock, their language diverging as time and distance increase. Suppose Asiatic people, lighter in complexion and straight-haired, to have intercourse with the island people nearest to the continent, going over to trade with them, residing on the island coasts, giving rise to a certain number of half-castes. These half-castes, then, in regard to language, would be island-people. They would not follow their foreign fathers' speech, but their mothers' and their fellow-villagers'; but in regard to physical appearance they would be mixed, lighter than their mothers in complexion, with flatter features (if their mothers were Papuans and their fathers like Chinese), and their hair would be straighter. This mixed breed would begin on the coast and increase; it would mix in its turn both with the inland people and with the foreign visitors—relatives on the fathers' side. The result, after a time, would be that in the interior of the island the aboriginal inhabitants would remain physically and in speech what they were, but on the coast and towards the coast there would be a great mixture of various degrees of crossings, some very like the Asiatic visitors, some very little unlike the inland people, but *all speaking the island-language,*" etc.

Linguistic reasons, I think, would rather recommend a

## THE LANGUAGES OF MELANESIA.

contrary supposition. Let us break before all hypothetical dualism of ascending and descending, and with the superstition that the former general state of agglutinative languages. As to the family, traces more or less rudimentary of that wondrous rich and symmetrical grammatical system by which Philippine languages and their nearer relatives excel, may be found throughout, and more recently such traces have been pointed out in Fiji and the Polynesian Family by Prof. The like are met with, more or less fragmentary, throughout the Melanesian Group. Had we not better, under such circumstances, speak of decay on the latter side, and of higher primitiveness to those languages which have developed forms where others show lumps and stumps? The speciality insisted upon by the author on page 10, to the fact that a part of the substantives requires possessive affixes, while the other part does not, is by no means confined to the Malayo-Polynesian family, but based on other reasons, and therefore common to very different languages. Relations, familiar or social, members of the body, parts of things, require logically something or somebody to which they belong to—a genitive case. A father, an eye, a part, are somebody's father, somebody's eye, somebody's upper part. From this it seems to follow that the distinction made by the Melanesians may hardly be considered as a striking proof of greater originality. While in Polynesian Languages such possessive affixes are wanting, they are in full vigour in the higher stages of the Malayan, and there applicable not only to the substantive noun without exception, but also, as *auctoris*, to the (in reality nominal) passive forms of verbs. Here again the superiority in point of comparative development and the presumption of better conservation, on the Malayan side.

There is one fact, however, which compels me to pass by in silence. The Negrito languages of the Philippines appear, judging from the scanty specimens of my possession, to enjoy grammatical systems very

in fullness, richness, and in the phonetic means employed, to those of their light-coloured neighbours. Should, then, these be the keepers of the family treasure, the heirs of our author's ancient island-language? I doubt whether any one, though prepossessed in favour of Mr. Codrington's theory, would insist upon such a possibility any longer than the time needed for a superficial examination and comparison of the materials. Everybody would gain the conviction that, in this instance at least, the light-coloured men were the givers and the black men the receivers, for while Tagála and its sisters form integrating members in the close and solid chain of their Malayan kinship, the idioms of the Zambales, Mariveles, etc., stand in evident opposition to those of the other black islanders, with which, of course, they are related, but only loosely and by Malayan intermediation. Moreover, which is more probable *a priori*, that the more highly endowed Malays should have adopted the languages of inferior aborigines, or the contrary? Which, I ask, is more analogous to experience? It is much to be desired that Professor Kern, or a scholar equally well versed in comparative Malayo-Polynesian studies, would submit the Melanesian materials, grammatical and lexicological, to investigations similar to those exhibited in the former's "Fidjitaal." Then we might expect to see the observations made above confirmed in more than one point, and many of the words till now looked upon as originally Melanesian, derived from Malayan sources.

But strong and eager as may seem my criticism of the author's theory, stronger yet is my feeling of gratitude and indebtedness for the eminent merits of his laborious work.

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ART. XXII.—*Notes on the History of the Banu 'Okayl*

HENRY C. KAY, M.R.A.S.



THE following particulars on the origin and early of the Banu 'Okayl are from Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. vol. vi. p. 11, etc. (Bulak Edition).

I may perhaps allow myself to begin by reminding reader that Eastern writers invariably represent the Isma'ili Arabs as the posterity of 'Adnan, descendant of Isma'il, the people of each tribe as the actual children of one of the Arab Patriarch's posterity, after each of whom a tribe is usually named. But it is obviously unnecessary to say the least of it, to regard the genealogies attributed to the tribes as anything more than the real or reputed pedigrees of their chiefs. Indeed it is difficult to suppose that the historians themselves can seriously contend for much more than the fact that the Ismailian Arabs, they tell us, are the descendants of 'Adnan, and indeed of his son Ma'add. The latter died twelve years of age, and when the invasion of Arabia by Bukht Naṣṣar (Nebuchadnezzar) was about to take place, he was conveyed to Harrān in Mesopotamia. 'Adnan died shortly after. Ma'add on his return to Arabia, after the death of Bukht Naṣṣar, found that his father's people had joined the Yamanites. He collected them together, and brought them back to the territory of Mecca, and all the tribes they are styled his brethren and kindred, we cannot

it to be seriously urged that they were his brothers, the sons of his father.<sup>1</sup>

The tribe of 'Oḳayl, descended from Moḍar, through Ḳays 'Aylan and Hawāzin, was one of five subdivisions of the Banu Ka'b. They were the Banu 'Oḳayl, Harish, Ḳushayr, Ja'dah, and 'Ijlān ibn 'Abdallah ibn Ka'b. The second, third and fourth of these are said to have become extinct in the early days of Islām. The Banu Ka'b are themselves described as sons of Rabī'ah, son of 'Āmir, son of Ṣa'sa'ah, and the Banu Rabī'ah were one of four sister-tribes, of which the other three were the Banu Numayr, Suwat and Hilal.

The homes of the Banu 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah were at an early date the deserts of Nejd adjoining to Tihāmah, extending thence to the confines of Syria and on the south to the neighbourhood of Ta-if. At a later period they spread into the Syrian deserts, thence to 'Irāk, and the greater portion of the tribe became ere long scattered throughout the countries of Islām. Ibn Khaldūn states on the authority of Ibn Hazm that the great sept of the Banu 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah alone equalled in numbers all the other Modarite tribes.<sup>2</sup>

The Banu 'Oḳayl were divided into many subtribes. Of these were the Banu Muntafiḳ, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Oḳayl, from whom, according to Ibn 'Abd al Azīz al Jurjāni, as quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, were derived those Arabs, known in North Africa under the name of Khuluṭ, who in the days of the historian inhabited the country between Marocco and Fez.<sup>3</sup> They lived, together with certain subtribes of

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. pp. 241, 298.

<sup>2</sup> In translating that passage, in his *Histoire des Berbères*, de Slane applies it to the 'Oḳaylis alone. And that no doubt is the natural construction to be placed upon the words as they stand in the original. But I think the meaning intended by the author is as I have stated it in the text, a reading, I may add, which makes the statement somewhat less startling and incredible.

Ibn Hazm was the author of a book, *Kitāb Jamharat al Anṣāb*, mentioned in the *Kashf ez Zūnūn*, and frequently quoted in Ibn Khaldūn's work on the Arab tribes. He was a native of Cordova, and died in A.H. 456. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan (de Slane's translation, vol. ii. p. 267), and a short notice of him and of his chief writings in Al Maḳkārī's work on the Arabs of Spain, vol. ii. p. 963 (Bul. ed.), but neither of these writers makes mention of the *Kitāb al Jamharah*.

<sup>3</sup> The life of Al Jurjāni, who died in A.H. 366, is given by Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 221. I read the word Khuluṭ as the plural of Khalīṭ. See Lane's Dictionary.



## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OḠAYL

the Banu Hilal, in close alliance with the Banu J tribe descended, like the Banu 'Oḡayl, from the Hawāzin, and the designation of Jushamites was conferred upon all.

The Khuluṭ entered Africa along with the Banu tribe which was, as already stated, a branch of the Banu ibn Ṣa'sa'ah. A portion of the Banu Hilāl had settled in North Africa in the days of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mu'izz, but the bulk of the tribe, which, together with the Banu Sulaym, had allied itself with the Carmathians of Egypt, was, after the final defeat of the latter by Al 'Azīz, scattered along the eastern banks of the Nile. There they remained during the days of Al Mustanṣir, who, by the advice of his vizier Yazūri, and with the object of crushing the rebel Mu'izz ibn Badīs, poured into North Africa in (A.D. 1050-1) a horde of Arabs, whose progress is likened by the historian to that of a flight of locusts, devouring the substance of every district through which they passed, spreading ruin and desolation wherever they penetrated.

They consisted chiefly of the Banu Hilāl, accompanied by their numerous subtribes, and of the Banu Sulaym, as mentioned, a great and powerful tribe, sister to the Banu Hawāzin, from whom both Banu Hilāl and 'Oḡayl derived their descent.

It was nearly fifty years previous to these events that an insurrection occurred of the Sharīf al Walīd ibn al-Mu'izz, better known under his nickname of Abu Rakwa, who claimed descent from the Ommayyads, and whose adherents were the Banu Qurrah, a subtribe of the Banu Hilāl. Abu Rakwa was captured and put to death by al Hākim in A.H. 396.

In touching upon these events, Ibn Khaldūn reminds us of the relations of the Sharīf Ibn Hishām with the Hilāl, of the emigration into Africa, the marriage of the Sharīf's daughter Jāziyah, the sister of the Amīr Hasan ibn Sarḡān, to a chief of the Banu Athbaj (one of the subtribes of the Banu Hilāl), and how these events were made the foundation of many romantic tales, still known in the writer's time.

Sheikh Hasan al 'Aṭṭar, a Cairo 'Ālim of considerable reputation for learning and scholarship, who died about half a century ago, has added to one of the MSS. of Ibn Khaldūn's work a marginal note, which is preserved in the printed edition (vol. vi. p. 18), and in which he identifies these tales with those that form the leading subject of the collection of legends known as the Story of Abu Zeyd, to this day one of the most popular of the romances with which the public story-tellers are in the habit of entertaining their hearers in the streets of Cairo.

The justice of Sheikh al 'Aṭṭar's observation is obvious to any person at all acquainted with these tales. Most of them have of late years been printed at Cairo, and that relating to the emigration of the Banu Hilāl from Nejd into Africa, under the guidance of Abu Zeyd, corresponds in almost every detail with the summary furnished by Ibn Khaldūn.<sup>1</sup> The late Mr. Lane, in his *Modern Egyptians*, supplies a summary of the story of the birth of Abu Zeyd, and a specimen of the verses with which the romances are abundantly interspersed. In their disregard of metrical regularity, the neglect of terminal inflections, as well as in other characteristics, the verses are in complete accord with Ibn Khaldūn's critical observations upon them. To his remark that the tales had, in the course of a long period of time, been subjected to numerous alterations and interpolations, it may be added that there has no doubt been a further accession of alterations of a similar kind during the five centuries that have elapsed since he wrote, but it may be regarded as no less certain that the tales, with their curious idealized pictures of Bedouin life, are still at the present day in every essential particular, identical with those handed down from a remote period to the days of Ibn Khaldūn, and the latter remarks that any expression of doubt upon their authenticity was apt to be warmly resented by the Banu Hilāl.

The Banu Muntafik, sons of 'Okayl, originally occupied the district of Arabia situated between Teyma and Nejd.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vi. p. 18. See De Slane's translation in his *Histoire des Berbères*, vol. i. p. 41.

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

Thence they removed to the marshy country in the neighbourhood of Baṣrah, known as Al Baṭā-ih, where they were governed by a family of the name of Ma'rūf. Their neighbours were here the Banu 'Āmir ibn 'Auf, a sister of the Muntafik, descended like itself from the Banu 'Okayl.

A third subtribe, also derived from these Banu 'Okayl, were the Banu Khafājah, who took up their abode in the deserts of 'Irāk. Ibn Khaldūn remarks of them that they were noted for their incorrigible turbulence and violence, a statement fully borne out by what we know of their history. In A.H. 452, Toghrul Beg, with the object of obtaining security for their more orderly conduct, appointed their chief to the government of the city of Baṣrah, an experiment which had been unsuccessfully tried by the Buweyhi princes. As had happened before, the authority of the Khafājis over a civilized community could not last. We find them, in A.H. 485, attacking and looting the caravans of pilgrims near Kufah, after which, making their headquarters in the city, they plundered and massacred the inhabitants. A few years later a sanguinary war took place between them and their kindred tribe the 'Obādahs, the consequence of a quarrel, which it must be said was carefully promoted by Seyf ed Daulah Sadakah, the wealthy and powerful chief and prince of Hillah, who openly encouraged one and secretly aided the other. In a severe fight with an army sent against them from Baghdad in A.H. 556, before they had retreated into the Syrian desert, their warriors distinguished themselves by appearing on the field of battle with water for the relief of their countrymen, but also with knives, with which they mercilessly slaughtered and wounded enemies. On more than one occasion the tribe were nearly exterminated. But the tribe was always remarkable for its vitality as for its turbulence, and it long continued to inhabit the district bordering upon the Euphrates below Kufah. The Moorish traveller Ibn 'Abd al-Barr passed through their country in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1326) and speaks of them as brave and powerful, but also as incorrigible.

robbers, infesting the roads leading to Kufah, and causing ruin both to the city and to its neighbourhood.

I shall have occasion more than once in the course of this paper to speak of the Banu Asad, and of their chiefs of the family of Mazyad, the founders, towards the end of the fourth century of the Hijrah, of a powerful principality on the banks of the Euphrates. The Banu Asad were a Modarite tribe, descended from Khuzaymeh, son of Modrikah, son of Ilyas, the latter brother of Kays 'Aylān, ancestor of the 'Okaylis and of the numerous other "Kaisy" tribes.

The Mazyadis, Princes of Hillah, were members of a sub-tribe of the Asadis, known as the Banu Nāshirah. The power of the Asadis in Irak was utterly destroyed by the Khalifah Al Mustanjid Billah in A.H. 558, in revenge for the support they had given to the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad, son of Mahmūd. They were attacked with the assistance of Ibn Ma'rūf, chief of the Banu Muntafiḳ, and 4000 of their warriors were slaughtered. A proclamation of outlawry was issued against them. The tribe utterly disappeared from 'Irāḳ, and the territories they held in the neighbourhood of the Banu Muntafiḳ were seized by the latter.

The most celebrated of the Mazyadi princes was Seyf ed Daulah Ṣadaḳah, who succeeded to the principality in A.H. 479, and was killed in A.H. 501, in a memorable battle, in which the Asadis and their allies suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sultan Muhammad, son of Malik Shah. Ṣadaḳah was the founder of the city of Hillah—*Hillat-es-Seyfiyah*, or *Hillat-al-Mazyadiyah*, which became the capital of the Mazyadis, and replaced the older town of al Jami'āni (the two Mosques), on the site of the ancient Babylon.

I have alluded to the treacherous conduct of Ṣadaḳah towards the Banu 'Obādah, a circumstance which nevertheless in no way interfered with his being regarded as one of the most celebrated heroes in Arab story, a theme for the praise both of historians and of poets, and among others of Al Ḥariri in his Maḳamāt. It must I think in truth be confessed that the claim for magnanimity of character, so freely urged by Arabs on their own behalf, and so generally accorded to them by other races, cannot

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

be said to be confirmed by the study of their history. Khafājīs, on at least one occasion, brought upon them severe punishment by an act of treachery committed in defiance of every rule of honest dealing, if not of hosp itself. At the battle of Dhu Kār, almost at the date of authentic Arab history, the Banu Iyad, one of the allies of the Persians, sent the enemy on the evening of the first Persian defeat, a promise to desert their allies and to inquire whether they should do so that evening or at the close of the course of the battle which was to be renewed the following day.<sup>1</sup> When the Carmathians invaded Egypt and the Arab allies, as soon as the fortune of war turned against them, set about attacking and plundering the Carmathian camp; and on the occasion of the second invasion, Hishām al Jarrūh the Tā-yite, "Amir of the Arabs of Syria," accepted a bribe of 100,000 dinars from the enemy, and deserted his friends on the field of battle. His was the tribe to which the famous Hātim the Tā-yite, the paragon and example of generosity, belonged. The record of Ibn al Jarrūh and of his grandson Al Mufarraǵ ibn Dagħfal is probably strictly historical. When Alftakīn fled from the field of battle which he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Fatimis, he sought refuge, perishing from thirst, with a friend Ibn Dagħfal. The latter received him in his house and forthwith hurried off to the Fatimite Al 'Azīz, to whom he sold his guest for a large sum in gold. These and other similar stories, it may be remarked, are given as dry facts of fact, and as a general rule without a word of comment.

Returning now to the Banu 'Okayl, another of the tribes remains to be noticed, namely, the Banu 'Okayl already hereinbefore alluded to. To that subtribe belongs Leyla al Akhyaliyah, so named after her ancestor, the son of Ar Rahāl, son of Mu'awiyah, son of 'Obāyah, named Al Akhyal, the freckled. Leyla lived in the time of the Umayyah Khalifah 'Abd al Malik, and attained considerable celebrity as a poet. Having towards the end of her life fallen into a state of poverty, she sought and obtained a

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. i. p. 358.

in the house of Al Hajjāj, one of whose wives on her arrival loaded her with jewels. Qays ibn Mallūh, surnamed Al Majnūn, the distracted, is said to have belonged to the same branch of the 'Okaylis. The loves of Majnūn and Leyla—who must not be confounded with the poetess just mentioned—form a subject widely celebrated throughout Eastern literature. Leyla is said to have belonged to the sister-tribe of Al Harish, son of Ka'b.

Ibn Khaldūn says that in his days the Banu 'Obādah inhabited, along with the Banu Muntafik, the country between Kufah, Wasit and Baṣrah, and he states, on the authority of Ibn Sa'īd, that the 'Okayli Princes of Mausiil and Mesopotamia, whose dynasty endured from about A.H. 380 to the latter end of the following century, belonged to that division of the tribe.<sup>1</sup> According to that same writer a remnant of them still occupied, in the thirteenth century, the district between the river Khāzir and the Zāb. They were few in numbers, only about one hundred horsemen, but he says they were much respected, and they were in receipt of allowances granted by the Governor of Mausiil. They were known under the designation of "Arabs of Sharaf ed Daulah." The 'Okayli Prince Sharaf ed Daulah Muslim, son of Qureysh, was killed in action with Sultan Suleyman, son of Qutlumish, near Antioch, in A.H. 478. His dominions included the greater part of Mesopotamia and extended from As-Sindiyyah, in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, to Mausiil, and thence to Aleppo in Syria.<sup>2</sup> With his death the more brilliant period of the 'Okayli principality came to an end, and its decline, of which the commencement may indeed be traced under his reign, now made rapid progress. Sharaf ed Daulah had married the aunt of Malik Shah, Safiyah, and had by her a son named Ali. On the death of Malik Shah in 485, the Princess became the wife of Sharaf ed Daulah's brother Ibrahim, who was defeated and killed in the following year

<sup>1</sup> Abu'l Hasan 'Alī ibn Sa'īd, the traveller and historian, is much quoted by Ibn Khaldūn. He was born at Granada in A.H. 610, and died at Tunis about 685 (A.D. 1286). He was a voluminous writer, and his works were held in high estimation, but, excepting in the form of quotations and extracts, to be found chiefly in Al Maḳkari, Al Maḳrīzi, and Ibn Khaldūn, none of his writings are known to be extant, other than a geographical treatise and a collection of lyrics compiled from the writings of the principal Arab poets down to his time.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al Athir, vol. x. p. 90.

near Maṣīl by Tutuṣh, the brother of Malik Shah. He appointed Ali Governor of Maṣīl, but was himself in A.H. 488. In A.H. 489 Maṣīl was besieged and taken by Ḳawwām ed Daulah Karbuḳa, a powerful Turkish adventurer formerly one of the nobles of Malik Shah, and whose name will perhaps be remembered by readers of Gibbon. A last Prince of his race, succeeded in escaping from the city and obtained protection at Al Hillah from Seyf ed Daulah Sadaḳah, the refuge, as he was called by his contemporaries, of the unfortunate and of all that were in distress.

But it is necessary to return to an earlier period in the history of the 'Okaylis. At the commencement of the eighth century of the Hijrah, they and other tribes of the 'Amir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah, still occupied their original haunts in Central Arabia. We find them with the Banu Ḳayl and Banu Ja'dah and in alliance with the Banu Naḳl taking part in a savage war with the Banu Ḥanīfah, a subtribe of the latter, the Banu Dūl, which broke out at the time of the Khalīfah al Walīd's death in A.D. 743-4. The Banu Ḥanīfah, who indeed were aggressors in the original quarrel, were eventually victorious. But the final triumph of their enemies was assured by the appointment of a Governor to Yamūmah, of the tribe of Fazārah, who, as the historian significantly remarks, considered himself a Ḳaysi, and who crushed the remaining power of the Banu Ḥanīfah with relentless severity.

The spirit of boastful defiance with which the Banu Ḥanīfah resented the treatment to which they were subjected, shows itself in the following lines composed on this occasion by one of their poets :

تضربونا بالسياط فاننا      ضربناكم بالمرهقات الصوارم  
لقوا منا الرؤوس فاننا      قطعنا رؤوسكم بالغلام  
Ye have scourged us with whips, but our blows have  
Dealt with as slender but sharp cutting swords.  
To humble us ye have shorn the hair from our heads  
But we have severed your heads from your bodies

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athir, vol. v. p. 228. The tribe of Ḥanīfah was derived from

The idea contained in the preceding lines bears a curiously close resemblance with the boast uttered many centuries later by the Turkish Grand Vizier to the Venetian ambassador, shortly after the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, which had closely followed upon the capture of the island of Cyprus from the Christians: "You have deprived us of our beards; but our beards will grow again, and we have struck off one of your limbs."

At about the same period as that of their feud with the Banu Ḥanifah, a branch of the 'Okaylis, was taking part in the civil war in Andalusia. On the appearance of the Pretender 'Abd ar Raḥmān, they deserted, not indeed without provocation, the cause of the Amīr Yusuf the Fihrite, and they took part in the re-establishment of the Umayyah Khalifate over the Arabs of Spain.<sup>1</sup>

The tribes belonging to the great sept of 'Amir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah emigrated from Arabia into Syria during the first years of the 'Abassi dynasty,<sup>2</sup> and it was in the plains of

of Bekr, son of Wa-il, and was descended from Rabi'ah, son of Nizar, whilst the 'Okaylis were, as already stated, one of the numerous tribes of the great sept of Kays 'Aylan, son of Modar, son of Nizar. Nizar was son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān, the descendant of Ismail.

Ilyās and Kays 'Aylan were the two sons of Modar. They and Rabi'ah, brother of the latter, are the fathers of the three great stems into which the Arab posterity of Ismail are mainly divided. The tribe of Kuraysh, to which the Prophet Muḥammad belonged, was descended from Ilyas. The main fact of the descent of 'Adnān from Ismail, the son of Abraham, is held to be beyond all dispute; but there is no authoritative teaching on the particulars of the line, nor even on the number of generations, between Ismail and 'Adnān. *Genealogists are liars*, is a traditional saying attributed to the Prophet, and he forbade all critical researches extending further back (see M. de Meynard's translation of *Al Mas'ūdi*, vol. iv. pp. 112 and 118).

Respecting Ma'add a tradition is preserved, and is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn, to the effect that when the Prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, under the inspiration of God, commanded Bukht Naṣṣar to take vengeance upon the Arabs for their iniquities, and for the murder of the Prophet Shu'ayb, son of Maḥdam, Ma'add was borne to a place of safety in Mesopotamia by the miraculous being Burāk, the same that subsequently carried Muḥammad from Mecca to Jerusalem. Ma'add was thus favoured because from his loins was to spring a noble Prophet, the seal of the apostles, a decree which, continues the writer, received its fulfilment. (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. pp. 30, 107, 237, 299-300.) See also Jeremiah xlix. 28; Isaiah xxi. 13 to 17, lx. 7; Judith ii. 23. (Caussin de Perceval, vol. i. p. 180.) Kaydḥār and Nūbit were sons of Ismail. They may doubtless be identified with the biblical *Kedar* and *Nabayoth*. It is not known with certainty which was the ancestor of 'Adnān. (Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 298.)

The Shu'ayb above mentioned, it must be remembered, is not the same as the prophet of the like name, who was sent to the Midianites.

<sup>1</sup> See Dozy's *Histoire des Mussulmans d'Espagne*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, vol. vi. p. 11.



## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

'Irāk that the 'Okaylis attained a celebrity which placed them to a not unimportant place in the history of the century of the Hijrah.

In the civil wars that followed upon the death of Khalifah Harūn ar Rashīd, Naṣr ibn Sayyār ibn al-'Okayli, upheld the cause of Al Amīn, and contended in opposition to Al Mamūn even after the former had been expelled from a strongly fortified castle, Kaisūm, which he possessed on the north of Aleppo, he overran the surrounding country. Large numbers of Arab and other adherents flocked to his standard, and with these reinforcements he crossed over to the eastern banks of the Euphrates. The celebrated general of Al Mamūn, was sent against him in A.H. 199. A sanguinary battle was fought near Kaisūm. The 'Okaylis suffered severely, but Tāhir was constrained to retreat to Ar Raḡḡah, on the Euphrates, and to confine himself with defending the country in his immediate neighbourhood. Naṣr meanwhile increased in power, and by the contentions that prevailed throughout the century continued for many years to defy the power of the Abbasids. At length, in A.H. 209, Kaisūm was closely invested by an army under the command of 'Abd Allah, son of Naṣr. Naṣr surrendered on a promise, confirmed by the Khalifah, of a free pardon for the past and of honourable treatment at Baghdad.<sup>1</sup>

When struggling against his powerful enemies, Naṣr urged to strengthen himself by recognizing the authority of one of the pretenders to the Khalifate, either of the 'Alī or of Umayyah. He refused, protesting that his duty was the protection of the Arabs. He resisted the Abbasids, solely because they sacrificed the influence and authority of their own countrymen to those of foreigners. He means disposed to recognize the supremacy of an Abbasid pretender to reverence due only to the Creator and to the divine bounty, and as little to submit to any measure that would place the fortunes of his family irretrievably gone.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. vi. pp. 274-5.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi. p. 216.

The shadow of the coming supremacy of the northern races of Asia over the Muhammadan empire was in fact already visible. Both political and military power may thenceforward be said to have gradually departed from the hands of the Arabs, by whom it has never again been recovered. It may be said of the 'Abassi Khalifahs themselves that they soon retained little of Arab nationality but the name and the use of the Arabic language. Al Mamūn was indeed himself the son of a Khorassani mother.

One of his subjects is said to have besought him, on one occasion, to extend the same favour to the Arabs of Syria as he displayed to the foreigners of Khorassan. "My good friend," answered the Khalifah, "you ask me more than is reasonable. The immediate result of my allowing the tribes of Ḳays to alight upon this country was that soon not a dirhem remained in the treasury." He here alluded, remarks the historian, to the insurrection of Naṣr ibn Shabath. "As to the tribes of Yaman," continued the Khalifah, "I neither like them, nor have they any love for me. As for the people of Ḳudā'ah, they are eagerly looking for the re-appearance of As Sufiāni with the purpose of supporting him in his pretensions. And as to the tribes of Rabī'ah, they have been rebels to God ever since his Prophet was raised from the seed of Moḍar, and no two of them can enter into an undertaking but one of the two seeks a pretext of quarrel with the other. Begone, and evil fortune attend you!"<sup>1</sup>

Ḳudā'ah is generally regarded as one of the Yamani tribes descended from Hīmyar. But the question has been much disputed, and, according to some authorities, they were Ismailian Arabs, descended from Ma'add, son of 'Adnān. The Yamani origin of the tribe is that most generally accepted, and it is said to be confirmed by the authority of the Prophet.<sup>2</sup> It is stated that the mother of Ḳudā'ah, the

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. vi. p. 305. In the concluding sentence I adopt the version given by At Tabari (Leyden ed. vol. iii. p. 1142) **أَغْرَبْتُ فَعَلَ اللَّهُ بَكَ**. Under the same authority the word **شَارِبًا** is substituted for **ثَالِثًا** in the sentence **أَلَا وَخَرَجَ أَحَدُهُمَا شَارِبًا**.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 242.

ancestor of the tribe, was taken in marriage by Ma'add the birth of the son she bore to her first husband Mālī Himyar, and the author of the *Tāj al 'Arūs* quotes a that the habit of attributing a man's parentage to his father is well known to have prevailed among the The same author adds that the controversy is mentioned in Ibn al Athīr's (abridgment of the) *Kitāb al Ansāb* relates also that a celebrated genealogist, being asked whether the tribes of Nizar (son of Ma'add) or the Yaman were most numerous, answered that it would depend upon whether the tribe of Kudā'ah were reckoned as belonging to the one or to the other.<sup>2</sup>

The Banu Kelb, one of the leading subtribes of Kudā'ah, were the principal supporters of the party of As Sufiāni. He claimed to be a descendant of the Umayyā through his father, and of Ali the son-in-law of the Prophet through his mother. He rebelled in A.H. 198, but contrived to make his escape disguised as a woman. So late as one hundred years after that a man was arrested in Syria, who claimed to be As Sufiāni.

In the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, the city of Kīrkīsīa (on the Euphrates, at the mouth of the Khabur) in the possession of an 'Okayli chief, Ibn al 'Okayl, who it may be presumed was son of Ṣafwān, a member of the same tribe, mentioned by Al Mas'ūdi as Prince of Moḍar, and who, he states, died in A.H. 253, in the city of Samarra.<sup>4</sup> A dinar struck at Kīrkīsīa, bearing the name of Muhammad ibn Ṣafwān, and the date A.H. 275, was found in the collection of the late Mr. Rogers, and is now the property of the Egyptian Government.

According to Ibn al Athīr, whose account is identical with that given by Aṭ Ṭabari,<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ṣafwān was dispossessed

<sup>1</sup> This work is mentioned in the *Kashf* of Zūnūn under the heading *Ansāb*, and in Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> See also Al Mas'ūdi, vol. iii. p. 215, vol. vi. p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. vii. p. 382.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. vi. p. 396. Samarra is a town on the Tigris, at no great distance from Baghdad. Diar Rabi'ah and Diar Moḍar may be described as respectively the Eastern and Western portions of North Mesopotamia.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. vii. p. 276; Aṭ Ṭabari, part iii. p. 2028.

Kirkisīa in A.H. 269, six years previous to the above date, by Lulu, the freedman of Ahmad ibn Ṭulūn. Lulu, who was Governor of Aleppo, Hims, Kinnisserin and Diar Moḍar, rebelled against his master, and joined Al Muwaffik, brother and vicegerent of the reigning Khalīfah. Lulu delivered Kirkisīa to Ahmad son of Mālik ibn Ṭauḡ,<sup>1</sup> but the latter in Shawwāl of the same year was attacked at Ar Rahabah by Muhammad Ibn Abu's-Sāj, governor of Al Anbar, on the Euphrates, and adjacent districts, and was driven into Syria. In A.H. 273, the jealousy that existed between Ibn Abu's-Sāj and Ishāk ibn Kundāj (or Kundājik), Governor of Mauṣil, brought about a war between them, in which each successively deserted the cause of the Abassis and recognized the supremacy of Khamaraweyh the Tulunite, receiving in reward assistance against his rival. Ibn Abu's-Sāj was eventually defeated and compelled to seek refuge at Baghdad in A.H. 276, abandoning his dominions, which passed into the hands of Ibn Kundāj. The date of the dinar may perhaps authorize us to infer that Ibn Ṣafwān during the struggle between the two rivals was allowed to regain possession of the city.

About the year 286 the 'Okaylis and other Arabs of the Kaisy stem recognized the spiritual and temporal authority of Abu Sa'id al Jannābi, the founder of the Carmathian dynasty in Arabia. With their assistance he besieged and conquered Hajar. He soon afterwards added Qatif, then the whole of Bahrayn, and ere long he established a power on the shores of the Persian Gulf, which became the terror of the Muhammadan world.

But the Carmathian dominion, as is well known, was almost as remarkable for the rapidity of its decline as for that of its rise. The dissensions that followed after the death of Al Jannābi, in A.H. 332, increased in violence after the death, in A.H. 366, of his grandson, Abu Ali al Hasan

<sup>1</sup> Malik ibn Ṭauḡ, of the tribe of Taghlib, was a military commander under Harūn ar Rashīd, and a lineal descendant of 'Amru ibn Kulthūm, a celebrated poet and warrior of the Ante-Islamic period and author of one of the seven Mu'allakāt. Malik was founder of the city of Raḥabah, named after him Raḥabat Malik ibn Ṭauḡ. He died in A.H. 280.

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL

ibn Ahmad al Ā'sam, under whose authority the Carmathians renounced their spiritual allegiance to the Isma'ili Fatimite Khalifas, and recognized the supremacy of the Abassids. They returned to their former obedience in A.H. 375, but their power had now completely broken. In A.H. 378 they were attacked, at the instigation of the Abassids, by a Taghlabite chief Abu'l Ḥasan al Aḥṣa. According to Ibn Khaldūn,<sup>1</sup> he possessed himself of the capital Al Aḥsa, and the writer adds that Al Aḥṣa's descendants thenceforward held the Carmathians in a state of complete subjection. That statement is not borne out by the evidence of other historians,<sup>2</sup> nor by that of the traveller Nāṣir Khusruw, who visited Al Aḥsa in A.H. 453, and it seems more probable that the dominion of the Taghlabite chiefs did not extend beyond the exact tribute.<sup>3</sup>

Among the Arab tribes, or sections of tribes, that inhabit the province of Bahrayn and its neighbourhood, the Sulaym and Banu 'Okayl were for warlike strength second to the Taghlibis. After the defeat of the Carmathians, Al Aḥṣa prevailed upon the 'Okaylis to combine with him, and with their aid he drove the Banu Sulaym from the country. They joined the rest of their tribe in the north, and thence passed over into Africa as already stated. Al Aḥṣa, having got rid of one of his rivals, now turned against the other. The 'Okaylis were in their turn attacked and driven forth. They sought refuge in 'Irāq, when they appear to have proceeded to Mesopotamia, and there joined their brethren, who had ere this laid the foundation of the 'Okayli Principality of Maṣīl.

The tribes of the stem of the Banu 'Āmir ibn al Aḥṣa, as already mentioned, emigrated from Arabia in the latter years of the Abassi dynasty, and, as may be inferred from the words of Al Mamūn (see *supra*, p. 502), it was probably under his reign that they alighted upon the plains of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> See de Goeje, *Memoire sur les Carmathes*.

in large numbers. They had, however, been preceded by many other Arab settlers, and, among others, by the tribe of Taghlib. The latter and its sister-tribe the Banu Bekr (supra, p. 499, *note*) were the two subdivisions of the Banu Wā'il, and belonged therefore to the great stem of Rabī'ah, brother of Moḍar and son of Nizār. They settled in that portion of Mesopotamia known as *Diār Rabī'ah*, the abode of Rabī'ah, before the advent of Islām.<sup>1</sup> They had adopted Christianity, entered into alliances with the Romans, and, along with the Ghassānis, they fought against the Muslims, when the latter invaded and conquered Syria. The Khalifah Omar imposed upon them the *Jizyah*, or capitation tax, exacted according to Muhammadan law from Jewish and Christian subjects; but at the entreaties of the Taghlibites, to spare them the humiliation which the term *Jizyah* inflicted upon them in the eyes of the Arabs, he consented to the tax being levied under the name of *double tithes*.<sup>2</sup>

In the third century of the Hijrah, an ambitious and powerful chief, Ḥamdān ibn Ḥamdūn, raised himself to eminence among the Banu Taghlib, and laid the foundations of the Ḥamdani Principality of Maṣīl and Aleppo. During the greater part of the following century, the Hamdanis held a position of acknowledged supremacy over the Arab tribes that had spread themselves on the plains between Mesopotamia and Syria, and on the banks of the Euphrates. The Banu Ṭay as well as the 'Okaylis, the Banu Kilāb, the Banu Numayr and the Khafājahs, were, in the words of Ibn Khaldūn, the subjects of the Hamdanis, paying them tribute and supplying them with military aid.<sup>3</sup> But the rule of the Hamdani Princes, brilliant as it was under the two brothers, Nāṣir ed Daulah al Ḥusayn and Seyf ed Daulah Ali, the Princes of Maṣīl and of Aleppo, did not long

<sup>1</sup> The district occupied by the Banu Bekr received the name of *Diār Bekr*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iv. p. 227. It was between the Banu Taghlib and Banu Bekr that a feud arose, the incidents of which are renowned in Arab history, and which is said to have lasted forty years. And it was shortly after its termination, and not long before the appearance of Islām, that the Taghlibites removed to Syria and thence to Mesopotamia. See Fresnel, *Lettres sur l'histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme*. Ibn al Athīr, vol. i. p. 384 *et seq.* and p. 397, *etc.*

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iv. p. 254.

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

endure. Seyf ed Daulah died in A.H. 356, and his deposed the same year by his son Abu Taghlib, years later. Mausil was taken in A.H. 367 by Daulah the Buweyhi. Abu Taghlib fled from accompanied by a strong party of his followers, various wanderings, arrived in 369 in Syria. Then summoned by the Fatimite Khalifah Al 'Aziz to invitation which he hesitated to obey. A considerable number of the 'Okayli tribe were at the time encamped in the plains of Southern Syria. They had incurred the wrath of Ibn Daghfal, chief of the Ta-yites, and applied to Abu Taghlib for his assistance. He encamped in their neighbourhood, whereupon Ibn Daghfal in alarm marched against them. The 'Okaylis, perceiving the large numbers of the enemy, deserted their ally *en masse* and left him to face the enemy with his followers alone, numbering in all a few hundred men. They were completely defeated, and Abu Taghlib himself taken prisoner. Ibn Daghfal, fearing that he would treat his prisoner with the same clemency shown to Alftakin (*supra* p. 497), put him to death and his head was sent to Cairo. The sister of Abu Taghlib, and his wife, who was daughter of his uncle Seyf ed Daulah, fell into the hands of the 'Okaylis. They sent them to the deposed Daulah, who had succeeded his father in the Principality of Aleppo. He took charge of his own sister, the wife of his cousin, and sent Jamilah to the Buwayhi Governor of Mausil, by whom she was sent on to Baghdad. The treatment she received at the hands of 'Aḍad ed Daulah was as would hardly be expected from a far more cruel ruler. Having undergone about two years' imprisonment, she was drowned in the Tigris, after being carried through the streets of Baghdad, mounted on a camel, which was proclaimed: "This is Princess Ugly (Kabiḥah), the Discomfited (Abu Maghlüb),"—a brutal play on the names of her own and her brother's names, Jamilah (Camilla), and Taghlib, *Victor* or more literally *Vinces*.

The power of the Hamdāni dynasty fell now into complete decay, and the tribes hitherto under their

recovered their independence and the power to seek the fulfilment each of its own ambition.<sup>1</sup> The Banu Ṭa-y established themselves in the district extending from Ramleh to Egypt. Ṣālih ibn Mirdās, Chief of the Banu Kilāb, took possession of the country between Aleppo and 'Ānah on the Euphrates. In A.H. 414 he succeeded in possessing himself of Aleppo, where he and his descendants ruled until the dynasty came to an end in A.H. 473, when Sharaf ed Daulah Muslim, son of Ḳuraysh, the 'Okayli, took the city and held it for a short time under the supremacy of Malik Shah.

In A.H. 379 the Amir of the 'Okaylis was Abu'dh Dhawwād Muhammad, son of Al Musayyib, son of Rāfi', son of Al Muḳallid, son of Ja'fir, son of 'Omar, son of Muhanna.<sup>2</sup> The sons of Naṣir ed Daulah the Hamdāni, Abu Abd Allah and Abu Ṭāhir, had that year recovered possession of Maṣil, but, threatened by the neighbouring Kurds, they applied to the 'Okayli chief for assistance, which he granted, receiving as his reward the towns of Nasibin, Jazīrat ibn 'Omar and Balad.

Aided by Abu'dh Dhawwād, the Hamdānis attacked the Kurdish army, which was defeated and put to flight. The Hamdānis endeavoured to follow up their success over their enemies, but the latter were in their turn victorious. Abu Abd Allah was taken prisoner. Abu Ṭāhir fled in the direction of Naṣibin. Here he was attacked by his late ally Abu'dh Dhawwād, who took him prisoner and put him to death. Abu'dh Dhawwād then marched upon Maṣil, and took possession of the city and of the surrounding country.

His first act was to recognize the supremacy of the Buwayhi Prince Baha ed Daulah, and at his request an official was sent from Baghdad as Governor of the Province.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Khaldūn, vol. iv. p. 272; Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Khallikan in his life of Al Muḳallid gives the remainder of the chief's pedigree as follows, namely, Al Muhanna Abd er Raḥman, son of Bura'id, son of Abd Allah, son of Zayd, son of Ḳays, son of Jūtha, son of Tahfa, son of Hazn, son of 'Okayl. Reckoning three generations to a century, we arrive at A.D. 424, as the period of Amir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah, the great-grandfather of 'Okail, a fair approximation to M. Caussin de Perceval's calculations, according to which Amir ibn Ṣa'sa'ah was born about A.D. 381. It will be observed that this pedigree does not confirm Ibn Sa'id's statement that the Princes of Maṣil belonged to the 'Okayli subtribe of 'Obādah.



## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

The representative of Baha ed Daulah was, however no more than nominal authority, and all real power cised by Abu'dh Dhawwād. An army was consequently despatched by the Buwayhi prince against the and it recaptured Mauṣil towards the end of A.H. 386.

Abu'dh Dhawwād died in 386, and the 'Okaylis recognised his brother Ali as his successor to the chieftainship, to admit a claim put forward by Al Muḳallid, a brother. The latter induced his brother to join an attack upon Mauṣil. He had contrived to considerable portion of the garrison from their a. The governor fled down the river, anxious only to private property, and the two brothers took possession of the city. It was agreed between them that the sovereignty should belong to them jointly, with preference to Ali. The latter returned to his encampment, leaving his brother in possession.

Al Muḳallid defeated a force despatched against Baghdad, but sent excuses and professions of loyalty to Baha ed Daulah. The latter was sufficiently occupied in defending himself against his brother, Ṣamṣam ed Daulah, and found it expedient to grant terms of peace to the ambitious and energetic Arab chief. It was agreed that Al Muḳallid should be appointed ruler over Mauṣil, Al Kaṣr, and Jami'ān, that he should be invested with the regal dress of honour, that he should receive the title of Husām ed Daulah (the Sword of the Empire), that he should pay a tribute of 10,000 dinars. It was stipulated that he should exact from the towns under his control no more than the customary dues lawfully payable to him as their protector. This last obligation was owing to a remark of the historian, completely neglected.

Fresh disputes had meanwhile broken out between Al Muḳallid and Ali, the latter supported by the Ḥasan. Al Muḳallid now resolved to possess himself of the person of his rival. The two brothers were occupying

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 89.

tigious houses at Maṣīl. Al Muḳallid broke through the partition wall, seized his brother Ali, who was indulging in a debauch, and was helpless from the effects of wine, and imprisoned him. He then forthwith sent word to his wife, who was at an encampment he possessed four parasangs from Tekrīt, on the Euphrates, between Maṣīl and Baghdad, desiring her immediately to escape with his two sons, Kīrwash and Badrūn, and to seek safety within the walls of the town from the attempts he foresaw would be made against them by their uncle Ḥasan. The latter, in fact, on hearing of what had occurred at Maṣīl, hastened to the encampment, but arrived too late.

The two brothers, each supported by a portion of the tribe, now prepared for open war. Their armies advanced to within one stage of one another, and halted near 'Alth, on the eastern side of the Tigris. Here Al Muḳallid was joined by several of the leading men of the tribe, and among others by his kinsmen the two brothers Abu Dir'a Rāfi' and Abu Sinan Gharīb, sons of Muhammad, son of Ma'n. Opinions were divided as to the wisdom of having recourse to violence, whereby a civil war must inevitably be kindled in the tribe. Whilst they were disputing, a message was brought to Al Muḳallid that his sister Rahīlah had come and desired to see him. He immediately mounted and joined her, and through her influence peace was concluded. Friendship was sworn between the brothers. Ali was set at liberty, his property restored to him, and he returned to his tents.

Al Muḳallid now set out against Abu'l Hasan Ali ibn Mazyad the Asadi, who during these troubles had espoused the cause of Ali, and had made incursions into Al Muḳallid's territories. But the 'Okayli chief soon received tidings that Ali, taking advantage of his absence, had marched upon Maṣīl, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the town. He immediately turned back and his two brothers in alarm made fresh offers of peace which were accepted. Ali died in A.H. 390, and Al Ḥaṣan took his place as nominal chief of the tribe, but was attacked and speedily put to flight by Al Muḳallid, aided by the Banu Khafājah. The

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

latter continued henceforward in undisputed possession of the Principality of Maṣīl and of the chieftainship of the tribe of 'Okayl, until he perished in A.H. 391 (A.D. 1000) assassinated by his Turkish mamluks at Al Anbār. Muḳallid's dominions included, at the time of his death, besides Maṣīl, the cities of Kaṣr, Kūfah, Al Jamīl, Anbār, Al Madā'in and Daḳūka.<sup>1</sup> He was succeeded by his son Mo'tamad ed Daulah Abu Manī' Kīrwash, who reigned prolonged itself until A.H. 442, when he was deposed by his brother Za'im ed Daulah Abu Kāmil.

A translation into German of Ibn Khaldūn's history of the 'Okayli Principality of Maṣīl was published some years ago by M. Tiesenhausen, which, with the numerous corrections added by the learned translator, makes it superfluous for me to attempt entering into a detailed account of the history of the 'Okayli dynasty.

But a branch of the family acquired at the same time a position of influence and dignity, which almost equalled that of the ruling dynasties of the country, its being numbered among the ruling dynasties of the country.

The 'Okayli Princes of Maṣīl are distinguished by historians as *Al Musayyib*, the family of Musayyib, given by them as has been shown, of Al Muḳallid. The other great family is known as Banu Ma'n, and were the descendants of a son of Al Muḳallid, who was consequently the common ancestor of both.<sup>2</sup> The subjoined genealogical table shows more clearly the connection between the two families. It has been compiled from the Chronicles of Ibn al-Athīr, with the exception of the descent of Muḥarish and the name of Abu'l Murrākh Muṣa'ab, son of Al Muḳallid.

<sup>1</sup> *Kaṣr* (castle) is a name borne by a large number of places. *Kaṣr* is probably that referred to in the text, is situated on the Tigris. *Al Jamīl* has already been stated, stood on the banks of the Euphrates, on the site of ancient Babylon. *Al Anbār* also on the Euphrates, ten parasangs from Baghdad. *Al Madā'in*, on the Tigris, was the name given by the Arabs to the ancient cities of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, a short distance below Baghdad. *Daḳūka* is situated east of the Tigris, on the road from Baghdad to Irbil.

<sup>2</sup> The name is printed in the Leyden Edition of Ibn al-Athīr as *Ma'n* (من) so also in Ibn Khallikan, but elsewhere I find it invariably written as *Ma'n*. There can be little doubt that the latter is the correct spelling, and it occurs thus written in one at least of the MSS. used by Professor Wright (see vol. ix. p. 136).

which I have obtained from M. de Slane's translation of the Ibn Khallikan (vol. i. p. 173, and vol. iii. pp. 418 and 423. See also Professor Tiesenhhausen's note No. 17).

Abu Abd Allah Muhammad, son of Ma'n, died in A.H. 401 (A.D. 1010), at the age, it is alleged, of 110 years. He is said to have been present with the Carmathians when they removed the Black Stone from the temple of Mecca, an event which occurred in A.H. 317. He is described as a man of extreme avarice.

I have had occasion to mention his two sons, Abu Sinan Gharib and Abu Dira' Rāfi'. The former, who held, as will presently be seen, the double title of Kamāl ed Daulah and Seyf ed din, appears to have been born about the year 355. He witnessed therefore, and probably took an active part in, the rise of the 'Okayli power under Abu'dh Dhawwād; but we first hear of him in A.H. 387, when, as before mentioned, he and his brother Rāfi' took part in the dissensions between Al Muḳallid and Ḥaṣan, the sons of Al Musayyib. On that occasion, we are told, Rāfi' was in favour of war, whilst Gharib recommended a settlement of the dispute by peaceful means.

In A.H. 411 we find Gharib in alliance with Nur ed Daulah Dubays the Asadi. Aided by troops from Baghdad, they attacked Gharib's kinsman Kirwāsh, the Prince of Maṣīl, and utterly defeated him. Kirwāsh and Rāfi', son of Al Husayn and cousin of Gharib, were both taken prisoners, but through Gharib's influence they were soon released. The allies, however, followed up their victory by the capture of Takrīt. Six years later Kirwash had again to defend himself against the Asadis, who on this occasion were aided by the Banu Khafāji. This was followed in the same year by an alliance between Rāfi' ibn al Husayn, seconded by an 'Okayli chief, Najdat ed Daulah ibn Qurād, and Badrān the brother of Kirwash. The latter was, however, on the present occasion, supported by Abu Sinān Gharib, and by reinforcements supplied to him by the Merwanis, placing a total force of 13,000 men at his command. The two armies met near

Balad (on the Tigris, seven parasangs from Maṣīl), and an indecisive action was fought, in which heavy losses were suffered on both sides. A pause ensued, and a dramatic scene followed, which brought the war to an end. Najdat ed Daulah stepped forward and embraced Gharīb between the arrayed ranks. Abu'l Faḍl Badrān did the same to his brother Kīrwash, and terms of peace were soon arranged.

The full name and title of the hero on that occasion, as they may be gathered from a comparison of the passages in which he is mentioned (Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. pp. 116, 249, 265 and 297), seems to have been Najdat ed Daulah Kāmil Abu Maṣūr Tharwān, son of Kūrād. It seems probable that he is the same person as is afterwards mentioned (pp. 402 and 410) as Kāmil ibn Muhammad ibn al Musayyib, Prince of Al Ḥaḍīrah.<sup>1</sup> The latter must, however, almost unquestionably have been son of Abu Dhawwād, whilst Najdat ed Daulah is represented as son of Kūrād, a name which nowhere else appears. The difficulty may perhaps be overcome when it is considered how easily in Arab manuscript the word كراد may be misread for نراد. The hostility of Najdat ed Daulah to Kīrwash may be explained by the ingratitude and scandalous treachery with which the latter requited the services he received from his kinsman, on the death of his father, Al Mukallid, in A.H. 391.<sup>2</sup>

In the unsuccessful campaign of Kīrwāsh against the Banu Khafājah, which followed immediately after the events above related, and which resulted in the loss of his possessions on the Euphrates, he was again supported by Gharīb.

In 420 Nur ed Daulah Dubays the Asadī, who had involved himself in hostilities with Jalāl ed Daulah the Buwayhi, fled for refuge to Najdat ed Daulah, by whom he was placed under the protection of Abu Sinān Gharīb, and

<sup>1</sup> Al Ḥaḍīrah was a town two days' journey from Baghdad, on the road to Maṣīl. Ibn Kūrād is spoken of in 391 and 420 as dwelling at Sindīyyah, and Kāmil in 410 as possessing an encampment at Bardān. Both these places are in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and at a short distance from one another.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 116.

through the latter's influence and assistance, Dubays was restored to his dominions.

In the following year strife again broke out between Gharīb himself and his cousin Abu'l Musayyib Rāfi', son of Husayn. Gharīb collected a strong force of Arabs and Kurds, and with further reinforcements of well-appointed troops supplied to him by Jalāl ed Daulah, he laid siege to Takrīt, a town on the Tigris above Baghdad, which was subject to Rāfi'. The latter had gone to Mauṣil, where he obtained the alliance of Kīrwāsh, with whom he marched against the enemy. On their approach, Gharīb abandoned the siege and fell upon the army of the allies. Through the treachery of some of his own people, who seized the opportunity to attack and plunder his baggage and that of the Buwayhi troops, Gharīb was defeated and put to flight. He was pursued by Kīrwash and Rāfi' to his Bedouin encampment, which, however, they not only refrained from molesting, but actually protected from injury. Peace was soon concluded, and friendly relations between them resumed.

In 423, when Jalāl ed Daulah Abu Ṭāhir the Buwayhi was driven out of Baghdad by the Turkish soldiers, he took refuge at 'Okbara, a town on the eastern bank of the Tigris, not far from Baghdad, which, as will presently be seen, appears to have been subject at that time to Gharīb, whilst his wazīr, Abu Ishāk es Sahali, fled to the Arab chief's tents. Jalāl ed Daulah remained at 'Okbara forty-three days, at the end of which, the Khutbah having been restored in his name, he returned to Baghdad.

Abu Sinān Gharīb died in A.H. 425 at Samarra, aged seventy years, leaving in treasure alone a sum of 500,000 dinars. He is stated to have been succeeded by his son Abu 'r Rayān, of whom there appears to be no further record. Another son is however mentioned by Ibn al Athīr, Abu'l Hindi Bilal, who in A.H. 441 was in possession of the towns of Hārba, Nahr Beyṭar and Awāna,<sup>1</sup> granted to him

<sup>1</sup> 'Okbara and Awāna are situated on the opposite banks of the Tigris about ten parasangs above Baghdad. Hārba and Nahr Beyṭar were two small towns at a short distance from the others.

# HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

by Za'im ed Daulah Abu Kamil, the brother and son of Kirwash.

Ibn al Athir states that Gharib bore the *laḳab* of Daulah. Elsewhere (p. 288 B) he calls him Kirwash Daulah. He goes on to say that Gharib struck dirham which he gave the name of *Seyfiyyah* (sword piece) which became possessed some years ago of a dirhem struck at 'Okbara in A.H. 422, which seems to be one of these coins, and which, as far as my knowledge goes, is a specimen of the coinage of the Princes of the family Ma'n known to be extant. It bears the impress of Gharib and the inscriptions go to prove that Gharib bore the title of *Kamāl ed Daulah* and *Seyf ed Din*, "Perfecting State and Sword of the Faith." The diameter of the coin which is in a good state of preservation, is  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in and weighs 54 grains. The inscriptions are as follows:

*Obverse*: Area. Surmounted by a small crescent: | 4

شريك له | القادر بالله | ولى عهده | القائم

Marginal legend. رب هذا الدرهم بعكبرا سنة اثننتين  
اربع مائه

*Reverse*: Area | صلى الله عليه وآله |  
شاه انشاء | ابو طاهر الامير | كمال الدولة |

On the dexter side, a straight sword. Sinister side  
"The Sword of the Faith."

Marginal legend محمد رسول الله الخ ending with ن

The coin gives us therefore the following names: the reigning Khalifah, Al Kādir Billah, who died in Hijjah, 422, the closing month of the year in which the dirhem was struck. That of the Khalifah's son and successor, Abu Ja'fir Abd Allah, Al Kā-im bi amr Ilah in A.H. 421 was at a public assembly solemnly proclaimed heir to the Khalifate. That of 'Okbara, the place of the mint. And finally that of the Buwayhi Prince Abu Tāhir, son of Jalāl ed Daulah, son of Baha ed Daulah, who reigned

'Irāk from A.H. 418 to A.H. 435, and whom Abu Sinan Gharib recognizes as his superior. Jalāl ed Daulah was proclaimed successor to his brother Musharrif ed Daulah on the latter's death in Rabī'al Awwal, 416; but it was not until the month of Ramadan, 418, that he ventured or was able to enter Baghdad and to assume the direction of the Government. His reign was chiefly marked by gross insubordination on the part of his Turkish troops. They repeatedly rose against him, and he was more than once compelled to fly from the city, whilst the soldiery broke down the gates of his palace and plundered it. On one occasion they attacked his wazir 'Umayd ed Daulah. They beat him, drove him from his house barefooted, dragged his clothes off his back, tore up his turban and wrenched off his rings with such violence that his fingers bled. The wazir threw himself at the feet of his master, complaining of the treatment he had undergone. "I am the son of Baha ed Daulah," answered the latter, "and I have suffered even greater indignity." Jalāl ed Daulah died in A.H. 435. "Whoever," remarks the historian, "considers the weakness of his character, the violence to which he was subjected, and the lengthened period over which his reign was nevertheless prolonged, must clearly perceive that God's power encompasseth all things, that *He giveth sovereignty unto whom He willeth and that He taketh it from whom He willeth*" (Kuran iii. 25).<sup>1</sup>

The title Shahin Shah, which appears upon the coin, was commonly borne by the Buwayhis, and both it and its Arabic equivalent, Mālik al Mulūk, *King of Kings*, are to be found on the coinage of Baha ed Daulah. It seems somewhat singular to read that, when in A.H. 429 Jalāl ed Daulah applied for a grant of the Arabic rendering of the title, as openly borne by his father, the Khalīfah displayed the utmost unwillingness, and finally referred the question of its lawfulness to the decision of five jurists. A majority of four decided in the affirmative, and the title was consequently inserted in the Khutbah, but the question is said to have been obstinately disputed by the dissentient.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athir, vol. ix. pp. 288b, 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 312.



Gharīb's brother Shahāb ed Daulah Abu Dir'a I in 406. Under the date A.H. 397 Ibn al Athīr relates the Kurdish chief Abu'l Fath, son of 'Annaz (who succeeded in 401 by his son Abu'sh Shōk), took refuge with Abu Dir'a from Bedr, son of Husnaweyh, who had expelled him of the towns Hulwan and Kirmīsīn. Bedr sent Shahab ed Daulah a message, in which, after alluding to the friendship that existed between him and his father, he reproached him with harbouring an enemy he desired him to expel Abu'l Fath. The Arab refused. Bedr thereupon sent an army to his territories, situated on the eastern bank of the Tigris. The country was plundered, Shabab ed Daulah's tents at Al Muṭīrah were burnt, and the castle of Bardān, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, underwent the same fate.

Most of these 'Okayli princes enjoyed some reputation as poets. The following lines are given by Ibn al Athīr as a specimen of Shahāb ed Daulah's art (vol. ix. p. 183)

أبكى في الديار تأسفاً      لبين خليل أو فراق حبيب  
تُرى الربع لا شك أنه      هو الربع فاضت مقلتي بغروب  
دهرى ناسياً فوجدته      اخا غييراً لا تنقضى وخطوب  
أبنا الزمان فلم أجد      من الناس خدناً حافظاً لمغيب  
منهم حافظ لذمامه      ولا ناصر يرمى جوار قريب

"I cease not to fill the tents with lamentations,  
Bewailing our separation, the absence of the beloved.  
I stood on the well-remembered spot, the now  
encampment,

And my eyes overflowed with torrents of tears.  
Unheeding I have trusted to Fortune, and have found  
Changeful and aimless, but ever attended with affliction.  
I have sought the society of contemporaries and neighbours,  
But no friendship have I found true and faithful to the call.  
No strong and shielding arm prompt to obey the calls

<sup>1</sup> Al Muṭīrah is situated on the Tigris above Baghdad, near Samarra, at a short distance below Takrīt.

I have had occasion to mention Gharīb's cousin, Abu'l Musayyib Rāfi', son of Husayn, son of Ma'n. He was Lord of Takrīt, where he also, in A.H. 427, afforded a temporary refuge to Jalāl ed Daulah. Rāfi' died that same year. He is described as remarkable for bravery and for determination of character. He had lost one of his hands, which was accidentally struck off by the slave of a kinsman at a drinking party, in the course of a quarrel over which the disputants had drawn their swords, and which Rāfi' was endeavouring to appease. An artificial hand was made for him, with which he was able to manage his horse, and the loss did not incapacitate him from taking his part in battle.

The following is given by Ibn al Athīr as a specimen of his poetic talents :

لها ريقه استغفر الله انها الذ واشهى فى النفوس من الخمر  
وصارم طرف لا يزائل جفنه ولم ارسيفاً قط فى جفنه يفرى  
فقلت لها والعيس تحدى بالضحى اعدى لى تقدى ما استطعت من الصبر  
مانفق ريعان الشبيبة انفاً على طلب العلياء وطلب الاجر  
ليس من الخسران ان لياليا تمر بلا نفع وتحسب من عُمري

"The dew upon her lips (I implore forgiveness of God!)

Is sweeter and more enticing to the soul than wine.

Piercing glances never cease to dart forth from beneath her eyelids :

Those eyes, keen-edged swords, which wound without quitting their sheaths.

I exclaimed as the morn's grey light came bearing forth a new day,

'Be disdainful over my absence by virtue of the cruel indifference thou displayest!

Henceforth my days of youth will be directed to the noble object

Of seeking a high estate, of earning the brilliant rewards of ambition.

Is it not a signal loss that my nights pass away in vain desires, And yet are counted against me in the reckoning of my life?"

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

Rāfi' was succeeded by his nephew, Abu Man'ah b. son of Taghlib, who, it is said, found in his uncle's tent at Takrit a sum of upwards of 500,000 dinars, gold and silver plate.<sup>1</sup> Khamīs was living in exile at the time of Rāfi's death, and the first use he made of his inheritance was to conciliate his suzerain, Jalāl ed Daulah, by an offering of 80,000 dinars.

It may here be observed that these Arab chiefs, exercising rulership over principalities, towns, and outlying districts, did not abandon their national habits, but continued to live with their families in tents and in the midst of their tribesmen. But that mode of life did not preclude the existence of a taste for pomp and luxury, and for the display of wealth, represented by numerous slaves of both sexes as well as black, of valuable horses, of gold and silver utensils, and of costly weapons and fabrics. After the death of Kirwāsh, in A.H. 392, by the Buwayhi troops, they marched upon the encampment of his ally on that occasion, Abu'l Hasan Ali ibn Mazyad the Asadi, which they did in a manner and in which, the historian tells us, they found an abundance of valuables in the shape of coin, precious metals and beyond all powers of estimation. It was only after the founding of Al Hillah that Seyf ed Daulah Ṣaṣāḡah, grandson of Abu'l Hasan, renounced tent life. This is also enough to show that these Arab princes were altogether free from the laxity in matters of religion which their Bedouin countrymen are noted for. It is said of the 'Okayli prince Kirwash, that he married two sisters, his wife's being pointed out to him that he was infringing religious law, he answered with the question: "How is there in our customs that is lawful according to the religious code?" He piously congratulated himself on the fact that all he had on his conscience was the sin of five or six Bedouin Arabs. As for townspeople, God will demand no account of them.<sup>2</sup>

Khamīs had to defend himself against an attempt

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 307; vol. x. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 403.

part of Kīrwāsh to dispossess him of Takrīt. He applied to his suzerain, Jalal ed Daulah, for assistance, which was granted, and thanks to which, but still more to the dissensions that broke out within the tribe, Khamīs was eventually allowed to remain unmolested. He died in A.H. 435, and was succeeded by his son, Abu Ghashsham. The latter's brother 'Isa, in A.H. 444, rose against him, obtained possession of the citadel, and placed Abu Ghashsham in confinement.

Toghrul Beg entered Baghdad in Shawwal, 447, having destroyed the last vestige of the Buwayhi power, and imprisoned Malik er Raḥīm, the last prince of the dynasty. But the Seljuk Sultan had still to overcome the opposition of Al Basasiry, a powerful Buwayhi noble, one of whose most important allies was Nur ed Daulah Dubays, who had given him his daughter in marriage, and who was impelled both by his ambition, but in a still greater degree by his apprehensions, to support the cause of his kinsman. Kūraysh, son of Badran, the 'Okayli prince, had declared himself for the Seljuks, but he was attacked near Sinjar, was defeated and wounded, and surrendered himself to his antagonists. He was honourably treated, and they persuaded him to join their cause. They accompanied him to Mauṣil, where the supremacy of the Egyptian Khalifah was formally proclaimed, the Khutbah recited from the pulpits in the name of Al Mustanṣir, and where they were rewarded by the receipt from Cairo of dresses of honour.

Toghrul Beg had however determined to deal in person with the rebels. He set forth from Baghdad towards the end of A.H. 448, about thirteen months after his arrival in the city. He reached Takrīt, now under the rule of Naṣr, son of 'Isa, son of Khamīs, and prepared to lay siege to the city. Naṣr saved himself by displaying from his battlements the black ensign of the Abassis, and by another and more tangible token of his allegiance, the presentation to Toghrul Beg of a sum of money. It was accepted and the Turkish Sultan proceeded on his way.

These events were almost immediately succeeded by the

death of Naṣr. His mother Amīrah, who was daughter of Abu Sinan Gharīb, rather than allow Abu Ghashsham to recover possession of Takrīt, put him to death, and sent him to the town to Abu'l Ghanā'im, who subsequently became a faithful adherent of the Abassis, and by whom it was handed over to Toghrul Beg. Amīrah afterwards married Kāsim, son of Badran, and is said to have been killed at Maḥad, the son of Abu Ghashsham, in revenge for the death of his father.

I find mention of only two other members of the family of Ma'n, Az Zurayr and Maṭar, who are described as sons of Ali, son of Ma'n. They allied themselves with Soḥab, son of Abu'sh Shōk, the Kurdish Chief, in his struggle with his uncle Muhallhal, and it was at their instigation and with their assistance that a battle was fought, in which Muhallhal was taken prisoner.<sup>1</sup>

I may conclude this sketch of the history of the 'Okayl with the mention of two other personages, descendants of Al Muḳallid son of Ja'fir, but who belonged neither to the family of Musayyib nor to that of Ma'n. One of them was Muhammad, son of Rāfi', son of Rifā', son of Dāwūd, son of Mālīk, son of Al Muḳallid. He was governor of the city of Hit, on the Euphrates, on behalf of Wabb, Wahaybab, an 'Okayli chief who had received a grant of the city from Sultan Barkiaruk. Seyf ed Daulah Ṣāḍīq turned his mind upon obtaining possession of the city, and in A.H. 496 he overcame the resistance of the 'Okayl and accomplished his object.<sup>2</sup>

The other was Muḥy ed dīn Abu'l Hārith Muhārish, also a descendant of Al Muḳallid, son of Toghrul Beg had in A.H. 450 gone in pursuit of Ibrahim Nayāl to Hamadan. Al Basasiri seized the opportunity to enter Baghdad. He made himself master of the city and proclaimed the supremacy of Al Muḳallid. The white banner of the Fatimites was everywhere displayed, and the Khutbah recited in the mosques

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athir, vol. ix. p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al Athir, vol. x. p. 247.

name of the heretical Khalifah of Cairo, who won the brilliant though but short-lived triumph of being solemnly recognized, in the capital and centre of Muhammadanism, as the lawful head of Islām.

The situation of the Abassi Khalifah had from the first moment of these events become one of imminent peril. In this extremity his wazir, known as the Ra-is er Ru-asa, turned for help to the 'Okayli Prince Kuraysh, son of Badran. Addressing him by his title, 'Alam ed din, *Banner of the Faith*, he declared to him that God was conferring upon him an honour which no Prince had ever yet received. "The Commander of the Faithful places himself, his family and friends under your protection, the protection of God, of his Prophet, and of an Arab." Such an appeal could not be rejected, and Kuraysh, removing his mitre-shaped cap (Khalansūwah), sent it to the Khalifah, handing his staff of command to the Ra-is er Ru-asa, as pledges of his protection. The Khalifah was mounted, wearing the black robes of the Abassis and the burdah, or sacred mantle of the Prophet, and with the black banner floating over him, he was conducted to the 'Okayli camp along with his wife Arslan Khatun, the niece of Toghrul Beg. Kuraysh, it must be added, in spite of his pledges, handed over the Ra-is er Ru-asa to Al Basasiri, by whom the unhappy wazir was put to a cruel and ignominious death.

A place of greater safety had to be found for the Khalifah. Kuraysh placed him under the care of Muhārish, by whom he was conveyed to Hadithat-'Ānah, of which Muhārish was ruler.<sup>1</sup> There he remained until his restoration at the end of a period of twelve months.

Muhārish, who throughout his life was held in great respect, died in A.H. 499, at the age of about eighty years, and was succeeded by his son Suleyman. The latter died in A.H. 528. The family of the 'Okayli Princes of Mausil was now virtually extinct, and we find Suleyman spoken of not only as Prince of Hadithah, but also as Amir of his tribe.

<sup>1</sup> Hadithah and 'Ānah are two towns on the Euphrates, about thirty-five miles from one another.

## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL

He was succeeded by his sons, who, at their instigation were carried in procession through the streets of Baḡdād in recognition of the services rendered by their grandfather to the Khalifate. Nevertheless, they continued in possession of Ḥadīthah only until A.H. 536, when the Atabek 'Izz al-din Zenki took possession of the town, and removed the descendants of Muhārish to Maṣṣiḥ.

The last of the 'Okaylis to hold anything like princely rank was a descendant of Badrān, son of Al Muḥallab, brother of Kīrwash. In A.H. 478 the castle of Aleppo was held by Sālīm, son of Mālīk, son of Badrān. It had been placed under his charge by his chief and kinsman, Shams al-Daulah Muslim, and it continued in his hands after the death of Sharaf ed Daulah, who was killed towards the beginning of that year in a battle fought with the Prince of Kōniyah (Iconium). In the following year the city of Aleppo was taken by Malik Shah. The citadel and the command of Sālīm, continued to hold out, but eventually surrendered to the Sultan in exchange for the Castle of Ja'bir, a fortress of great strength, built on a hill overlooking the eastern bank of the Euphrates, at a considerable distance above the town of Raḡḡah. It had been taken by Malik Shah, from an Arab of the tribe of Kūshayr (a branch of the Banu 'Okayl) on his march to Aleppo. Its owner, a blind old man, was a notorious robber, who, together with his two sons and other followers, was put to death by Malik Shah.

Sālīm took possession of the castle, and soon afterwards rendered himself master also of Raḡḡah. According to the Arab chronicler, Baldwin, Count of Edessa (Bohemond) was in A.H. 502 (?) placed under the custody of Shams al-Daulah Sālīm at the castle of Ja'bir, until the suzerain of his kinsman Joscelin, who was to remain as his ransom, payment of his ransom.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly afterwards Raḡḡah was attacked and captured by the Banu Numayr, and Ali, the son of Sālīm, who was in command of the town, was killed. Shams ed Daulah

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al Athīr, vol. x. p. 322.

died in A.H. 519, and appears to have been succeeded by his grandson, Malik, son of Ali. In A.H. 541 the castle was besieged by the Atabek 'Imād ed din Zenki. Its strength defying all his efforts to capture it, he tried the effect of alternate promises and threats. Before any result could be arrived at, the Atabek was assassinated in his tent by a party of his own Mamluks, an event which brought the siege of the castle to an end.

'Imād ed din's son, and successor to the sovereignty of Aleppo, Nur ed din Mahmud, was more successful. Malik had, in 563, left the protection of the castle, on a hunting expedition, when he was set upon by a party of Banu Kilāb, who carried him off and delivered him into the hands of Nur ed din. The Atabek laid siege to the castle, but failed in his attempts to capture it. But he was more fortunate than his father in dealing with its owner, who was now in his power. The same policy of alternate promises and threats at length brought matters to a successful issue. Malik surrendered the fortress, and received in exchange the town of Sarūj, a sum of 20,000 dinars in cash, and the revenues of the salt deposits in the neighbourhood of Buzā'ah near Aleppo.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn Khaldūn tells us that when the 'Okayli power in Mesopotamia and 'Irāk was destroyed, and their dominions appropriated by the Seljuks, the tribe returned to its original home in Bahrayn. The Taghlibite sovereignty exercised by the descendants of Abu'l Ḥasan al Aṣfar had ere this fallen into a state of complete decay, and was easily overthrown. The country was subdued by the 'Okaylis, and, together with the district of Yamāmah, which they conquered from the Banu Kilāb, it was ruled for several generations by a family known as the Banu 'Asfūr, belonging to the sub-tribe of Banu 'Āmir, son of 'Okayl. Ibn Khaldūn adds a quotation from Ibn Sa'īd to the effect that, when at Medinah in 651, he was informed by natives of Bahrayn

<sup>1</sup> Sarūj is a town near Harran, in the modern province of Orfah or Edessa. It is famed in Arabic literature as the reputed native place of Abu Zayd es Sarjī, the hero of the Maḥamat of Hariri.



## HISTORY OF THE BANU 'OKAYL.

that their country was at that time still under the rule of the family of 'Aṣfūr, Princes of Al Ahṣa.

So far as I am able to discover, little or nothing has been added from existing Arab histories to the meagre account given by Ibn Khaldūn of the expedition of the T al Aṣfar against the Carmathians. (Supra, p. 505.)

I may here add that, in the absence in England of a complete MS. copy of Ibn Khaldūn's work, I have been almost wholly dependent, in collecting these notes on the history of the 'Okayli tribe, upon the edition of Ibn Khaldūn printed at Bulak. It is a work for which all students of Eastern history may well feel grateful. But it is unfortunately disfigured by innumerable and palpable errors, which may no doubt be traced to the MSS. from which it has been printed, but in most instances they can be rightly attributed to the deplorable manner in which it has been edited. The passage (vol. iv. p. 91) in which the Banu 'Okaylis is represented as conquering Mesopotamia and making the 'Okaylis in A.H. 438, sixty years after his expedition against the Carmathians, and as being eventually killed and imprisoned by Naṣir ed Daulah ibn Marwan, is likely to be an error of the author, and is more probably an interpolation of some careless reader. It is no doubt founded upon a misconception of somewhat similar events recorded by Ibn al Athīr, obviously quite unconnected with the history of Bahrayn, although the Taghlibite al Aṣfar in question, may possibly have been a member of the tribe founded by the conqueror of the Carmathians.<sup>1</sup>

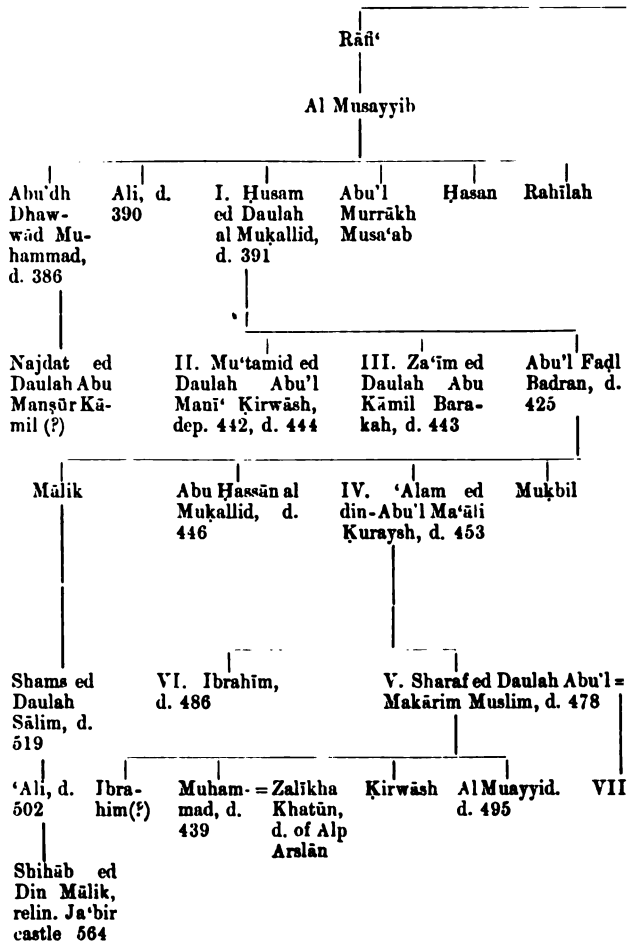
M. Tiesenhausen, in the first note to his work, mentions a passage from Al Jannābi (who died in A.H. 999), quoted by that writer from the *Ma'ārif al Muta-ākhira* of Ibn al Malik al Hamadāni, reciting the expulsion of the Banu Sulaym and Banu 'Okayl from Bahrayn by the Taghlibites, and the return of the 'Okaylis after their overthrow by the Seljuks, their conquest of Bahrayn and Yamama, and the endurance of their dominion until after A.H. 600. This passage is somewhat briefer than the corresponding

<sup>1</sup> See Ibn al Athīr, vol. ix. p. 369.

Ibn Khaldūn. It not only, however, adds nothing to the information contained in the latter wording of Al Jannābi's extract, apart from its being condensed, is identically the same. Ibn Khaldūn possibly have derived his information from Al Jannābi, or both may have drawn from a common source. Hamadāni died in A.H. 521, and Ibn Khaldūn tells us that the reference to the date 651 was in the writings of Ibn Sa'id. It seems more probable, that Al Jannābi's passage was copied, not from Al Jannābi but from Ibn Khaldūn.

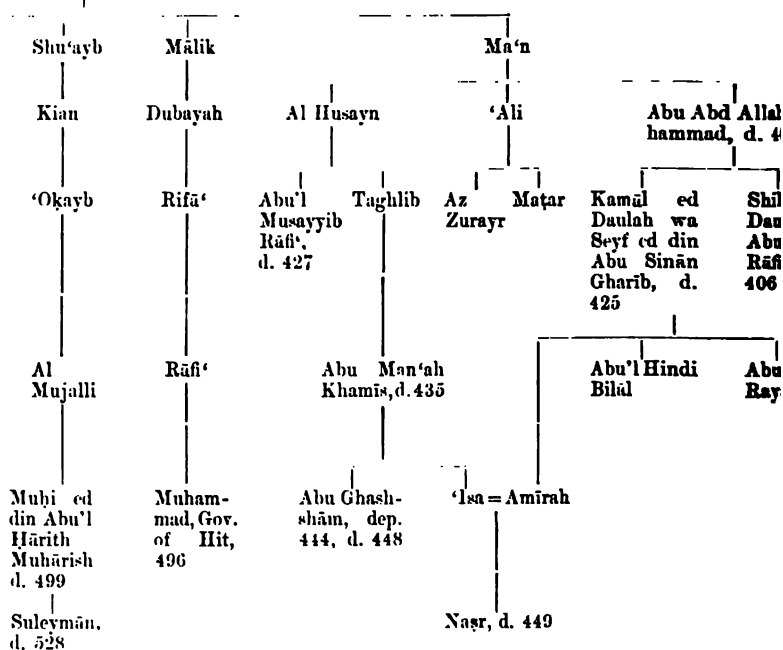
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# THE 'OKAYIL



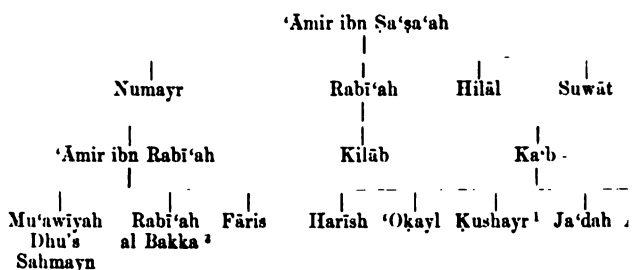
# ES OF MESOPOTAMIA AND 'IRĀK.

Al Muḳallid, son of Ja'fir



To face p. 526.]

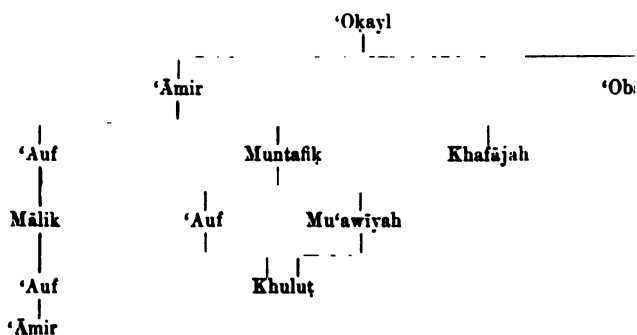
THE TRIBES OF 'ĀMIR IBN ṢA'ṢA'AH  
(according to Ibn Khaldūn).



<sup>1</sup> Ḳushayr and Ja'dah were the sons of the same mother, a daughter of Sulaym (son of Manṣur, son of Khaṣafah, son of Ḳays 'Aylān).

<sup>2</sup> See for the name Rabī'ah *al Bakka*, Ibn Khallikan, vol. i. p. 54 p. 452.

THE SUB-TRIBES OF 'OḲAYL.





ART. XXIII.—*Foreign Words in the Hebrew Te*  
*Old Testament.* By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES,

(Communicated by the Hon. Secretary R.A.S.)

THE Hebrews came in contact principally with two nations of antiquity, the Egyptians and the Persians; it is with them mainly, if not solely, that their literature preserved any traces of connection: and these traces chiefly to be found in the books of Moses and in that of Daniel, Ezra and Esther. As the Persian rule of Judaea did not begin till 536 B.C., one would suppose that the records of the earlier reigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar would not supply us with any words of Semitic derivation or connection, and this is undoubtedly a disadvantage as it is for many of the words we meet with in these books that such derivation has been suggested, or any connection supposed. There can be no doubt that a large number of Semitic roots were once in use, of which no trace survives in the Old Testament, and therefore it is quite possible that, if we had a knowledge of these roots, many difficult words would at once be explained and made clear to us. One would expect, moreover, that the proper names in the parts of Daniel belonging or at all events related to the Assyrian period would have an Assyrian and not a Semitic character, as indeed such names as Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar show that they have; or, if they were affected at all by Accadian contact, it would be in the names of which we should expect to find traces rather than in those of Persian influence. I am too profoundly ignorant and too uncertain on the subject of Accadian discovery to venture the use of this myself or to feel any confidence in it when I see others do so. It seems to me that our best security is to be found in the

attitude of watchful and patient waiting rather than in precipitate eagerness to clutch at results. The case is different with regard to words of Egyptian origin. The progress of Egyptian discovery has been much more prolonged and thorough. It is nearly a hundred years since the first steps were taken towards the decipherment of the hieroglyphics, and successive scholars have pushed their discoveries farther and further, till a position of comparative certainty has been attained. Much of course still remains to be done, but it is at least an indication of superior advancement that the confidence of those who are not experts, but are not devoid of learning, nor incapable of forming an opinion, is given with more ungrudging alacrity to the Egyptologist than to the Assyriologist. The science of the one has survived its nonage, but that of the other may be said to be still in its infancy. At all events that is my feeling, and I am not alone in my conviction. It must be borne in mind, however, that this is an expression of opinion, and not advanced as a statement of fact.

The progress of Egyptian discovery has thrown a flood of light upon the records of the Bible. If the Pentateuch is in any degree an authentic work, it was almost certain to contain numerous references to Egyptian customs and traces of the language of Egypt. That it has been proved conclusively to do so is a very solid argument for its being the genuine work it pretends to be; indeed so clear and so numerous are the points of contact it presents with the actual Egypt of history and the monuments, that we have to be on our guard against being tempted to multiply these instances to an unwarrantable degree. The indications of connection are so many that we must beware of imagining them where they do not exist. Here also discretion is the better part of that valour which will ultimately lead to victory.

There is not seldom a danger of accidental similarity being mistaken for direct relationship. It is not all the members of the same family that are alike, and it is not every two persons that strongly resemble one another, who are members



## FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

of the same family because they are alike. The science of comparative philology has made enormous strides, and most substantial results have been secured; but it will probably be a long time yet before its greatest triumphs have been achieved, the establishment, for example, upon a firm foundation—a triumph, however, which is by no means improbable, and which I for one should be prepared to expect. The study of the relation between the Semitic and the Aryan branches of language.

The first familiar foreign word which strikes us in the Bible is the title or appellation common to the Egyptian kings, viz. Pharaoh. It was formerly usual, after Jacob, to identify this word with the Coptic  $\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\sigma$  'king,' the  $\sigma$  or  $\Phi$  being prefixed. This etymology, however, does not seem to bring us very near to the Biblical  $\text{פַּרְעֹה}$ . At first it was thought that the true equivalent might be found in the Egyptian word  $p\alpha$  'the sun,' also with the article prefixed. It seemed fatal, however, to this suggestion that the word  $p\alpha$  was mostly found at the end of the name and without the article prefixed. The king, however, was called  $c\iota p\alpha$  'the son of Ra,' and this fact made it probable that he should also be called the Ra. The derivation, therefore, which I believe is received with more general approval now is that Pharaoh means "the house" or "the great house," very much as we still speak of the Sublime Porte. It seems to be essential that we give due heed to the Shewa under the Resh in Pharaoh, and divide it accordingly Phar-aoh, not Pha-raoh. For myself I am inclined to confess that though this proposed derivation is probably better than either of the others, it fails to give me complete satisfaction, and though willing to accept it provisionally, I should nevertheless like to have some clearer and more obvious representative of the Hebrew Pharaoh than "the house" or "the great house" seems to suggest. One might have thought that a title so common as that of Pharaoh in the Biblical records would have been equally common on the monuments, and that the identity of the two words

a matter of certainty. The fact, however, that these various derivations have been proposed seems to show plainly that this is not the case. It of course follows that if Pharaoh means "the great house," then another well-known name, that of Potiphar, will mean "he who is devoted to the house," or "the servant of the house," and so, like Pharaoh itself, be a title, and not an appellation. In close connection with this name comes another, which has often been confounded with it, viz. that of Potipherah, the priest of On or Heliopolis. Here it would appear that we may with more certainty detect the presence of the Egyptian *pā*, and then in that case Potipherah will mean "he who is devoted to the sun," or "the servant of the sun," an appellation obviously appropriate to the priest of the temple of the sun at On.

The word *abrek*, Gen. xli. 43, is rendered in the Authorised Version "Bow the knee," with a margin "or tender father," and in the Revised Version the same rendering is retained in the text, with a margin "Probably an Egyptian word, similar in sound to the Hebrew word meaning *to kneel*." The version of the LXX. omits the word altogether, and has simply "a herald proclaimed before him." The Syriac has "Father and ruler." We see then that some translators have regarded this word as a significant Hebrew word, to be explained by the analogy of the language, while others have regarded it as a foreign word, and sought its meaning in the native languages of Egypt. There are only two ways in which it can be explained in Hebrew, which are severally represented in the text and margin of the A.V. The first of these is the explanation of Aben Ezra, who regards the אֲבִרִים as put for the אָבִי, just as in Jer. xxv. 3 we find אֲבִירִים instead of אָבִיִּים; the other is that of Rashi, who quotes the Talmud, saying that Joseph was a father in wisdom, but tender in years. In the former case Abrech must be an imperative Hiphil wrongly spelt; we should moreover expect the plural rather than the singular in the proclamation of the herald to the people; in the other case the noun and adjective must either form a sort of compound, very unusual

## FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

in Hebrew, or must be wrongly joined together. can be little doubt that we have here the actual v the country used in the proclamation, and consequer meaning must be sought in the vernacular language country. In Coptic a compound word may be forme  $\Delta\text{NE}$  'the head,' and  $\text{PEK}$  'to bow,' which approxin sound to the Hebrew, but I believe it is not found in use. In the Coptic version of St. John's Gospel we have  $\Delta\text{CPEKXWY}$  'he bowed his head,' stooped but this does not give us the compound required,  $\Delta\text{C}$  is merely a pronominal particle used with ver therefore after all it seems that this use of the word jectural, and that no example is forthcoming of any word in form like that which we suppose Abrech have approximately represented. The "new explan mentioned by Mr. Cheyne, whom Delitzsch quotes<sup>1</sup> prolegomena to his new Wörterbuch, declared by the to be plausible, and apparently accepted by the latter, that Abrech comes direct from the Assyrian *ai* 'grand vizier,' can hardly be entertained with any of probability, and affords an instance of the nea is for speculative caution in these matters. The Pharaoh travelling to Assyria to find a title whi herald was to proclaim before Joseph, and which it presumed the people would understand, comes barely the confines of common sense. The word is unquestion Egyptian word; but what its real equivalent was in mental or spoken Egyptian is more than we are to discover or determine, humiliating as the con be to our philological knowledge or ingenuity. The n note of the Revised Version is probably as accurate near as we can get to the truth, and the supposed E word not improbably meant "to bow the head or For the rest we can only exclaim with Luther, "was heisse lassen wir die Zancher suchen bisz an den jüngste

In the same connection we have the name that I

<sup>1</sup> p. 146, n. 2.

gave Joseph, Zaphnath-Paaneah, which is undoubtedly Egyptian. Of this Aben Ezra says quaintly, "If this word is Egyptian, we do not know what it means," and Rashi says, "There is no word like Paaneah in Scripture." We have here then without doubt an attempt to represent a genuine Egyptian word in Hebrew letters. The question is what the word or words can be.  $\text{COT}$ ,  $\text{CWTE}$  are Coptic words, meaning 'redemption,' and  $\text{enep}$  is 'the age,' *αιων*. The two together then may mean, 'The redemption of the age' or, as applied to a person, 'the Saviour of his time or age,' that is, nearly equivalent to 'redeemer' or 'Saviour of the world.' The old notion that it meant revealer of secrets is a mere guess framed on the supposition that it was in some way of Hebrew origin, an idea which is highly improbable. There is another word  $\text{CWNT}$  'creation,' which, combined with  $\text{ANJ}$  'to live,' may possibly mean "creator or possessor of life." But to discover the particular Egyptian words which lie hid in the Hebrew disguise requires a far wider knowledge of Egyptian than I can lay claim to, as well as the special gifts of a veritable revealer of secrets.

Various derivations have been preferred for the name *Moses* such as  $\text{MWT}$   $\text{CE}$  'son of the water,'  $\text{MEC}$  'natus,'  $\text{MWT}$   $\text{OTZAI}$  'delivered from the water,'  $\text{MWT}$   $\text{OI}$  'taken out of the water,' and the like. I confess, however, that I have never seen clearly why the word should be other than Hebrew, as the narrative certainly seems to suggest: "And she called his name Moses and said for from the water I drew him,  $\text{מֹשֶׁה}$ " In Psalm xviii., and the duplicate version of it in Samuel, the same word is found used in the Hiphil, with very probable reference to this narrative. We have no reason then to doubt that the word is a genuine Semitic root, and it does not seem unnatural that Pharaoh's daughter should give the Hebrew child a Hebrew name, and that the name should be one suggested by her own saving act, and so she called him not 'one drawn out or saved,' as we might expect, which would be  $\text{מִשִּׁי}$ , but  $\text{מֹשֶׁה}$  'a saviour or deliverer,' for she said "I saved him from the water." In

# FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

this case it is needless to seek further for any Egyptian as a derivation, and every suggestion must be more or less unsatisfactory and uncertain. It is evident that in many cases the names of the Old Testament heroes were consciously prophetic, and it might well be so with that great lawgiver and deliverer of the Hebrew nation.

The name of Joseph's wife, Asenath, is interpreted to be 'a votary of Neith,' the prototype of Athene the goddess of wisdom, 'She who has been given to her.'

The word Pi-ahiroth is probably פִּי אֲחִירוֹת *pi' awr*, the place where the אֲחִירוֹת or אֲחִירוֹ grows; but Canon Cook mentions 'The house of wells, the watering-place in the desert.'

In Gen. xl. 16 we have mention made of three סִלֵּי חֲרִי, rendered in the A.V. 'white baskets.' I understand that the word *hauri* has survived to this day in Cairo, and means the leather covering of the bread basket. This word most probably represents the old Egyptian word answering to חֲרִי, but even here I do not feel by any means sure that the resemblance is not accidental, and the word itself Hebrew. The word סֵל occurs fourteen times in the Pentateuch elsewhere only in Judges vi. 19, and is Semitic. Hebrew גִּמְצָא is doubtless the Coptic *Kame* 'juncus,' only found Ex. ii. 3, Job viii. 11, Is. xviii. 2, spoken in Ethiopia, and xxxv. 7, where it is rendered 'reeds and'.

תֵּבָה only found in Gen., where it is used twenty times of the ark of Noah and in Exodus twice of that of Israel. It appears to represent the Coptic *Θαβη*.

חֵמֶר only occurs three times Gen. xi. 3 'slime had been used for mortar;' xiv. 10 'The vale of Siddim was pits of slime' and Ex. ii. 3 'daubed it with slime.' The Coptic equivalent *ⲭⲙⲉⲣⲉ*, used of the ark of Noah, Gen. vi. 14 and xi. 3, where the Heb. is חֵמֶר.

שֵׁפַת הַיָּם may at all events be compared with *σπηλαια* which is used in the same way and means the same.

<sup>1</sup> If M. Naville's identification of Pi ke harret holds good, neither is it accepted.

It is absurd, however, to suppose that one is borrowed from the other. The name of Moses' son Gershom has been connected with *αἰετῶν* 'alienus,' but it seems more natural to find its origin in Heb. and regard it as a vocalised variation of *גֶּרְשֹׁם*, and so the Septuagint has *Γηροσάμ*.

*פִּתְיוֹן* 'flax,' is one of those words which appear in the Pentateuch, Exodus ix. 31, and again in Isaiah xlii. 3, xliii. 17, but not elsewhere. It is interesting to note the occurrence of some of these words at those periods of the national history when there was special intercourse with Egypt. The equivalent for Goshen in Coptic is *κεσεα*. According to Canon Cook, each of three nomes in the Delta bore a name of which the first syllable was *κα* 'a bull,' and he says, moreover, on the authority of Brugsch, that the name of the twelfth nome in Lower Egypt was *κακε*.

Pathom or Pithom is that which belongs to Thum. Pathros is probably *πα-ετ-πα* 'that which is towards the south.'

Rameses is of course connected with *πα* 'the sun,' and *αε* 'genitus, procreatus.' Succoth appears to have been identified by M. Naville with the name Thuku or Thuket found by him at Maskhutah. Pibeseth like Pithom is that which belongs to Beseth or Bubastis. A great many Hebrew words are given in the excursus of the Speaker's Commentary as being virtually Egyptian words. It seems to me that these must be received with great caution and a certain amount of reserve. It by no means follows, because there is an apparent similarity between two words in Egyptian and Hebrew, that they are the same word, or that the likeness is anything more than accidental; and even if we cannot discover the root of a Hebrew word in Hebrew, it does not follow that its root is to be found in Egyptian. It seems to me also that the principles of transliteration between Hebrew and Egyptian are too uncertain to be any sure guide to us, and that this is the case is proved by the variety of derivations and equivalents that have been proposed for the more common proper names, such as Pharaoh, Moses, and the like. To be quite sure that we have found

the true equivalent of a Hebrew word in Egyptian moreover, a far greater knowledge of the latter than I can pretend to possess, and not only a know its vocabulary, but a knowledge also of its laws of tion, composition, grammatical usage and the like. take the proper names that are certainly Egyptian Pharaoh, Potiphar, Zaphnath-Paaneah, and the find that scholars are by no means unanimous as meaning, and I for one am ready to confess that the list in the Speaker's Commentary is too long ra too short. There are a few other words, such as מִצְרַיִם, and the like, which we may feel pretty Egyptian; but as for the rest of the list, I myself doubtful indeed about them. For instance, it see absurd to seek for an Egyptian origin for such a מִצְרַיִם, the words used of Pharaoh's taskmaster i. 11. Each of the component elements is un Hebrew: why not therefore the combination? 'He over the tribute' is a phrase with which we are fa 2 Sam. xx. 24, 1 Kings iv. 6, and elsewhere, and מִצְרַיִם hardly needs much explanation from sources.

נִפַּח occurs only in Ex. ii. 3 and Is. xxxiv. 9 *bis*. refers it to a root נוּחַ-נִיחַ 'to flow,' and compares it to נִיחַ, 'fluxit,' so that there seems no sufficient search for it elsewhere.

לְחַיִּים Ex. vii. 11 'with their enchantments,' the plural of the word used in Gen. iii. 24 of the sword at Paradise.

came forth,' and **רָאָע**, 'a marsh,' as if leaping in (forth from the marsh. The Arabic retains the **ו** rejecting the **ר**, **مَفْعَع**. With regard to the other words claimed as Egyptian, *e.g.* **שָׁחַן**, **נָבֵל**, **כִּסְמַת**, **סָק**, **אֲבַעְבֵּת**, **אֲפִילוֹת**, **אֲבָק**, **תַּנּוּר**, **אָנָם**, **עָרִב** and

named in the Speaker's Commentary, I see no reason to believe that they are other than genuinely Semitic words.

I come now to the Persian and Aryan words in Daniel, Esther and Ezra, and the first is naturally Cyrus. In the Avesta Cyrus is *Huśrava*. Rawlinson says the name is now generally connected with the Kuru family of Ancient India, Speaker's Commentary, 3, 422. The ancient authorities distinctly tell us that the name was equivalent to the sun, and that the Persians called the sun *Kūros* or *Koūros*. In modern Persian خور is undeniably the sun, cf. Sansk. *सूर्य* 'a hero.' The Sanskrit writes the word for 'sun' with a dental स. خورشید = sunlight. Fuerst says the final *ش* is the nominative of the Persian, but the modern Persian has no nominative termination. Darius in like manner is doubtless connected with *دار*, meaning 'Lord, Master,' etc. with a like termination. The word also means 'house, palace,' etc. Cf. the word Pharaoh and its supposed meaning.

Arioch means a great lion, as Nisroch means a great eagle and the like. Abednego probably = Abed Nebo just as *גבול* = *βυβλος*, *βλεφαρον* = *γλεφαρον*, etc.

Meshach is referred by Gesenius to *میزشاد* 'the guest or friend of the king.' According to Fuerst it is from *میش* the Sanskrit *मेघ* 'a ram,' and hence the sun-god. Max Müller says, "Meshach may have been *mes* 'friend,' and *shah* 'king,' but in Persian this compound could only mean 'king of the friend';" but with all due deference, *mes-i-shah* in Modern Persian would unquestionably mean 'friend of the king.' But the similar termination in Shadrach leads us to seek some common element. Fuerst regards Shadrach as the same as Hadrach Zech. ix. 1, and thinks it means the circular path of the sun, thence the name of the sun-god.<sup>1</sup>

Ahasuerus probably exhibits a terminal formation similar to that in Cyrus, Darius, etc. It is the Greek Xerxes, the Sanskrit *अश्वरथ* being represented by *ξ* in Greek and by

<sup>1</sup> This is rendered the more probable from the fact of the LXX. having *Ξεδράχ* in both places.



# FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ח+ש in Hebrew, with a prosthetic and epenthetic which the Hebrews were obliged to adopt to express sound at the commencement of a syllable. In like ארתחששתא is the Hebrew equivalent for Artaxerxes the first syllable survives in اردشير, but its actual derivation is not so easy to determine. Hesychius says Ἀρταῖος παρὰ Πέρσας, but what is the word? רפן Dan. iii. 2, vi. 2, Esth. i. 1, on the same principle represent an initial ר, and is probably the Greek Σαρ which is apparently connected with שר 'the keeper guardian of the host or army.' It has no equivalent modern Persian.

In the same way אחשתרן, אחשתרי, אחשתר represent the modern Persian شتر 'a camel.' This probably took the place of ש in the older Persian. נ 'diligently,' is found in Ezra vii. 23. It is in all probability connected with the modern Persian درست 'rightly gently,' or در راست 'in the right, rightly.' רין אדר גורין are probably Semitic in both elements, the according to Fuerst, being the astrologers of the god of Adar.

אדרכונ or אדרכמים is the same word as Daric, here derived, which seems to be very uncertain. The derivation is from دار and کون 'the king's image;' Fuerst.

אחמטא equals Ecbatana, the *m* becoming *b*.

אספרנא Ezra v. 8, etc., we may compare with the Persian اشمري 'complete,' and on the authority of as quoted by Fuerst, the old Persian *as-parna*, i.e. 'completely,' *parna* being the pass part. of *pêrê* 'to complete.'

אפחא Ezra iv. 13, 'endamage the revenue of the' is a very uncertain word; the LXX. render it καὶ τοῦ which the Syriac 'and so it is' nearly corresponds.

Mithredath, the name of a treasurer under Cyrus i. 8, is obviously compounded of Mithra, the name

mediator between Ormuzd and Ahriman, connected probably with **מִשַּׁח** 'the sun, a friend,' etc., **مِهْر** Persian 'the sun, love,' etc. The last syllable would seem to be connected with **دادן** 'to give.'

**נִשְׁתָּן** Ezra iv. 7, 'a letter,' seems to come from or be connected with the Persian **نویشتن** 'to write.' Fuerst regards the **ן** as a noun-ending, but the modern language has no such form.

Pithgam **פִּתְגָם** Esther i. 20, 'decree,' is perhaps the modern Persian **پیغام** 'message or embassy.' What the old form was I do not know.

**פִּתְוֶה** 'food, fare,' is supposed to be connected with the Sanskrit **प्रतिभग**; **باج**, in Persian, is 'toll, tribute.' If this is really the derivation of the word, it is a curious instance of foreign influence so early in Babylon.

**פִּתְשָׁן** and **פִּתְשָׁן** Ezra vii. 11, Esth. iii. 14, 'copy.' The first element is probably the same as before, but what is the second? **פִּרְתָּמִים** Esth. i. 3, etc., is probably connected with the Sanskrit **प्रथम** 'first.'

**הִרְשָׁתָא** perhaps connected with the Persian **ترس** 'fear,' and **ترسیدن** 'to fear.' Gesenius compares 'Gestrenger Herr.' **פֹּר** is interpreted by **גֹּרֶל**, but the modern Persian for 'part, portion, fragment' is **پاره**, with which there is probably some connection.

The word **חֶרֶט** is common both to the Egyptian and Chaldaean parts of the Bible, which is so far a reason for not seeking its origin in Coptic. Otherwise Gesenius compares **εργαζω** from **ερ** *facere* and **αρχαμυς** and **α-πεκτεω** *custos secretorum*. I would rather believe with Fuerst that it is a derivative of **חֶרֶט** *stylus*. In like manner we have **קֶרֶם** 'an axe.' Some have compared **چرخمند**.

According to Gesenius and Fuerst, Belshazzar and Belteshazzar are only variations of the same name, and mean the Prince of Bel or the favourite of Bel, the *sh* or *tsh* being the

# FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Zend genitive. Fuerst admits that the name has not been satisfactorily explained, and certainly the attestation welded together a Chaldaean proper name and a Sanskrit termination by means of an Aryan genitive case does not look promising. The names moreover are distinct, and not improbably mean respectively 'Bel the prince' and 'Beltis defends the prince.'

The word פָּחָה is thought to be connected with पशा Pasha, but Pasha is supposed to be corrupted from Pad and if so can have nothing to do with पञ्च 'wing.' Fuerst compares پاىگاه ('dignity, rank, officer, employ Johnson) and translates it 'under-governor.' Max Müller asks by way of suggestion whether the פָּחָה termination the Chaldee can be meant for شاه, Pusey, *Daniel*, p. 57; in that case the פ may represent the pad or पति, but the etymology of this word is mysterious.

חֲבֵרִיָּא Dan. iii. 2, 3, 'the treasurers,' apparently the same as חֲבֵרִיָּא Ezra vii. 21, cf. חֲבֵרִי i. 8. Of the last word the first is taken as the plural of the second, as the word in Daniel as a variation of the same. In tracing the etymology must be sought in the singular form of the word and then treasure-bearer گنج 'treasurer' and بار 'keeper,' may perhaps be the modern equivalents. But their appearance in Daniel has to be accounted for. In the same manner חֲבֵרִיָּא 'counsellors,' Dan. iii. 2, 3 = law-bearers at all events, that is the etymology proposed by so high an authority as Max Müller. It seems strange, however, that the long vowel in dad and bar should be represented by sheva in Hebrew.

חֲפֵתִיָּא occurs Daniel iii. 2, 3. The proposed reference to the Sanskrit अविपति is preposterous, as the word is not found. A Mufti still survives from the same Semitic root = 'a law learned in the law.'

The word חֲמֵלָר Dan. i. 11, 16, evidently

officer; as to its derivation I feel very uncertain. The proposed मधु and शिरस् (मधु is properly 'sweet,' *μεθυ*, *سر* is 'head' in Persian) is highly unsatisfactory, and why should we seek for Aryan etymologies at a time prior to the Persian rule?

נְבוֹנָה Dan. ii. 6, v. 17, 'rewards,' may well be referred to the Semitic root נָב in the sense of 'spoils, gains,' far more naturally than to भञ् or भाग.

סָרְפָן only in the plural seems to be referable to the Arabic root سَرَف, which in the second conjugation means 'appointed a deputy.' In the first conjugation it means 'filled.' Cf. the Hebrew phrase of filling the hand, that is, consecrating the priest. The Arabic usage may indeed be derived from this word, in which case we have *carte blanche* for the derivation of its etymology.

סָרְפָל Dan. iii. 21, 27. This has been identified by metathesis with the Persian شَلْوَار or شَلْوَار 'breeches or drawers.' The Arabic is سَرَبَال, plural سَرَابِيل, and the etymology has been sought in شَر and سُر, truly a curious etymology for breeches 'a covering of the head.'

סָרְפָן Dan. vi. 3 'presidents.' This is very possibly connected with Sargon and סָר, and I would certainly rather refer it to سَرَك 'socius fuit' with Fuerst, than attempt to connect it with שָׂר v. Gesenius, which for many reasons I should regard as impossible.

הַמָּנִיָּה Dan. v. 7, 16, 29, evidently 'a chain.' This is referred to the Sanskrit मणि, but then what about the ה? All the commentators and the Dictionaries assume the connexion with *μανιάκης*, monile, and the like, but it seems to me that the presence of the initial ה when it is not wanted is not so easily disposed of.

כַּרְפָּס 'cotton,' Esther i. 6, is undoubtedly the Sanskrit कर्पास, the Greek *κάρπασος* and Latin *carbasus*.

כָּתַר is obviously connected with כָּתַר 'surrounded,' what-

## FOREIGN WORDS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ever similarity or relation there may be with *κίταρις* *κίταρις*.

תִּכְי 'a peacock' is probably the Sanskrit शिखि 'a one or peacock.' This word in Tamil becomes *togei*.

קוּפִים 'apes' is supposed to be the Sanskrit कपि, Bopp derives from कम् 'to move about.' If the *m* is lost, this may account for the long vowel of the Hebrew.

שִׁנְהַבִּים is in all probability 'tooth of the ibha, elephant,' इभ, a word which appears again in לִבְיָה 'elephant,' and in an Egyptian form quoted by Gesenius. The Semitic article is thus embodied in the Ebur is referred to the same word. This is one of the interesting and the most certain instances of inter between the Semites and the Aryans.

אֶלְגָּמִים and אֶלְמָגִים is probably connected with two Sanskrit words that have been proposed, मोच 't cotton tree' and वलु or वलुव 'sandalwood.' The seems preferable.

כְּרוֹז must be connected with κήρυξ and similar. In like manner קִיתָרוֹס must be connected with , סַבְכָּא with σαμβύκη, and פִּסְנִתָּיִן with ψαλτήριον. סִמְפֹּנִיָּה with συμφωνία. It is manifestly one that trace a connection between words of this kind in languages not allied, and quite another to say that in the particular one has been borrowed from the other.

פָּרֶדֶס is a word found in Eccles. ii. 5, Song of Songs and Nehemiah ii. 8. It is obviously the Greek παρὰ but the origin of the word is very uncertain. It is frequently connected with the Sanskrit परदेश, but properly means 'a foreign country,' though Fuerst as 'a region of surpassing beauty.' Two other words proposed, the Armenian *pardez* 'a garden surrounding house,' and the Zend *pairidaeza* 'an inclosure.' The relation of these several forms is doubtful, though probably connected.

I do not pretend to have made a complete or exhaustive list of foreign words occurring in the Old Testament. I have contented myself rather with the more obvious and familiar ones. Every man who has a special taste for Egyptian or Assyrian investigation will easily imagine he detects Egyptian or Assyrian or Accadian words in Hebrew. The tendency is one which needs to be jealously and carefully watched, and does not want stimulating, as we are very apt to be misled by the fascination of our own imaginary discoveries, and there is nothing that is so absorbing as the fascination of a new discovery.

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## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.<sup>1</sup>

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(June, July, August.)

### I. REPORTS OF MEETINGS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, 1885-86.

*Seventh Meeting, 21st June, 1886.*—E. L. BRANDRETH,  
the Chair.

*Elections :* Surgeon-General W. R. Cornish, C.I.E.; John Baillie; and Mr. Jehangir K. R. Kama, as Resident Member. Mr. William Davies as non-Resident Member.

The following paper was read by the author: Early Symbolism, by Robert Sewell, Madras Civil Service, M.R.A.S. The object of the lecturer was to show the probability, those symbols found carved on early Buddhist monuments, which cannot be directly traced to indigenous sources, were derived from Western Asian symbols, pre- and connected with Sun-worship. Summarising the pre-local history, he showed that for eight centuries Northern India was open to Assyrian and Chaldean influences, while for the subsequent two centuries a considerable portion of that country was under the Persian empire. Alluding to a probable trading intercourse of the inhabitants on either side the Indus, and giving evidence of Greek and Roman influence in India, he argued that the superstitions and beliefs of the masses of the people, whether in Assyria, Chaldæa or Persia, were very similar, and consequently the present identification of early Buddhist symbols is nothing improbable. Mr. Sewell then entered into details and illustrated his argument by reference to particular cases of similarity and resemblance.

<sup>1</sup> Of the five heads into which this section was divided in the last *Journal*, four and five will for the present quarter, and until completion of arrangements, be merged in a general *résumé*, such as hitherto adopted in the Annual Report. A separate head is introduced for Obituary Notices.

The whole appears in the July number of the Journal.

Sir George Birdwood and M. Bertin spoke also on the subject. The remarks of the former, of which a written abstract was received, have been printed as an addendum to the paper.

This Meeting concluded the Session 1885-86. At its close the Society adjourned to November next. Monday, the 15th of that month, has been since fixed as the date for resuming the Proceedings.

## II. PROCEEDINGS OF ASIATIC OR ORIENTAL SOCIETIES.<sup>1</sup>

*Asiatic Society of Bengal, 6th January, 1886.*—D. Waldie, Esq., Vice-President, in the chair.

Nine presentations were announced, and four elections of Ordinary Members, with two withdrawals, notified.

The Philological Secretary read reports on four finds of ancient coins, *i.e.* :—

1. On fifteen old silver coins forwarded by the Deputy-Commissioner of the Jhelum District.
2. On thirteen silver coins from the Collector of Bhagalpúr.
3. On fifteen silver coins from the Secretary to the Government N.W. Provinces and Oudh.
4. On twenty old coins and two rings from the Subdivisional Officer of Sasserám.

A circular was read from the Société de Physique et d'Histoire Naturelle de Genève, offering for competition a prize of 500 francs, for the best monograph of a genus or family of plants, to be written either in Latin, French, German, English, or Italian.

The papers read were on Natural History and Botany.

*3rd February, 1886 (Annual Meeting).*—Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, C.I.E., President, in the chair.

On the call of the President, the Secretary read the Annual Report.

The Report having been read and adopted, the President delivered his Address, proposing, in conclusion, a vote of thanks to the Hon. Secretaries and Hon. Treasurer for their exertions on behalf of the Society.

The President then announced the result of Office-bearers and Members of Council as reported by the Scrutineers; Auditors were appointed to examine the past year's accounts, and the Meeting was resolved into the Ordinary Monthly General Meeting :—

E. F. T. Atkinson, Esq., B.A., C.S., the newly-appointed President, in the chair.

<sup>1</sup> Under this head are necessarily comprised the Reports received during the quarter, rather than the Proceedings of that particular quarter.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Sixteen presentations were announced ; three candidates for proposed, and a letter was read from Mr. Percival accepting of Hon. General Secretary. A Government notification, of Revised Rules for the working of the Indian Treasure Trove read and recorded.

The Philological Secretary read a report on sixty old coins received from the Secretary to the Government N. W. Provinces : of which thirteen were of Sultan Shir Shah, nineteen of Sul Shah, five of Sultan Muhammad Shah, sixteen of Akbar, and five of the Sultans of Gujrat. A communication was also read from the Private Secretary to H.H. the Maharáná of Udaipur forwarding ancient coins with descriptive note.

Dr. Rajendralála Mitra read an extract from Babu Mukarji's letter forwarding impressions of inscriptions in an old character, or hard to decipher, taken from Hindu stone-temple inscriptions.

Besides contributions in the Natural History Department, several historical papers were read at the Meeting—one on the decline of Samánis, by Mr. Oliver, and one on the Birthday of Akbar, published in the Journal and hereafter noticed.

3rd March, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the

Twenty presentations were announced ; the election of Ordinary Members and one withdrawal notified ; two for election proposed ; and the *personnel* of the several Committees for the year appointed.

Among the papers read were one "On Place-Names in Madras," by Mr. R. S. Whiteway, and one "On South Indian Coins," by B. C. Tuffnell, Madras Staff Corps. Both are to appear in the Journal.

The President imparted to the meeting a suggestion that such a conversation be brought forward after the disposal of the business of the Society ; the Meeting resolving itself into a *session* for the discussion of questions to be fixed on beforehand, and those comprised in Natural History on one evening, and those in Philology on another, alternately.

7th April, 1886.—E. T. Atkinson, Esq., President, in the

Twenty-one presentations were announced, two Ordinary Members elected, two candidates proposed for election, and three for election notified.

The Philological Secretary exhibited two ancient coins received from Rai Shyam Bahádur, Vakil, Chupra, and read the Report :—

1. On seventeen coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Central Provinces.
2. On eight coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Gujrat.
3. On 104 silver coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Central Provinces.

4. On a gold coin from the Collector of Nuddea. This is affirmed to be one of Nára Gupta, an ancient ruler of Bihár and Bengal, and cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 400, if the end of the second century be accepted as the initial epoch of the rise of the earlier Gupta line.

5. On thirty-two silver coins from the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur.

6. On forty-one coins (rupees) from the Collector of Hooghly.

7. On four copper coins from the Divisional Magistrate of Mirzapúr.

8. On sixteen gold and 457 silver coins from the Secretary of Government N.W. Provinces and Oudh. Among others are seven gold Gupta coins from Rae Bareilly; the remaining nine gold coins are Ramtiunkis, very small, from the Partágarh District.

The Secretary to the Geographical Society of Lyons, in forwarding a book entitled "*De l'influence des Religions sur le développement économique des Peuples*," had stated that his Society would be happy if any Member of the Asiatic Society in India would undertake an analogous labour with regard to the Religions of that country. With reference hereto, the President remarked that the best response would be to announce the matter in the Proceedings.

Two papers were read: 1. "On some Snow Measurements at Kailung in Lahoul," by the Rev. A. W. Heyde; 2. "On Three New Himalayan Primulas," by G. King, Esq., M.B., LL.D., F.L.S.

The President, entering into particulars of the work, paid a graceful tribute to the worth and ability of the late Mr. Edward Thomas, Treasurer of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was followed by Dr. Mitra, a personal friend of the deceased, who passed a high eulogium upon his services in the cause of numismatic research. Eulogising his private character and qualities, the learned doctor remarked that those "who were best able to appreciate his merits held him in high esteem."

The subject for conversation in the Philological Society's Department was "Manikhyla, and a gold ornament made of Roman coins recently found there."

*Société Asiatique, Paris, 4th May, 1886.*—M. Barbier de Meynard, Vice-President, in the chair.

After the election of three new members, and ordinary business, M. Clermont-Ganneau stated to the Council particulars regarding certain Palmyrene inscriptions which had not been published.

M. Oppert read the translation of a Babylonian inscription containing a marriage contract confirmed by a tribunal.

M. Rubens David offered the suggestion that the two Aramæan words *ardikla* and *aryoubla* (signifying architect and mason respectively) have in their composition the word *ard* 'servant,' coupled in the one case with *ekal* for *haikal* (temple or palace), and in the other with *gaboul* (artizan).

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

The Abbé Quentin, who had returned from the study of inscriptions regarding the Deluge at the British Museum, gave that he would shortly submit to the Council the result of his searches.

*Society of Biblical Archaeology, London, 1st June, 1886.*—Morrison, Esq., President, in the chair.

After the ordinary routine of proceedings, Mr. F. G. Price, F.S.A., read a paper describing a number of Egyptian Articles in his Collection. Those on which the greater stress was laid were Ekhmim, the site of the ancient Chemmis, on the right bank of the Nile opposite to Suhág, where some very interesting excavations and discoveries had been made in 1885. Two sepulchral boxes of sycamore wood, with remarkable drawings and decorations; the pedestal figure of Ptah-Socaris-Osiris; the lid or cover of a funereal chest of sycamore wood, bearing the inscription, "Ta poer, the wife of P." (as read by M. Revillout), and some masks from mummy cases, among the articles described.

The following communications to the Society are on the record.

Two from M. P. Le Page Renouf on the name of the blind god and the Egyptian God Apriat; one from Professor Sayce on inscriptions at Abydos and elsewhere; one from the Rev. J. C. Ball on the tomb of David; and a second from Professor Sayce on "Coptic and Christian Inscriptions in Upper Egypt." Besides these, Dr. Hannes, "the monastery of Father John," with its cemetery and surroundings, has supplied the material of a most interesting paper. *American Oriental Society, 12th May, 1886.*—Professor W. D. Howells, in the chair.

After the usual routine of Proceedings, reports were given by Mr. Rockhill, in Peking. He had sent some rubbings of pillar inscriptions from Pan Shan, east of the capital. Taken from the Ming Dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644), and many of the characters are Nágari Sanskrit. Sixteen Roman coins also had been found in Peking, some of which antedated Nero.

The following is a list of the papers read, or accepted for reading.

1. On Hebrew Military History in the Light of Modern Archaeological Science; by General Henry Carrington, U.S. Army.

2. On a Greek Hagiologic MS. in the Philadelphia Library. Professor J. Hall, of New York City. Of this curious relic an interesting analysis is given.

3. On the Identification of Avaris at Sâhn; by Rev. W. C. Smith, of Boston.

4. On the Warrior Caste in India; by Professor E. W. Hornum, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn.

5. The Correlation of *v* and *m* in Vedic and later Sanskrit; by M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore.

6. On Negative Clauses in the Rig-Veda ; by Miss Eva Channing, of Boston, Mass.

7. On the Ancient Persians' Abhorrence of Falsehood, illustrated from the Avesta ; by Mr. A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia College, New York City.

8. Hindu Eschatology and the Katha Upanishad ; by Professor Whitney, of New Haven.

9. The Ao Naga Language of Southern Assam ; by Prof. John Avery, of Brunswick, Maine.

10. On a Sacrificial Tablet from Sippur ; by Prof. D. G. Lyon, of Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

11. On certain important recent Assyriological Publications, by Professor Lyon.

12. Three Hymns of the First Book of the Atharva-Veda ; by Prof. Bloomfield.

13. Lexicographical Notes from the Mahābhārata ; by Prof. Hopkins.

14. Introduction to the Study of the Old Indian Sibilants ; by Prof. Bloomfield and Dr. Edward N. Spicker, of Baltimore.

In addition to the above, spoken addresses were given by the Rev. T. P. Hughes and the Rev. John Chandler ; and the Rev. W. H. Ward exhibited photographs of Hittite Sculpture from 'Ain Tab.

The Society adjourned to meet at New Haven on 27th October.

### III. CORRESPONDENCE.

#### *Pre-Akkadian Writing.*

62, CHESILTON ROAD, FULHAM ROAD, S.W.

DEAR SIR,

22nd Sept., 1886.

I am desirous of directing your attention to the fact, that I have advocated for several years the existence of the Chaldean or Babylonian writing anterior to the arrival of the Akkadians in the country. The successive transformations undergone by the writing, chiefly in its arrangement, and the fact that the Akkadian sounds were not the most important, had forced this conclusion upon my mind. I have published this in several places, notably in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, April, 1883, Vol. XV. p. 279, note 3.

In the last issue of the *Journal* (Vol. XVIII. Part III.) there is a paper on the Pre-Akkadian Semites, by Mr. G. Bertin, in which no allusion has been made to the priority of my discovery.

I am, yours faithfully,

*The Secretary Royal Asiatic Society.*

TERRIEN DE LACOUPERIE.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

### IV. OBITUARY NOTICES.

Three losses to the Society by death have taken place in this quarter: two, Resident Members, one of many and one of standing, the other a distinguished scholar who had been one of Honorary Members for four years.

*John Hallett Batten*, son of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Hallett, Principal of the East India College at Haileybury, and his wife, was born at Haileybury, in the county of Essex, on 5 May, 1811. He was educated at Charterhouse, and in 1827, received a nomination to the Bengal Civil Service. He followed Edward Parry, a Director of the East India Company. afterwards he entered Haileybury College, and passed on in 1829, having obtained a prize for an Essay, and marked as Distinguished. During his career at the College he was proficient in Classics, Law, Political Economy, and Persian and the other subjects which formed the curriculum of his time. John Hallett Batten arrived in Bengal on 22 November, 1830, in the following year proceeded to Europe on furlough. On his return to India he was appointed Assistant to the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit in the Gorakhpur division, and later Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector at Azimgarh. He was transferred in 1834 to the Meerut division, under the Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit, in 1835 he became Assistant to the Magistrate and Collector at Saharanpur, exercising the powers of Magistrate and Deputy Collector at that station in 1836. Shortly after he was transferred as Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon. In 1837 he was Acting Joint Magistrate and Collector at Garhwal; in 1839 Senior Assistant to Commissioner and in charge of the Revised Revenue Settlement at Kumaon. In 1850 he was appointed Commissioner of Kumaon. After a furlough to Europe, he returned to duty in 1858, and in 1860 was appointed Civil and Sessions Judge of Cawnpore. In 1861 he was Commissioner of the Agra division, but retired from office in 1865, when he became an Annuitant on the Fund. He contributed papers to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Societies. He died on July 14th, 1886, at Heavittree, after a very short illness, aged 75. An old and esteemed Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, in the records of which his name appears in 1856, he had visited its rooms in Albemarle Street in seeming health and vigour only a few days prior to his death.


The name of *Mr. Andrew Cassels*, a much-respected

the Royal Asiatic Society, is more especially connected with Eastern interests as that of a Member of the Indian Council. After many years spent on the Continent, chiefly in Italy, Mr. Cassels went out to Bombay as partner in the great Manchester firm, Messrs. John Peel & Co., and founded the house Peel, Cassels & Co., at the head of which he remained for a considerable period. On returning from India in 1851, he continued for some years in the business in Manchester, until his retirement, when he settled in London. He became one of the Directors of the Metropolitan Railway Company, and long acted as Chairman of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, a post which he only resigned on accepting the office of Member of the Council of India, offered to him in 1874 by Lord Salisbury. At the termination of the statutory term of tenure of this office in 1884, repeated efforts were made by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and other bodies to secure his reappointment, but this was not considered expedient, as being the first vacancy after the introduction of the ten years' limit, although the value of his services was fully recognized. Mr. Cassels was an active member of the Society of Arts, in which he took great interest; he was one of their Committee appointed to aid the organization of the Great Exhibition of 1851, and was elected to their Council in 1872, and Vice-President in 1875. He died on the 2nd of August in his seventy-fifth year, and was buried in the Brompton Cemetery.

*Professor B. Julg*, a high authority on the Mongol-Kalmuk languages, with which he had been familiar from youth, died on the 14th August, aged 61, at Innsbruck, in the University of which city he was Professor of Classical Philology. From his special connection with Tartar Fable Literature—a field which cannot be said to be thoroughly occupied—his loss will be felt outside his own immediate sphere of work. Only four years ago he was enrolled among the Honorary Members of this Society, a distinction accorded to his widely-spread reputation. His paper "On the Present State of Mongolian Researches" was published in Vol. XIV. pp. 42–65 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

#### V. EXCERPTA ORIENTALIA.

Nos. 3 and 4, vol. liv. part 1, of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, consist of two papers only, Mr. Growse's "Notes on the Fatehpur District, N.W.P.," and part 2 of the "Geography of India in the reign of Akbar," by Mr. Beames. No. 1 of the



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Forty-fifth volume, part 1, besides a Numismatic notice, learned and well-reasoned article on the "Antiquity and Genre of the Epic called the Prithi Ráj Rásá," commonly ascribed to "Chand Bardai," from the pen of Kavi Ráj Shyámál M.R.A.S., Poet-Laureate, and Member of the State Council of Mewar; some "Notes on the Chittagong Dialect," by Mr. Pargiter, B.A.; and a second article of Mr. Shyámál Dás, "Birth-day of the Emperor Jaláluddin Muhammad Akbar," quaintly, but not inconclusively, changes the generally received date of Akbar's birth from the 16th October to the 23rd Nov. 1542. While the "Poet-Laureate" is shown to be contributor of four-fifths of this whole number of the Journal, it is explained that his original papers were in Hindí, and that Munshi Rám Pañdita was responsible for the English translation.

The following new numbers of the *Bibliotheca Indica* have been received:

*Sanskrit*.—Parásara Smṛiti, by Pandit Chandrakánta Tarká-lankára, fasciculus v.

The Nirukta with Commentaries, edited by Pandit Satyá Sámasáramí, vol. iii. fasc. iv.

Tattva Chintámani, ed. Pandita Kamakhyánatha Tarká-lankára, fasc. iv.

The Asvávaidyaka; a treatise on the diseases of the horse, compiled by Jayadatta Súri, edited by Kaviráj Umesá Chandra Gupta Kaviratna, fasc. i.

*Persian*.—Muntakhabu't-Tawárikh, by Abdu'l-Kádir bin Shah (al Badáoni), translated by Lowe, fasc. iv.

Zafar-námah, by Maulána Sharfu'd-dín 'Alí Yazdí, ed. M. Muhammad Ilahdád, vol. i. fasc. iv.

*Journal Asiatique*, Huitième série, tome vii. No. 2, Mars 1866, contains the following articles: L'Histoire de Gal Schimás, by M. H. Zotenberg; Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes, by M. Sauvaire; La Brihatkathámanjári de Kshemendra, continuée jusqu'à sa conclusion, by M. J. Sylvain-Lévi; and Tchao-sien-tché, a memoir on the Corea by a Corean (anonymous), translated for the first time from the Chinese, with commentary, by M. S. In the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" are a review of Prince Muhammad Salih's Uzbek poem of the Shaibaniad, translated into French by Professor Vambéry; a notice of the Imitatio Christi, as rendered from Latin into Chaldean, and other papers. No. 3 of the volume, Mai-Juin, 1866, contains an article on Siyáq al-Ash'ar, a Persian satirical poet who flourished at the close of the 17th century, by M. H. Ferté, dragoman of the French Legation at Constantinople; a continuation of M. Sauvaire's memoir on the history of Muhammadan Numismatics and Metrology; a notice of the Gurun-i-Suduré Bithe, forming an appendix to the history of the Empire of Kiu, and written at the period of the conquest of China by the Manchus; and the second part of M. S. 's 4th

on the Inscriptions of Piyadási. The contents of the "Nouvelles et Mélanges" have been reported in the notice of Proceedings.

*German Oriental Society*, vol. xi. part 2, contains: M. Klamroth, on the Extracts from Greek writers in Al-Yakúbf; M. Grünbaum, Observations on the Shem Hammaphorash as an Imitation of an Aramaic Expression, and on Linguistic Imitations in general; Spitta's Arabic Manuscripts; N. Karamianz, Twenty-one letters of a lost Alphabet; H. H. Dhruva, Sanskrit Grants and Inscriptions of Gujrát Kings, Nos. vi. to ix.; Hermann Jacobi, On the knowledge of Asia; E. Hultzsch, Corrections and Additions to the Amrávati Inscriptions; P. von Bradke, Contributions to the History of Religions and Languages of Ancient India; and Extracts from Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's letters in Leyden, to Dr. Goldziher in Budapest.

*Archæology*.—An account of the American Archæological Expedition to Mesopotamia forms the subject of an abstract of two lectures recently delivered by Dr. Hayes Ward of New York, quoted in the *Academy*, 12th June from the Johns Hopkins University Circulars. The Hittite Centres of Marash and Jarablus were the first points visited; afterwards Mosul, Baghdad, and other well-known modern towns in the vicinity of Biblical or historically-interesting sites. In the opinion of the lecturer there are still mounds, at or near Babylon, which ought to be carefully worked; and Warka, second only to Babylon in extent, promises exceptional fruitfulness in antiquities. We learn also from the *Academy* of the 3rd July, that Professor Tiele has republished from the Transactions of the Royal Academy of Holland, his paper on "The principal Temples of Babylon and its Suburb Borsippa, according to the Inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar." In it he shows conclusively "that the great temple of Bel Merodach called E-Sagila contained the Babylonian E-Zida or temple of Nebo, and was not separate from it. . . The original E-Zida was at Borsippa, and is now represented by the well-known ruins termed by the natives Birs-i-Nimrud, in whose vitrified bricks many scholars have seen the remains of the Tower of Babel."

M. Dieulafoy's Excavations in Susiana are again noticed in the *Academy* of the 24th July. These had been lately directed to opening the foundations of a palace more ancient than that of Artaxerxes Mnemon, as also to fresh discoveries on the site of Apadana. Many objects of interest had been obtained and brought to the Louvre, the work having been stimulated by the Shah's abandonment of claims to half the collection, as stipulated under the terms of the original Farmán.

In the *Indian Antiquary* for June we have "Pride Abased," a Kashmiri Tale, which the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles had heard from a Bráhmaṇ named Mukund Bâyû of Srinagar; the "Last years of Shah Shuja'a, with an Appendix on the Affairs of Hirat," an interesting translation made by Mr. Rehatek from the *Tárikh Sultáni* of Sultán Muhammad Khán Bárakzái: a short contribution to his Folk-Lore in Western India by Mr. Putlibai D. H. Wadia's



"Mudyānūr Plates of Saka 261 of the Bana king Malladeva Nandivarman," by Lewis Rice, C.I.E.: a continuation of Mrs. Grierson's Gipsy Index: and "Indragonim and other Gramarians," with the "Chandra Vyākaraṇa and Kasika-Vṛtta," two articles by Professor Kielhorn. An announcement by Mr. V. A. Smith that he is preparing a full analytical Index to Gen. Cunningham's Archaeological Reports, which will be published in a separate volume by the Government of India; and three contributions by Mr. Fleet, one, a note on the coins of the Hindu Kings of Kabul; one, the description of a new Grant of Dharaśena II. of Valabhi, and one an extract from the Acharutika:—these constitute the Miscellanea of the month. The July number is remarkable for Mr. Fleet's papers on the "Epoch of the Gupta Era" and "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," succeeding which are Mr. Hultzsch's observations on a Gwalior Inscription of Vikrama Samvat 1161, and Professor Kielhorn's notes on the Mahabhashya. In the Miscellanea are reviews of Gen. Cunningham's Book of Indian Eras; Dr. Solf's "Die Kasmir-Recension des Pañcāṅga"; the Taprobanian, a Dravidian Journal of local research published in Ceylon; Prof. Robertson Smith's "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia;" and the History of Nepal, translated by Munshi Sheo Shankar Singh and Pandit Sri Gunanand, and edited by Daniel Wright, M.D.; Dr. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam; Mr. T. G. Scott's Burma; the English translation of the Mahabharata; and a reprint of Vol. I. Asiatic Researches. To the August number of the *Indian Antiquary*, Mr. Murray-Aynsley contributes No. VI. of his "Discursive Contributions towards the comparative study of Asiatic Symbolism," treating of Sacred Trees; Mr. Patlibai Wadia adds a new story to his illustrations of Folk-Lore in Western India; Mr. Fleet brings out the extreme importance of his sixth-century Mandasor Inscription of Yasodharman and Vishnuvardhana, supplying the text in Roman characters and a facsimile of the original; Professor Kielhorn continues his notes on the Mahabhashya; Sir Walter Elliot communicates a further notice of the Ancient Buddhist Structure at Negapatam; and Mrs. Grierson's Gipsy-Index is carried on to the word "Red." Of the two letters headed "Miscellanea," Mr. Fleet's will be noticed later on under "Epigraphy"; the other signed G. M. C. objects to a passage in the preface of Dr. Petersen's edition of the Subhashitavali of Vallabhadra, on which no more need be said than that one of the two able Editors of the *Indian Antiquary* then on the spot, concurs in the objection. As to the book itself, Dr. Bühler writes that Dr. Petersen "has now given us, in conjunction with Pandit Durgaprāsāda of Jaipur, an edition which certainly will be most useful, nay indispensable to every Sanskritist, both for the critical restoration of many classical texts, and for the study of the history of classical poetry."

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year the meeting to celebrate the twenty-first anniversary of that institution—His Grace the Archbishop of York being the Chairman on both occasions. The work done has been succinctly described in a neat, illustrated volume published by the Committee. There are three objects shown to press urgently for accomplishment at the present time, *i.e.* the Recovery of the Second Wall of Jerusalem; an Inquiry into the manners and customs of the people residing in and about the Holy Land; and the publication of Capt. Conder's Survey of Eastern Palestine, Le Compté's drawings made for M. Clermont-Ganneau's Archæological Mission, Hart's Natural History Memoir, and Schumacher's Second Survey. It is to be hoped that Funds will not be wanting for so worthy a purpose. The Quarterly Statement for July contains brief but interesting papers by Professor Hayter Lewis, Capt. Conder, Mr. William Simpson, Mr. Weld, Professor Hull, the Rev. E. Flecker, the Rev. W. F. Birch, and M. Schick. Four of these are of a controversial character, but controversy is not only natural but desirable in questions of archæological identification. Mr. Simpson, writing on "Stone doors," refers to one at Lasgird (or Lasjird) in Persia, which "wrought on pivots the same as the doors of Bashan," and is the only entrance to the village within the circular wall. Much might be written on this remarkable place, of which some rough idea has been given by Dr. Bellew in his sketch at p. 404, "From the Indus to the Tigris." The derivation of its name from the circle "traced on the ground by Las or Last, the son of Noah," is one of those many local interpretations more readily supplied than logically supported throughout the length and breadth of the Shah's dominions. There is a review of Professor Hull's Survey of Western Palestine in the *Athenæum* of June 12.

In the *Academy* of August 7, Mr. James Burgess gives an account of his recent visit to Sri Sailam, or Sri Parvata, an old Hindu shrine dedicated to Mallikarjuna (a form of Siva) on the Nallamalla, or black mountains, about 80 miles lower down the Krishna river than Karnúl. This is supposed to be built on the site of the Pigeon or Black Peak Monastery mentioned by Fa-Hian and Hiouen-Tsang in Southern India, "founded for the Buddhists, and where Nâgârjuna died, but which was afterwards seized on by the Brahmans."

*Semitic Literature: Hebrew and Chaldee.*—We learn from the *Academy* of the 12th June that "Outlines of Jewish History from the Babylonian Captivity to the Present Time," is the title of a work by Mrs. Philip Magnus, then nearly ready for publication.

During the forthcoming season, at Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Haupt, Professor of Semitic, proposes to lecture on the Critical Interpretation of Selected Psalms, on Hebrew Exercises, and reading unpointed texts at sight, and on Biblical Aramæan Grammar and the Chaldee Poetry of Daniel.

*Syriac.*—The *Athenæum* of the 5th July adverts to Dr. Isaac H. Hall's reproductions of the Syrian Antilegomena Epistles from a MS. of 1471, brought to America from Mardin by the late Rev. William F. Williams, then a missionary at that place. The text, of

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Society are about to issue a second edition of Mr. Walter Budge's *Babylonian Life and History*; and Mr. S. A. Smith, an American Assyriologist, has made arrangements with a continental publisher for a new work on the texts of Assurbanipal, the annals of that king by the late Mr. George Smith being out of print.

*Arabic*.—Attention is drawn in the *Athenæum* of the 21st, and *Academy* of the 28th August, to the publication of an English-Arabic Vocabulary, compiled by Major G. S. Plunkett, R.E., and already found of great practical utility in manuscript. It is said to contain 3600 words of the common Cairo-spoken dialect. A grammar of Colloquial Arabic has, moreover, been lately published in Germany. It is advertised as Sabbâg's (Mihâ'il) *Grammatik der Arabischen Umgangssprache* hrsg. v. H. Thorbecke. The *Athenæum* of August 28th also states that nine out of ten volumes of Burton's translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* have been issued to the Kama Shashtra Society. Five further volumes are now offered for subscription, the first and second having the 'terminal' stories of the Breslau edition. Vol. iii. will comprise the selection of tales in vol. vi. of Dr. Jonathan Scott's *Arabian Nights*, and vols. iv. and v. will contain Galland's ten most popular tales not yet traced to an Arabic source. These, for the sake of uniformity, will be turned first into Arabic, then retranslated into English. A book which has made its mark, and may here be appropriately mentioned, is Professor Robertson Smith's "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia." Among other reviews of it there is one in the *Athenæum* of the 17th July, and another in the last-received number of the *Literatur-Blatt für Orientalische Philologie*. The *Athenæum* of the 24th July writes of Mr. Arthur Wollaston's *Half Hours with Muhammad* that "it contains a great deal of solid reading in a small but substantial volume."

Von Kremer's few pages, entitled *Lexikographische Notizen nach Neuere Arabischen Quellen*, will interest Arabic scholars, many of whom may have words to add to the collection.

Dr. G. P. Badger—than whom few Arabic scholars are better qualified for the somewhat ungracious office of literary criticism—has reviewed, in the *Academy* of August 21, vols. ii. and iii. of the Rev. G. M. Wherry's *Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurân*. His assurance that "a translation of the al-Kurân which shall preserve the ideas and brilliant imagery, the verve and musical cadence of the original, is still among the *desiderata* of English Orientalists," should arouse the ambition of some of our rising Arabicists. Did two combine—the one a thorough scholar, the other an experienced *littérateur* and Orientalist—the goal might be attained. In the meanwhile, the reading public must be thankful for Sale, and those to whom Dr. Badger refers as having improved upon certain of his renderings.

*Aryan Languages*.—*Sanskrit*.—The "*Dharmasamgraha*," advertised in July as ready for publication, has been reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 21st August, and is pronounced a more solid contribution to the study of Buddhism than those contained in the

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

three previous numbers of the Aryan Series of the "*Oxonienſa*." A paſſing tribute is paid to the memory of the original editor, the late Kenjiu Kaſawara, whoſe "quiet and patient induſtry" are qualities not always recognized by the world. We are informed in the ſame iſſue that M. P. I. Profefſor of Sanskrit in the Faculté des Lettres at Lyons has juſt brought out with E. a volume of *Essais de Linguistique Evolutionniſte*.

According to the *Academy* of June 12, Meſſrs. Warne are preparing 250 copies of a new edition, on large paper of Fables of Pilpay, recently iſſued in the Chandos Claſſic Profefſor Oldenberg has contributed a learned eſſay on the of Sanskrit to the June number of the *Deutſche Rundſchau* ſame paper ſtates that at a late meeting of the *Acad. Inſcriptions*, M. Bergaigne read a paper upon "The order of Hymns in the Rig-Veda." The ſubject has already been by Mr. Frederic Pincott, in an article which appeared in the Royal Aſiatic Society's Journal ſo far back as July, 1884.

The fifth volume of Catalogue of Manuſcripts in the Library at Berlin has been received for the Society's Lib contains the ſecond volume of Weber's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., and is admirably printed and arranged.

In the Proceedings of the American Oriental Society, of an abstract has been above recorded, it is worthy of note leſs than ſix important papers bear more or leſs directly on the ſtudies. One by Profefſor Bloomfield on Three Hymns of the First Book of the Atharva-Veda, quotes translations by Zimmer and Ludwig. The new edition of this work "von P. Pandit" is noticed by Bühler in the *Oeſterreichiſche Monatshefte* for July.

Profefſor Bühler's new translation of the "Laws of Manu" Profefſor Oldenberg's *Grihya-Sutras* (deſcribing the ceremonies of the Brahmans), are ſtated by the *Athenæum* forthcoming in the current year's Sacred Books of the Eaſt.

*Pāli*.—The continuation of the translation, by Profefſors Davids and Hermann Oldenberg, of the Vinaya Texts, conſiſts of vol. xx. "Sacred Books of the Eaſt," "will confer," according to the reviewer in the *Athenæum* of Auguſt 21, "a valuable ſervice to thoſe who are deſirous of realizing from an Engliſh verſion ſome thing of the inner life of the earlier Buddhism." The firſt chapters now given treat of the ſettlement of diſputes among the fraternity of monks; elſewhere is treated the matter of the daily routine, and there is a chapter dealing with the duties of the *bhikkhunis* or nuns.

*Prākṛit*.—There is a thoughtful review in the *Athenæum* of 10th July of vol. xxii. of the Sacred Books of the Eaſt, the publication of which was notified in our laſt iſſue. Profefſor Oldenberg's learned introduction to the *Akārāṅga Sūtra*—or 'Ayara'—the reviewer holds it to be, in that form of Prākṛit conſidered as the diſtinctly ſacred language of the ſect to which it re-

commended to the reader's careful consideration; and of the contents of the two works translated he says "the literature is at least fresh to the Western world." The *Kalpa Sutra* had indeed appeared in English nearly forty years ago, but the version then made is referred to as inaccurate, nor is it easily procured.

Among recently published works in Sanskrit (or therewith connected), which have not been yet enumerated, may be mentioned :

C. Wilkins, *Fables and Proverbs from Hitopadesa (Routledge)*. Hemacandra's *Lingānuçāsana* üb. und hrsg. v. O. Franke. Capeller (C.), *Sanskrit Wörterbuch* part 1. Jacobi (H.), *Erzählungen in Mahārāshtri*. Rev. B. Hale Wortham, *The Satakas of Bhartrihari*, one of many graceful renderings into English by the same author from the original Sanskrit. Haag (F.), *Beiträge zum Verständniss v. Vicādhatta's Mudrārāxa*. Lévi (S.), *La Brihatkathamamanjari de Kshemendra* (Paris, Leroux—noticed in the *Journal Asiatique* for November last).

*Pahlavi*.—Among recent Leipzig (Harrasowitz) publications in this tongue we note, in the *Athenæum* of June 12, the lengthy Ganjeshaya-gan, Andarze Atrepāt Mārāspandān, Mādīgāne Chatrang, and Andarze Khusroc Kuvātān, by P. D. B. Sanjana.

*Persian*.—In the *Academy* of 5th June, mention is made of a portrait, skilfully etched by Mr. Costello, of Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, translator of Umar Khaiyām. The term "translator" must not be accepted in its conventional sense as regards this gentleman's treatment of his favourite Persian poet, whose ideas he grasped and rendered into English verse with marvellous skill and appreciation—playing variations, as it were, on his theme, at each call for a new edition. A later *Academy* of the 14th August has a new and pleasant version of one of Umar's "Rubā'iyāt," by Mr. C. J. Pickering; and in the number of the 21st idem, we learn that M. Vedder's illustrations to the complete set of the poet's quatrains will be issued during the current year.

The third volume of the *Collections Scientifiques de l'Institut des Langues Orientales du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères* has just been issued at St. Petersburg. It is a Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts, with lengthy and instructive extracts from the more rare or important. Russia has done wisely in thus encouraging by direct Government aid the study of Oriental tongues; and it is pleasant to see a title-page proclaiming that her Foreign Office, under the orders and at the cost of its Asiatic Department, performs functions which, in England, are assigned to the Trustees of the British Museum. The Baron Rosen divides his work very much in the same way as Dr. Rieu, to the merits of whose "ouvrage classique" and to the direct bearing of which upon his own labours he pays a graceful tribute at the outset. To cover the whole ground of classification, he takes the twenty heads of Théologie des Bâbya, Histoire, Cosmographie et Géographie, Inshā, Biographie des Poètes, Poésie et Belles Lettres, Métrique et Prosodie, Prose Ornée, Fables et Contes, Éthique et Politique, Çoufisme, Cérémonies Religieuses, Mœurs et Coutumes, Lexicographie et Grammaire, Astronomie,

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Médecine, Hippologie, Art de tirer de l'Arc, Traité sur la Ph and Calligraphie et Peinture. Practically, however, the and 6th of these comprise the bulk of the collection, for the 255 pages out of 324, History and Poetry alone requiring n 200. The Preface calls attention to two Bábi MSS., wh the extracts given, must be greatly interesting: they are i their kind, and form, indeed, the whole collection comp under the first of the heads above recapitulated. Other ma specially noted are the following:—

1. The *Majmal-i-Faṣīhi*, by Ahmad bin Muhammad bi Faṣīh al Khuāfi; of which specimens are said to be very r

2. *Tarikh-i-Mīr Saiyid Sharif Rakim*: a collection of grams on the History of Central Asia, with explanations.

3. One without a title, being a collection of documents, c letters and fragments of letters, of which the chief writer to have been a certain Muntajabū'd-dīn Bad'ī, employe *chancellerie* of the Saljuḳi Sultān Sanjar bin Malik Shah (t Some are of more recent date, but the Baron has no hesi attributing the manuscript to the eighth century (Hijr analysis and extracts are interesting and provocative of research.

4. *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Muzaffarī* by Mahmūd bin Mas'aud-ush known as Kutbu'd-dīn Shirāzi, and mentioned at page 43 of Dr. Riou's catalogue, in a notice of his "Durrat While the latter work, however, is described as an "ency of philosophical sciences," the one under consideration i have been composed in compliance with a request of th Muzaffarī'd-dīn for a short manual of astronomy in the language.

Some are cited for their calligraphy, and some for a One is rightly judged to have a very high value. 1 "Kulliyāt" or complete poetical works of Jāmī, suppos in his own handwriting. The careful analysis of this m may be commended to the Persian student. As an exam testimony to genuineness, the words at the close of th book of the "Silsilatu'z-Zahb" or Golden Chain, are here

الكتاب ناظمه وهو الفقير عبد الرحمن الجامي عفى عنه

These are written in one line at the end, and exactly fillin space of the two centre columns of the page, while ou ornamental lines are in red ink,

في الحادى عشر من ذى الحجه سنة ٨٩

that is to say, "the writer of this book is its composer, and poor man, 'Abdu'r Rahman Jāmī: may he be pardoned! Haj, year 89." The date may reasonably be inferred to be about the end of A.D. 1484, some nine years before the poet

In reviewing the above catalogue in the *Oesterreichische schrift* for August, M. Houtsma remarks that although th tion cannot compare numerically with that of the Oriental

the Imperial Public Library and Asiatic Museum, it fairly holds its own when the intrinsic value of its Persian MSS. is considered. He does not see that it has gained much from Russia's connection with Central Asia, with the exception, perhaps, of the Bábí contributions and Seljuki records. It has helped to make us acquainted with certain masterpieces of Persian calligraphists; and he considers that thanks are due to the Russian Government, and especially to Herr Gamazoff, for enabling the compiler of the catalogue to supply many interesting details on questions worthy of research.

"Oriental Penmanship: specimens of Persian Handwriting," by the late Professor Palmer, and edited by Mr. Frederic Pincott, is favourably noticed in the *Athenæum* of the 31st July. According to the reviewer, "the book will prove an undoubted boon to the student, and cannot fail to be appreciated by the many who need its practical teaching." It is illustrated with facsimiles from original specimens in the South Kensington Museum.

While on the subject of Persian literature, a word must be said in favour of the new edition of Atkinson's translation of the *Sháh-námeh* printed by the Oriental Fund in 1832, and now brought out in the Chandos Classics by the Rev. J. A. Atkinson, M.A., son of the translator. So cheap and excellent a reprint of so notable a work should command an exceptionally large circulation.

Burb (H. A.), *Transcriptions, Grammatik der Persischen Sprache*, is in the *Athenæum's* List of New Books.

*India*.—Under this head there is little relating to any special language or dialect to be reported. Among general items, the following may be noticed:

The *Athenæum* of the 19th June reviews the "Local Muhammadan Dynasties—Gujarát," by the late Sir E. C. Bayley, a work partially based on a translation by the late Professor Dowson. On the 26th id. it passes a favourable judgment on the *Memorials of the Life and Letters of Sir Herbert Edwardes*, a biography of unquestionable interest; and notices Mr. MacRitchie's *Accounts of the Gypsies of India*, a book which, it is alleged, is more successful in its treatment of the European than Asiatic members of the tribe. In the same number is a justly-accorded meed of approval for Capt. R. C. Temple's second volume of *Legends of the Panjáb*, and "the industry and conscientious care" with which its contents have been prepared. The *Athenæum* of the 3rd July says of Col. Yule's *Glossary of Anglo-Indian words*, that the author has "added another important work to those classical productions of his, 'Ser Marco Polo,' and 'Cathay and the Way Thither';" and of Mr. Edwin Arnold's *India Revisited*, that "it contains a series of glowing word-pictures, suited alike to the subject and to the writer himself." In the issue of the 21st August, it notifies the proposed change of title for Capt. Temple's *Panjáb Notes and Queries*, which are to be known from the current month (October) under the more comprehensive name of *Indian Notes and Queries*. On the 28th idem it reviews Mr. Talboys Wheeler's *India under British Rule*, saying of the author that, "In his estimates of men



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

and events, he is always shrewd and seldom glaringly one-sided, and it informs its readers that a collection of Indian Folk-Songs, by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton, about to be published by Messrs. Stock, is said to contain many stories derived from oral tradition by natives, and illustrations by native artists. The *Academy* of 26th June notices the revised edition of Thornton's Gazetteer by Sir Roper Lethbridge and Mr. Arthur Wollaston. On 3rd July it reviews Selections from the Letters, Despatches and State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, remaining of the Marathi Series, vol. i. that there is "hardly a misprint or error in the whole volume."

*Dravidian Languages.*—*Tamil, Telugu.*—Captain Tennant, given in the Book Notices of the *Indian Antiquary* for August, gives an instructive account of the Sacred Kurral of Tiruvalluvar, Naṭṭar, which Dr. Pope is about to publish in the form of "a new revised text, accompanied with a metrical version in English, a grammatical excursus, and a complete lexicon and concordance."

*Calcutta Review.*—The July number of this publication has many original articles, independently of the usual monthly notices and summaries. These are: 1. The Russians in Oriental India, by Colonel F. H. Tyrrell, a suggestive paper, dealing with the Russian Empire, which has never, perhaps, been exhaustively treated, but merits attention. Col. Wilberforce Clarke's careful translation of Nizami's great poem has not cleared up the mystery of the story and the 'Purtās,' apparently the sovereign and allies of the Sultan. 2. An Indian Reformer, by H. G. Keene, C.S., describes the life and services of Saiyid Ahmad, shown to be a trained lawyer, an orthodox follower of the Kurán, a student of the Koran, and withal an experienced administrator of Anglo-Indian law. 3. Buddha as a Moralist, by Ram Chandra Bose, bears the name of a Buddhist, but is somewhat disfigured by 'tall' couplets of Of Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7, the first is historical, the second is a narrative, and the last two are decidedly light reading. 8. Dr. Cusack's Religions, and Languages of India, as disclosed by the Census of 1881, is not only remarkable as an instructive paper, but as the fortieth annual contribution to the Calcutta Journal from a practised and industrious hand. 9, 10, and 11 come hardly within the ordinary province of the Royal Asiatic Society, although the versification of the last has been exercised on an Oriental text.

Among *English books* reviewed are "Our Administration in India," by Mr. H. A. D. Phillips, B.C.S., heartily recommended "to old and young Quai Hais and the English reading public," Mr. J. G. Scott's "Burma; as it was, as it is, and as it will be," Mr. James Gray's "Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from the Sources, or the Niti Literature of Burma"—a volume of the Oriental Series, in which the author appears to the reviewer to have performed his work of translation and annotation with care and judgment"; vol. xxvi. of the Sacred Books of the East, noticed in our last Journal, containing Mr. Julius Eggeling's translation of the third and fourth books, Satapatha Brahmana, "an i

work," which "will have a deep interest for Oriental scholars;" and the Rev. Hale Wortham's "Satakas of Bhartṛihari," said to be "well worth translation," and to have been "admirably translated."

Under *Vernacular Literature* are four books: 1. *Aryānari Gāthā*, by Megnath Bhattacharya, B.A. (People's Press, Calcutta). Stories of great Indian women, Rajput, Mahratta and Bangāli, illustrative of rare female virtues, "related in simple and artless verse," described, moreover, as "the highest and most precious of all kinds of poetry,—the poetry of life and the poetry of action." 2. *Usha-charit*, by Dinanath Dhara (Girish Press, Dacca). Ostensibly the memoir of a child who died in his fifteenth year, but in reality a picture of the father who wrote the memoir. "The book has some interest for the general public . . . in connection with the sad story of the child, and the sadder story of its unfortunate parents." 3. *Debatattica*, by Kishorilal Raya (Gupta Press, Calcutta). This is explained to be an attempt at a "rationalistic exposition" of Hindu Mythology. 4. *Kanakanjali*, by Akshaya Kumar Baral (Bijnaur Press, Calcutta). The critic, after dispensing censure and praise, thus concludes his notice: "Babu Akshaya Kumar possesses the true poetic vein, and his work contains much true poetry. If we have spoken more of the faults than of the merits of his poetry, it is because we feel proud of him as a young Bengali poet, and therefore desire to see his poetry become more perfect. His merits are already too well known and appreciated to require laudation from us."

*Burmese*.—The *Athenæum* of September 4 informs its readers that in the first batch of 1200 palm-leaf books, forming the Royal Library of Mandalay, now on its way to England, are five volumes of a Burmese work entitled "Po-tay-kay Ya-za-win," or a history of the Portuguese in Burma. It gives an amusing picture of the struggle for ascendancy between that nation and the Spaniards, Dutch, French, and English respectively.

*Panjab Notes and Queries* for July has an interesting account of a singular local belief among the Burmese that the day of birth affects the name and life of the individual. It contains also a long paragraph under the head of Burmese Wise-men and Doctors; one on the Burmese calendar of luck; one on Burmese metal work; and one on Paper-making in Burma.

*Chinese*.—Dr. Legge's Texts of Confucianism (before mentioned among the Sacred Books of the East) are favourably reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 24th July. With the appearance of this work, the learned Professor, it is stated, has brought the translation of all the Confucian texts to a close: the reviewer adds:—"We congratulate him on the completion of his task, and it is not too much to say that no one but himself would have been capable of accomplishing so herculean a labour." Another volume by the same skilful hand has also been published during the current year at the Oxford Clarendon Press. It is especially well got up, and has a sketch-map and nine characteristic and well-executed illustrations.

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

The outside title is *The Travels of Fâ-hien*. Inside, it is be "The Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an Account Chinese Monk Fâ-Hien of his Travels in India and Ceylon 399-414) in search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline book consists of a Preface and Introduction, 40 short chapters together with copious Notes—frequently occupying more than the page—and the Chinese text reproduced from a copy sent Legge from Japan by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. There are previous translations of Fâ-Hien by M. Abel Remusat, and Samuel Beal, and Mr. Herbert Giles. The division into chapters is not apparent in the original Chinese: it was done by Klaproth, Remusat's version, and the arrangement has been approved and adopted in the present rendering.

The "Remains of Lao Tzu," by Herbert A. Giles, is the subject of a pamphlet in large octavo, published this year at Hong Kong, containing 50 pages, or 100 columns of small close print. It may ever be the opinion of Chinese scholars, especially those mentioned by name in this analysis of the *Tao Te Ching*, that it must be admitted to have put forward his case in a manner straightforward and ingenious. He is never dull; and, in his passage or an expression here and there, it may be fairly said that his criticism is not only readable but withal very pleasant reading.

In the *Academy* of the 7th August M. Terrien de Lacouperie continues to discuss his theory of the derivation of early Chinese civilization from that of Babylonia by the medium of Suse. The subject is of great interest, and has already engaged the attention of scholars such as Professors Legge and Douglas, and Dr. Williams. The *Athenæum* of the 14th August notices Mr. B. C. Henry's *Ling-nam; or Interior Views of Southern China*, a book which leads the reader to the less beaten tracks of the Delta of the Canton river to Hainan. It is said to abound "with facts which are both old and new." Professor Douglas, in reviewing the same work in the *Academy* of the 28th August, explains that Ling-nam was the name given by the Chinese settlers to all the regions south of the great range of mountains which for a long time formed the southern boundary of the Chinese possessions.

*Annamite.—Cochin-China.*—The March-April number of the *Excursions et Reconnaissances* commences with a "Rapport sur la Situation Économique du Cambodge," a country which has a population estimated at 900,000, of which more than a ninth part is Chinese, and 20,000 are Annamites. The "Notes sur les Chau Tonkin" illustrate the argument that the Annamites are conquerors, who have only taken root on the littoral, in the delta, and along the river-courses; while the aborigines have been driven back into the unwholesome regions of the interior. The province of Húng Hôa are considered by far the most interesting of the semi-independent groups whom the French had access to their natural oppressors, and a specimen of whose language writing is given. "Les Îles et les Côtes Françaises du Siam" is a short descriptive paper, followed by a continuation.

M. Aymonier's Notes on Annam, this time treating of the littoral, Cam Linh and Nha tung, Ninh Hoa and the Dêo Cá, and the products of the soil. Both these papers are of geographical interest. After some few data on the growth of Liberian coffee and cocoa in the Dutch Indian possessions, the Annamite Tales and Legends of M. Landes are resumed and brought to a conclusion—at least for the time. They already form a tolerably large collection of stories and fables and folk-lore.

*Japanese.*—The *Academy* of June 5th repeats from the native local papers that Mr. Basil Hall Chamberlain has been requested to lecture on the Japanese language and literature to Japanese students at the University of Tokio. It was in this same University that Professor Bunyiu Nanjio, who learnt Sanskrit at Oxford and received an honorary English degree, instructed Buddhist priests in the elements of Sanskrit and ancient literature of Buddhism. The number of the 26th June, noticing a History of Japan by Percy Thorpe, comes to the conclusion that, while it will not be of much service to the student, it will be useful to those who merely wish to "know something" about that country. The same paper on the 28th August begins the last paragraph of a review of Mr. Audsley's Ornamental Arts of Japan, by stating that "in this splendid work . . . we have the most perfect view of Japanese Art which has yet been published." We learn from the *Athenæum* of the 24th July that Mr. Francis Galton, the President of the Anthropological Institute, in closing the series of conferences at South Kensington, announced the establishment of an Anthropological Institute in Japan, of which the secretary is a Japanese gentleman who recently took honours at Cambridge.

We have received vol. ix. parts 1 and 2 of the Transactions of the Seismological Society of Japan. Part i. has papers on Earthquake Frequency, Earth Currents, and the Automatic Current Recorder; part ii. gives an instructive and comprehensive account of the more important volcanoes. Vol. iii. of the Transactions has just been published in the Japanese language. Of quite recent publications the following should be also noted: *Easy Conversations* in English, German, and Japanese, first series, second edition, by F. Warrington Eastlake (Tokio, Z. P. Maruya & Co., 1886); *Nippon Shokubutsumei*, or Nomenclature of Japanese Plants in Latin, Japanese, and Chinese, by J. Matsumura, supervised by R. Yatabe (Tokio, Maruya, 1884); *The Meiji Kwaiwa-Hen*, a Treasury of Conversational Phrases in English and Japanese, parts i. and ii. (Tokio, Maruya, 1886).

*Turkish.*—According to the *Athenæum* of the 26th June, a number of Magyar literati were about to visit Constantinople in company with Professor Vambéry. Dr. Ignatz Kunost, a philologist of the same nationality, had been engaged for some time in Asia, studying the common or spoken Turkish, as well as the Folk-lore of the Turkish provinces, with a view to the publication by the Hungarian Academy of the result of his inquiries.

The Reverend H. P. Tozer, reviewing Mrs. Walker's "*Eastern*

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Life and Scenery, with Excursions in Asia Minor," in the *Academy* of the 12th June, remarks "the author always writes pleasantly and sometimes with a vein of originality."

*Egypt and Egyptology.*—Under this head one of the most important items of intelligence is the resignation by Professor Maspero of his Superintendence of excavations and collection of antiquities in Egypt, an office to which he succeeded on the death of Mariette Pasha, and which he has administered with remarkable zeal and ability for a period of five years. His courteous and assuming manner, and readiness to impart information to the travellers visiting the Bulak Museum, were as conspicuous as the depth and soundness of his knowledge. One of his latest acts—unfolding the mummies of Rameses II. and III.—has been celebrated in a *procès verbal*, of which a reprint appears in the *Academy* of 3rd July. The latter paper, in confirming the terms of his resignation, announces that Professor Maspero's successor in the service of the Khedive will be his pupil, M. Eugène Gréban, an Egyptologist of proved distinction.

In the *Academy* of the 26th June is an interesting letter from Mr. Flinders Petrie, giving some results of his exploration of hitherto unexamined sites of Defenneh (pronounced Deffneh), the Tuhpanhos, Taphne (LXX.), and Daphnæ of antiquity. His argument that this was that earliest Greek town of Egypt, as well as that the site was one of the Xth Dynasty, wholly free from later remains, give an additional importance to the subject. Above all, we have now in him a new and valuable authority that here is "Pharaoh's house in Tuhpanes" (Jerem. xliii. 9), and that the "brickwork pavement" which was "at the entry," is exactly explained by a large paved area outside of the palace opposite to the entry. It should be observed that the words in the Old Version, where the prophet is commanded to hide stones in "the clay in the kiln," are changed in the Revised Version to hide them in "the brickwork"; moreover, that a marginal note infers that they may mean "lay them with mortar in the pavement (or square)." The same paper of July 3 contains a review by Mr. J. Butler of Mr. Stanley Lane Poole's "Art of the Saracens in Egypt," a work illustrated with more than one hundred engravings. As an essay on the whole subject of Egyptian art, the reviewer would have wished it to convey a clearer notion than it does of the term "Saracenic," with reference to "Coptic." As a hand-book, he recognizes in it "a valuable addition to the art hand-books of the South Kensington Museum, and holds it "difficult to over-colour the praise it deserves."

At a special meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, held at the theatre of the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, on Tuesday the 6th July, for the purpose of hearing Mr. Ernest Gardner's lecture on recent excavations, Mr. Petrie's Memoir on Nauland, then just ready for issue to subscribers, was placed on the table.

The following items are gathered from the *Academy* :

VOL. XVIII.—[NEW SERIES.]

23rd June, Miss Amelia B. Edwards received from Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, the degree of LL.D., "in recognition of her services to Egyptological research;" and on the following day the same degree was conferred upon Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole (already an hon. LL.D. of Cambridge and Corresponding Member of the Institute of France), by Dartmouth College, New Jersey. The recipients are both honorary secretaries of the Egypt Exploration Fund. On the 17th July, the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy was also conferred on Miss Edwards by the College of the Sisters of Bethany in Kansas, "in recognition of her work in the field of Scriptural archæology."

The question of evidence against antiquity borne by "kiln-burnt bricks" may now be considered to have been fairly solved. Mr. Flinders Petrie, in a letter of the 10th July, states that last winter he found "three instances of baked bricks in Egypt dating from 1200 B.C.;" and certainly none later than 700 B.C.;" while Professor Sayce, writing on the 21st inst., points out that the bricks "composing the old fortress of Gebelin, south of Thebes, are stamped with the cartouches of Ra-men-kheper and Isis-m-khel of the (illegitimate) XXI. Dynasty," besides other examples. As the first of the kings of the XXII. Dynasty is said to have been the Shishak of Scripture, the period alluded to may reasonably be inferred about 1000 B.C.

In the issue of the 7th August, Miss Edwards describes Professor Maspero's discovery, in February, of a piece of inscribed limestone containing a complete version of the contents of the Berlin papyrus No. 1, best known by his own translation, entitled "*Les Aventures de Sinouhit*," and by the English version styled "*the Story of Saneha*," from the pen of the late C. W. Goodwin. The period at which this tale was written is involved in doubt, but it is affirmed to be "older by many centuries than the time of Moses"; and the find has been of great general value in archæological research. The same number of the *Academy* notifies that M. Edouard Naville, the discoverer of Pithom, has been decorated by the Emperor of Germany with the order of the Red Eagle, in honour of the completion of his great work, the comparative edition of "*the Ritual*," or *Book of the Dead*.

In addition to Professor Maspero's *procès verbal*, to which we have already referred, a second paper of a similar nature signed by him, describing the unwrapping of the Mummies of Sekenen-ra and Seti I., in presence of General Stephenson and many officers and ladies residing at Cairo, on the 9th June, appears in the number of the 31st July. To this is added, in that of the 14th August, his Report to the Académie des Inscriptions, in which he mentions the singular fact that among the mummies was found the body of a young man, between 25 and 30 years of age, bearing neither name nor inscription, showing signs of death in extreme agony. The *Athenæum* of September 4 states that Professor the Abbé Hyvernat is preparing a palæographic atlas in Coptic.

Among late works on Egypt are noted: Lefébure (G.), *Les*

## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

Hypogées Royaux de Thèbes. 1ère division. Le tombeau I. Paris, Leroux. Egypt Exploration Fund, vol. iii., No. 1, part i. (with 44 plates), by Mr. W. M. Flinders Petrie, also by Messrs. Cecil Smith, Ernest Gardner, and Barclay V. H.

*Epigraphy.*—Among the more interesting epigraphical discoveries of the quarter is that raised by Mr. Fleet in his contribution to the *Indian Antiquary* for July, under the respective headings "The Epoch of the Gupta Era," and "Mandasor Inscriptions of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvvarman"—the last being No. 16 of the papers on "Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions." The question of the accuracy of particular readings of an inscription, but one of the bearing of the inscription itself on Indian history and chronology. His main contention from the new date evidence has been obtained to prove the correctness of Al. statement that the Gupta Era began "within a year or either side of A.D. 319-20": that the same authority was in making this the epoch of the extermination, instead of the rise to power of the Guptas; and that, under another name, the Vikrama Era *did* exist anterior to A.D. 544. Should any hesitation be felt in accepting these results, Mr. Fleet would invite attention to the Gôlmâdhitol Inscription of the Mahârâja Sivadeva Managriha in Nepal (discovered and published some months since by Mr. Cecil Bendall), in which he finds the most valuable confirmation of his conclusions. This inscription is dated in the year 318 without specification of era. Sivadeva I. is shown in the inscription to be contemporary with the *Mahasamanta* Amśuvarman, whose approximate date, viz. about A.D. 637, was, Mr. Fleet writes, well known from Hiouen Tsiang's mention of him." According to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, the years 34, 35, and 45, on certain inscriptions of Amśuvarman, belong to the Gupta Era established by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, commencing in A.D. 590 or 607. It therefore follows that the date of 318 for Sivadeva must refer to an era commencing about 300 years prior to the Gupta Era of Harshavardhana. The first-mentioned Gupta Era, beginning "within a year or two on either side of A.D. 319-20," is the one which is argued, "exactly meets the requirements of the case."  $319+318=A.D. 637$ . Mr. Fleet then proceeds to consider this particular era came to be introduced into Nepal, a circumstance which he attributes to the conquest of the country by either the Guptas or the rulers of Vallabhi, whose first permanent sovereign was Dharasena IV. To those interested in a solution of the question, Böhler's paper in the *Sitzungsberichte der Phil. hist. Classe der Kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften* may be commended for perusal. The inscription entitled "Eine Inschrift des Königs Dharasena IV. von Vaishali" and its reprint as a separate pamphlet has quite recently appeared.

The *Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient* for August contains a note on Professor Sayce's two Van Inscriptions. The first is said to be identical with one published by D. Müller in the *Records of the Imperial Academy of Science*. The second, consisting of eleven lines engraved on red sandstone, is supposed to have

an enumeration of sacrifices; but it is broken away on both sides, and the beginning and end are wanting.

We gather from the *Academy* of 14 August that, at a late meeting of the *Académie des Inscriptions*, Mr. Schlumberger exhibited rubbings of a mysterious inscription found at Ak Hişar (Thyatira) in Lydia. It is engraved on three sides of a stone which now forms the base of a wood pillar in a caravansara. On the fourth side may be distinguished the legs of a human being. The characters of the inscription bear no resemblance to those classed as Hittite; some have rather the appearance of bad copies of Egyptian hieroglyphics.

*Numismatics.*—The *Athenæum* of July 31 reviews Mr. Eugene Leggett's "Mint Towns and Coins of the Muhammadans from the Earliest Period to the Present Time," but thinks it unfortunate that the designer of so excellent a programme should have set about his work with inadequate preparation. Pointing out certain inaccuracies and defects of arrangement and execution, it admits that the compilation contains a great deal of information which it must have cost pains to gather, and that the labour expended on it is obviously of love. The same paper notes the cataloguing by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole of the little-known cabinet of coins in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, and notifies the completion of Mr. Poole's *Catalogue of Muhammadan coins in the Bodleian Library*. On the 14th August the *Athenæum* begins a long review of volumes ii. and iii. of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, with the statement that the whole work "owed its existence to a scholar of singularly wide attainments and a publisher whose zeal for learning outstripped even his remarkable business capacity." It need hardly be added that allusion is made to Mr. Edward Thomas and Mr. Nicholas Trübner. Vol. i. was completed in 1878; vol. ii. in 1881; vol. iii. part 1 in 1882; and part 2 at a very recent date. It is to the last that attention is now mainly directed, Sir Walter Elliot's essay on the Coins of Southern India, regarding which a pregnant sentence of the review merits quotation: "It is a matter of general felicitation that the only living scholar who has acquired a mastery over this perplexing subject should have been able practically to achieve his work before failing sight rendered the personal examination of the coins impossible."

In the first number of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the current year, Mr. Oliver discourses on some copper coins of Akbar, of which a bag of several hundred had been brought to him by a *Baniyá*. He mentions, as a curious fact, that in this one find are included specimens of the whole twelve Persian months from Fanvardin to Isfandarmuz, in many cases of several mints.

*Vienna Congress.*—The representatives of the Royal Asiatic Society at the Seventh International Congress, held at Vienna while these pages are in the press, are Dr. R. N. Cust, Honorary Secretary, Professors Cecil Bendall, M.A., Terrien de Lacouperie, and Mr. George Grierson, Members of the Council, and Dr. Theodore Duka, Member. It is hoped to publish the Hon. Secretary's Summary of Proceedings in the January number of the *Journal*.



## NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

### CORRIGENDA TO PART II. VOL. XVIII.

P. 383, 2nd par., 9th line. For "A.H. 35 (A.D. 655)"  
"A.H. 40 (A.D. 660)."

P. 287, l. 2. For "the direct line of the great Mu'āw becoming extinct" read: "the remaining branches of the line of the great Mu'āwiya being then infants, the sovereignty passed to collaterals."

P. 290, first line. For "first and only son" read "that left male issue."

P. 290, ll. 4 and 3 from bottom. For "only son as above" "only son that left male issue."

### ADDENDUM TO PART III. VOL. XVIII.

In Sir George Birdwood's Note to Mr. Sewell's paper on Buddhist Symbolism, at page 408 of the Journal for July writer would wish interpolated in line 13, after "poetic the Garden of Eden and Tree of Life," the words—"an 'Knop and Flower' Pattern";—the rest of the paragraph mencing with the word "but," to remain as now printed.

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## INDEX.

- Abreck*, derivation of the word, 530.  
 Abul Ghâzi of Khiva, his "Genealogical History of the Tartars," 190.  
 Abul Musayyib Râfi', an 'Okayli prince, text and translation of an ode by, 518.  
 Abu Sinân Gharib, description of a dirhem struck by, 515.  
 Adi Granth, the arrangement of the hymns of the, 437 *et seq.*  
 Africa, titles of recent books on the languages of, clxiv.  
 Ahasuerus, derivation of the name, 536.  
 Akbar, copper coins of, 568.  
 Akbar, the Emperor, Count Noër's great work on, clxviii.  
 Ak Hîşar, a mysterious inscription at, 568.  
 Akkadian, contains many Semitic words, 412.  
 "Alchemist, The," a Persian play, 103 *et seq.*  
 Alexander's expedition to India, 373.  
 Algerian onyx, note on the, 50.  
 Algiers and Tunis, note on the marbles of, 48.  
 Altaic language, 185.  
 American Oriental Society, summary of the proceedings of the, cv, 547.  
 'Amir ibn Sa'sa'ah, pedigree of the Tribes of, *facings page 526*.  
 Amirkhanians, the Rev., engaged in translating the Bible into the language of the Trans-Caucasus, 187.  
 "Ancient Arabian Poetry," by C. J. Lyall, Sir R. Burton's review of, xcix.  
 Ancient navigation in the Indian Ocean, 1 *et seq.*  
 Ancient Sculptures in China, 469 *et seq.*  
*Annales de l'Extrême Orient*, summary of the papers in the, cxxxiv.  
 Annamites in Cochin-China, 563.  
 Apollonius of Tyana, quotation from, 405.  
 Arab Culture before the Time of Muhammad, one of the subjects for King Oscar's prizes, cl.  
 Arabian Matriarchate, further spondence relating to the xcvi.  
 Arabic, gleanings from the, Arabic literature, summary additions to, xcvi *et seq.*, 5  
 Arabic transliteration, Dr. I system of, explained and illustrated, 294-322.  
 Arbousset, T., his contribution Bushman language, 58.  
 Arch of heaven, a Chinese representing the (illustrated Plate V.), 472.  
 Archæological Survey of India, summary of the Reports issued, lxix *et seq.*  
 Archæology in India and *et seq.*, 552 *et seq.*  
 Architecture and sculpture in the earliest period, 387.  
 Artaxerxes, derivation of the name, Aryan languages, summary additions to the literature *et seq.*, 552 *et seq.*  
 Asamee, philological and studies on, cxviii.  
 Asenath, derivation of the name Asiatic Research, King Oscar for two essays on Oriental cl.  
 Asoka alphabet, origin of the Asoka, made Buddhism the religion, 373.  
 Assyriology, summary of results *et seq.*, 555.  
 Azerbaijani-Turkish original Persian play "The Alchemist" Azerbaijani or Trans-Caucasus, 181.  
 Azhdahâ, the, or dragon, at 327; also at Bisût, 328.  
 Bab en Nasr, the gate of, reproduction and translation of inscription at, 83.

- Babū Shyāma Charana, a writer in the *Calcutta Review*, contradicted, 236.
- Babu Siv Nandan Lal Ray, the Deputy Magistrate of Pat'nā, to whom Mr. Grierson was greatly indebted in collecting the Bhoj'puri folk-songs, 214.
- Badr al Jamāli, the memorial to, at Cairo, 84-5.
- Bais'wārī, the border dialect between Braj Bhāshā and Bihārī, 208.
- Bala Murghab, description and plate of caves at, 96.
- Balance-sheet of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1885, liii.
- Balūchi folklore, cxv.
- Bāmīān, the magnificent city of caverns, 96; the site of, 323; its obscure history, 324; the great idols at, 325; enumeration of the various travellers who make mention of the city, 325; quotations from travellers regarding the figures at, 326; the Azhdahā at, 327; explanation of the plate illustrating the caves and figures at, 332-3.
- Bashkir language, 182.
- Bast, resemblance of a Chinese sculpture to the goddess (illustrated—see Plate VII.), 473.
- Bas'ti Singh, a popular legend on the death of, 242 *et seq.*
- Batten, J. H., obituary notice of, 549.
- Belshazzar, Belteshazzar, derivation of the names, 538.
- Bengal, the Asiatic Society of, analysis of various papers in the *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the, lvi *et seq.*; the *Centenary Review* of the, lviii; proceedings of the, 544-546.
- Bengali literature, cxvi.
- Beni Saf, the mines of, 34.
- BERTIN, G., "The Bushmen and their Language," Art. III., pp. 51-81; "The Pre-Akkadian Semites," Art. XVII., pp. 409-436.
- Bhartrihari, extracts from, 142.
- Bhoj'puri folk-songs, 214 *et seq.*
- Biblical Archaeology, Society of, summary of the proceedings of the, 547; summary of the papers in the *Transactions* of the, xc. 550.
- Bibliotheca Arabica-Hispana, edited by Signor Cordera, xcvi.
- Bibliotheca Indica, list of the recent fasciculi of the, added to the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, lx, 551.
- Bibliotheca Samaritana, edited by Dr. Heidenheim, ci.
- Bidyapati Thākur, the celebrated Maithili poet, 208a, 209; text and translation of one of his poems, 237 *et seq.*
- Bihār, the vernacular presses at, cxv.
- Bihari language, grammars of the dialects and sub-dialects of, by G. A. Grierson, 207, 209, cxvi.
- Birch, Dr. S., obituary notice of, xvi *et seq.*
- BIRDWOOD, Sir G., his remarks on Mr. Sewell's paper, 407-8, 569.
- Bir'hār, the name of an Indian melody, 211.
- Bleek, Immanuel, his unfinished MS. Dictionary of the Bushman Language, 57; his contributions to the Bushman language, 58.
- Bombay Branch R.A.S., list of papers in the *Journal* of the, lxi.
- Brāhmanism, explanation of what it is, 128.
- Brāhmanism and Hindūism, the difference between, 128.
- Brahai, Dr. Duka's forthcoming paper on, cxv.
- Braj Bhāshā, the language to the west of Bais'wārī, 208.
- Bricks, kiln-burnt, important evidence contributed by, 566.
- British and Foreign Bible Society, selections from their Annual Report, cli *et seq.*
- Broch, Dr. J. P., obituary notice of, lii.
- Brosset, M., obituary notice of, li.
- Brown, Dr. N., obituary notice of, lii.
- Buddhism, explanation of what it is, 129.
- Buddhism gaining ground in India, 373.
- "Buddhism in its Relation to Brāhmanism," by Sir M. Monier-Williams, 127-156.
- Buddhist architecture, details as to, 336-7 (with a plate).
- Buddhist origin of the caves on the Murghab, 97.
- Buddhist symbolism, 364 *et seq.*
- Buddhist symbols, the question whence derived, 389.
- Bulāki Dās, a poem by, 252.
- Bulla Regia, Roman ruins at, 39.
- Burju-z Zafar, the archaeological puzzle of, 86; quotation from Al Makrizi regarding the, 87; the name, "Tower of Filth," supposed to be a corruption of "Tower of Victory," 88.
- Burmese literature, cxix, 562.
- Burton, Sir R., his version of "The Song of Meysūn," 269.

# INDEX.

- Bushman and Bantu, compared, 55.  
 Bushman language, alphabet and grammatical sketch of the, 60 *et seq.*; pronouns, 65; numerals, 68; nouns and adjectives, 69; order of sentence, 74; formation of nouns, 75; the importance of the, 75.  
 Bushman language, scanty materials for a study of the, 57.  
 Bushman, physiological characteristics of the, 54; moral characteristics, 55; his lack of a religion, 56; his artistic capabilities, 57.  
 Bushman literature, 77.  
 Bushman, relationship of the, 78.  
 Bushmen and Hottentots, the difference between, 52.  
 Bushmen, the, and their language, 51 *et seq.*
- Caduceus*, explanation of the, 401.  
 Cairo, Inscriptions at, 82 *et seq.*  
*Calcutta Review*, résumé of the papers contained in the, cxliii, 561.  
 Cape Roux, historical survey of, 32.  
 Cape Town, Sir G. Grey's Library at, where Bleek's great Dictionary is "buried," 57.  
 Carlyle, Dr., his poetic version of "The Song of Maisuna," 269.  
 Cassels, A., obituary notice of, 549.  
 Caves on the Murghab, description and plates of, 92 *et seq.*  
 Central Arabian Inscriptions, cxxxvi.  
*Châchar*, the name of an Indian melody, 211.  
 Chahilburj, Capt. Maitland's description of, 330.  
 Chaitanya, a Bengali poet, who wrote in a spurious Maithili, 209.  
*Chakra*, the, an emblem of the sun, 392.  
 Chaldeans, Prof. Rawlinson's account of their religious belief, 379.  
 Chaldean system of astrology, 382-3.  
 Chaldee and Hebrew literature, lxxxv *et seq.*, 554.  
 Chand Bardāi, the Braj Bhūshā poet, 208.  
 Chandi Dāsa, the famous Bengali poet, 208.  
 Chandragupta, the rise of, 372.  
 Chemtou (anciently Semitu Colonia). Roman remains at, 41; the aqueduct at, 43; the colossal bridge at, 45; note on the marbles of, 49.  
 Chennouah, note on the marbles of, 50.  
 China, ancient sculptures in, 469 *et seq.*  
*China Review*, résumé of the papers in the, cxii.
- China, the introduction of writing may have come from Mesopotamian Chinese literature, recent additions, 562.  
 CHURCHILL, S., "A Moderator to Persian Literature," Kuli Khān and his Works, pp. 196-206; letter respecting Mirzā Ja'far, the translator of "The Alchemist," 181.  
 Clepsidra, the early appearance in China, 15.  
 Clerk, Mrs. Godfrey, her version of "The Song of Meysūn," 269.  
 Cochin-Chinese literature, cx.  
 Codrington, Rev. Dr. R., "Melanesian Languages," by G. von der Gabelentz, 4.  
 Coptic Church, the, cxxxiii.  
 Copts, the, Mr. Petrie's testimony to their moral worth, cxxxi.  
 Cork trees in the country of the mair, 37.  
 Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, edited by the Académie des Inscriptions, cxl.  
 Cusar, Dr. R. N., quoted, 5.  
 Cusar, Dr. R. N., quoted, 81; Note by, on graphical distribution of languages, 186-193; he journeyed to Tiflis to obtain information on Caucasian languages, 186.  
 Cusar, Dr. R. N., Appendix of Authorities and Books of Reference, note by, on Melanesian languages, 484.  
 Cyrus, derivation of the name, 484.
- Daumas, F., his contribution to Bushman language, 58.  
 Days of the week, similarity between European and Indian divisions, 385.  
 De Courteille, Pavet, his papers on Turki languages, 186.  
 Defenneh (Tahpanhes, Tappan, Daphnē), important discovery, 565.  
 DE LASSOË, Capt., and Hon. M. G. TALBOT, "Discoveries in the Caves on the Murghab," pp. 92-102.  
 Dhammapada, extract from the, DOUGLAS, Prof. R. K., "Sculptures in China," A. pp. 469-476.  
 Dragut, the celebrated corsair, Dravidian philology, cxix, 484.

- Early Buddhist Symbolism, 364 *et seq.*  
 EDKINS, Rev. Dr. J., "Ancient Navigation in the Indian Ocean," Art. I., pp. 1-27.  
 Edwards, Miss A. B., academical honours bestowed upon, 566.  
 Egyptian obelisk, a Chinese sculpture resembling an (illustrated—see Plate IV.), 472.  
 Egyptian place-names, identification of some, cxxix.  
 Egyptology, résumé of the recent discoveries in, and books and papers relating to, cxxvi *et seq.*, 565.  
 Eliot, George, an untraced poetical couplet extracted from her "Middlemarch," 149.  
 Elliot, Sir W., his "Coins of Southern India," 568.  
*Encyclopædia Britannica*, the principal Asiatic articles in the, with their authors' names, cl.  
 English and Vernacular Literature of India, cxlii *et seq.*  
 Epigraphy, summary of progress in, cxxvi *et seq.*, 567.  
 Ethiopic literature, 555.  
 Excerpta Orientalia, 550-568.  
 Eyre, Sir V., his measurements of the figures at Bámián, and his sketch of the large male figure there, 335.  
 Fatimite Khalifate, memorials of the, 82.  
**Fergusson**, James, obituary notice of, xxiv *et seq.*  
 Fergusson, J., quotation from, as to the origin of the trisula, 364.  
 Finn branch of languages, 177.  
 Finn-Ugrie and Turko-Tatár controversy, note on the, 465.  
 Filfila, note on the marbles of, 50.  
 Firdausi's "Shah-námah," a new text of, 205.  
 Fish-god of Babylonia, the, 470.  
*Fleur-de-lys*, the emblem of the, possibly to be traced back to the old emblem the scarab, 404.  
 Folklore, a curious coincidence in, lviii.  
 Foreign words in the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, 527 *et seq.*  
**Forster**, the Right Hon. W. E., obituary notice of, li.  
 FREELAND, H. W., "Gleanings from the Arabic," Art. V., pp. 89-91.  
 Fu-hi Ts'ang-tsing, a Chinese legendary monstrosity (illustrated—see Plate I.), 470.  
**GABELENTZ**, Georg von der, "The Languages of Melanesia," Art. XXI, pp. 484-490.  
 Gableantz, H. C. von der, his contributions to our knowledge of Melanesian Languages, 486.  
 German Oriental Society, list of papers in the Journal of the, lxvii, 562.  
 GAAſō, the name of an Indian melody, 210.  
 Gibb, E. J. W., his version of "The Song of Meysūn," 274.  
 Giles, H. A., his "Remains of Lao Tzu," 563.  
 Glass, the use of, by the ancients, lxxxv.  
 Gleanings from the Arabic, 89.  
 Gôlmâdhîtol Inscription, its important bearing on the Gupta Era, 567.  
 Grébaut, M. Eugène, appointed to succeed Prof. Maspero, 565.  
 GRIERSON, G. A., "Some Bhoj'puri Folk-Songs," Art. XII., pp. 207-267.  
 Guerah-el-Hont (Lake of Fish), near La Calle, 31.  
 Guerah-el-Melah, a lake near La Calle, 30.  
 Guerah Obeira, a lake near La Calle, 31.  
 Gupta era, the bearing of epigraphy on the, 567.  
 Guyard, Stanislas, obituary notice of, lrv.  
 Haggard, W. H. D., part translator of "The Vazir of Lankurân," 103.  
 Hahn, Dr. T., his contributions to the Bushman language, 58.  
 Hamd-Ullah Mustaufi Kazvini, a recently-discovered work of, 205.  
 Harisarman, the Story of, translated by the Rev. B. H. Wortham, 172, *et seq.*  
 Hazarsam, description of the caves at, 345.  
 Hebrew and Chaldee literature, lxxxv *et seq.*, 554.  
 Heri Rud, caves on the, 95.  
 Himyaritic inscriptions, ciii.  
 Hindi (book) language of N.W. India, 208.  
 Hindu literature, Prof. Max Müller on, 5.  
 Hindu Pantheon, the, 149.  
 Hindûism, explanation of what it is, 128.  
 Hsiouen - Thsang's evidence regarding the existence of Buddhism at and beyond the Hindu-Kush, 97.

# INDEX.

- Hitopadeśa, extracts from the, 148-9.  
Hittite literature, cii.  
HOMMEL, Prof. F., "The Sumerian Language and its Affinities," Art. XV., pp. 351-363.  
Horiuzi palm-leaves, cvii.  
Huber, C., obituary notice of, and his tragic death, lxviii.  
Hunfalvy, P., a summary of his views in opposition to those of Prof. Vambéry on the origins of the Magyar nation, 467.  
Hwen T'sang's description of the figures at Bâmiân, 327.
- India and Western Asia, the political connexion between, 365.  
India, English books on, 561.  
India, first really made known to European nations by the expedition of Alexander, 373.  
India, general notes relating to, 560.  
India, remarkable evidence of the progress of the native intellect in, cxlii.  
India, the introduction of writing into, 3 *et seq.*  
*Indian Antiquary*, résumé of papers published in the, lxxvi *et seq.*, 552.  
Indian coin, an unrecognized, bearing the Vaishnava emblem, 403 (illustrated).  
Indian division of the day, and its bearing on the hymns of the *Adi Granth*, 440.  
Indian intercourse with Rome, 377.  
Indian Ocean, ancient navigation in the, 1 *et seq.*  
"International Numismata Orientalia," the, 567.  
Iai, the goddesses, 471.
- Jagannatha, the idol of, at Puri, originally was a *triśūla*, 402 (illustrated).  
Jagatai language, 190.  
Japan, books relating to, cxxxiv, 564.  
*Jāt'sār*, the melody so called, 210.  
Jimûtavâhana, the Story of, translated by the Rev. B. H. Wortham, 157 *et seq.*  
*Journal Asiatique*, list of papers in the, lxi, 551.  
Jülg, Prof. B., obituary notice of, 550.
- Kaj'ri*, the name of an Indian melody, 210.  
Kallisch, Dr., obituary notice of, lii.
- Kali Yuga*, or iron age, the, 211 happens in the, 222.  
Kalpas, or ages of the world immensity, 161.  
Kasân language, 181.  
Kathâ Sarit Sâgara, translated Stories of Jimûtavâhana.  
Harisarman, from the, by B. H. Wortham, 157 *et seq.*  
KAY, H. C., "Inscriptions and the Burju-z Zafar," A pp. 82-88; "Notes on the of the Banu 'Oqayl," Art. pp. 491-526.  
Kaye, Lieut.-Gen. E., his acc the Azdahar at Bâmiân, 328  
Kef Om-et-Teboul, the lead mines of, 31.  
Khivan language, 183.  
Khomair, description of a through the country of *et seq.*  
Khuai or Bushman race, reasoning the existence of a, 53.  
Kirghiz language, 183.  
Kleber, the marble quarries at, Kriṣṇa, the cowherd-god, 211.  
Kudatku Bilik, the, is the specimen of real Türkî, 190.  
Kumük, or Kumik, or Kungu, 180.
- La Calle, the place where first established themselves in Africa, 28; historical and graphical details of, 29; prosperity of, 30; description three lakes near, 30.  
Lacouperie, Prof. T. de, his for the study of languages, letter by, on Pre-Akks 548.  
LEATHES, the Rev. Dr. S., "Words in the Hebrew Text Old Testament," Art. XXI 527-542.  
Legge, the Rev. Prof., two books on China, 562.  
LE STRANGE, Guy, "The Al A Persian Play," Art. V. 103-126.  
Lichtenstein, M., his contribution the Bushman language, 58.  
Luxor, excavation of the Great at, cxxxi.
- Magahi, a Bihari dialect, 209.  
Magi, the, 353a.

- Maisun**, wife of Mu'awiya, 90; her "Lament," Arabic text and H. W. Freeland's translation of, 90-91. *See also* Maysun.
- Maitland**, Capt. P. G., his account of Chahilburj, 330; explanation of his sketches (supplied on Plates IV.—VIII.), 340-4; his additional note on Bamian, 347-350.
- Maitri Upanishad**, extract from the, 141.
- Makrizi's** account of the mosque of Nasir ibn Kalaoun at Cairo, 478.
- Malto language**, cxx.
- Manchu branch of languages**, 178.
- Ma'n dynasty**, description of a dirhem of the, 515 (see the illustration of it on p. 491).
- Marbles of North Africa**, notes on the, 48-50.
- Maspero**, Prof., resigns the post of Superintendent of Antiquities in Egypt, 565; unfolding of mummies by, 565, 566.
- Masson's** account of the Azhdaha of Bisût, 328.
- Mathew**, F., obituary notice of, li.
- Medhurst**, Sir W. H., obituary notice of, xxii *et seq.*
- Melanesian languages**, 484 *et seq.*
- Meshach**, derivation of the name, 536.
- Meynard**, M. Barbier de, his biographical notes on Mirza Fath-'Ali, 104.
- Maysun**, different versions of the Song of, 269 *et seq.*; the question of the authorship of, historically investigated, 279 *et seq.* *See also* Maisun.
- Mirza Fath-'Ali**, author of the Azerbaijani-Turkish original of "The Alchemist," 103; M. Barbier de Meynard's biographical notes on, 104; short sketch of two other of his plays, "The Thief-Taker," and "The Attorneys," 105.
- Mirza Ja'afar**, translator of the Persian play "The Alchemist," 103.
- Mokta-el-Hadid**, the mines of, 34.
- Mongol branch of languages**, 178.
- MONIER-WILLIAMS**, Prof. Sir M., "On Buddhism in its Relation to Brahmanism," Art. VIII., pp. 127-156.
- Montefiore**, Sir Moses, obituary notice of, xlix.
- MORRISON**, M. A., "The Geographical Distribution of the Modern Turki Languages," Art. X., pp. 177-195 (with a Map).
- Moses**, derivation of the name, 532.
- Mu'awiya**, the sixth Khalif, and his wife Maisun, 89.
- "Mud Architecture," 336.
- Muhammad**, story of an uncle of, residing in Canton, 3.
- Muh wang**, the legendary visit of, to Si wang mu (illustrated—see Plate IX.), 474.
- Muh wang's steeds**, enumeration of, 475.
- Muir**, Sir W., letter from, pointing out a correction to be made in his "Life of Mahomet," 463.
- Müller**, Dr. F., his contributions to the Bushman language, 58.
- Müller**, Prof. Max, his notice of the abrupt change in Hindu literature, 381.
- Murghab**, description of caves on the, 92 *et seq.*
- Mut**, resemblance of a Chinese sculpture to the goddess (illustrated—see Plate VII.), 473.
- Nabathæan inscriptions**, their bearing on Arabian history, cxxvi, cxxvii.
- Nasir ibn Kalaoun**, the mosque of, 477 *et seq.*; inscriptions in the, text and translation, 479, 481.
- Naf**, the professional singer in India so called, 210.
- National Anthem**, Oriental translations of the, cix.
- Naukratis**, Mr. Flinders Petrie's discoveries at, cxxvii.
- Naville**, E., the order of the Red Eagle bestowed on, 566.
- Noër**, Count F. A. von, his "Life of Akbar," cxlviii.
- Nogai language**, 179.
- North China Branch B.A.S.**, list of papers in the *Journal* of the, lxi.
- Northern India**, the invasion of, by the Yueh-chi, 376.
- "Notes of the Quarter," 462-467, 543-569.
- Nigritoide race**, a, supposed common ancestors of the Egyptians and the Bushmen, 80.
- Nirvāna**, Prof. Monier-Williams' views of, 152 *et seq.*
- Nü-kwa**, a Chinese legendary monstrosity (illustrated—see Plate I.), 470.
- Numeration**, the Chaldean intricate system of, 384.
- Numidian marbles**, note on the, 48.
- Numismatics**, recent contributions relating to, cxi, 568.
- Nut**, the goddess (illustrated—see Plate VIII.), 473.



## INDEX.

- "Nuzhatu-l-Kulub," by Hamd-Ullah Mustaufi Kazvini, nine copies of it in the British Museum, 206.
- Obituary Notices.** See Batten, Birch, Broch, Brosset, Brown, Cassels, Fergusson, Forster, Guyard, Huber, Kulisch, Mathew, Medhurst, Jülg, Montefiore, Pandit Tara Nath Tarkavachaspati, Phayre, Regnier, Robinson, St. Barbe, Seyffarth, Subhi Pasha, Theodores, Thomas, The Mahārāja of Travancore, Vaux, and Zunz.
- Oceania, recent books relating to the languages of, clxiv.
- "Okbara, a mint-city of the Ma'n dynasty, 516.
- "Okayl, history of the Banu, 491 *et seq.*
- "Okayl, pedigree of the subtribes of, facing page 526.
- "Okayli Princes of Mesopotamia and 'Irak, genealogical table of the, facing page 526.
- Old Testament, Foreign Words in the Hebrew Text of the, 527 *et seq.*
- Oriental*, cosmopolitanism of the term, 3.
- Oscar II., King of Sweden and Norway, offers two prizes for essays on Oriental subjects, cl.
- Osiris, the god, 471.
- Osmānli language, 180.
- Ostramof, P. P., engaged in translating the Scriptures into the language of Turkestan, etc., 188.
- Pahlavi literature, recent additions to, cxii, 558.
- Palestine Exploration Fund, summary of the publications by the, lxxx, 554.
- Pāli, recent additions to the literature of, cxi, 557.
- Pāli Text Society, recent publications of the, cxi.
- Pandit Tara Nath Tarkavachaspati**, obituary notice of, li.
- "Panjab Notes and Queries," 562.
- Pasha, derivation of the word, 539.
- Pe, the goddess, represented as overshadowing the earth (illustrated—see Plate VI.), 472.
- Penjdeh, description and plates of the caves at, 92 *et seq.*
- Perrot and Chipiez, their "Art in Chaldaea and Assyria," quoted from, 368, 382-3.
- Persian literature, a butor to, 196 *et seq.*
- Persian literature, recent add cxiii, 558.
- Persian play, "The Alchem *et seq.*
- Pharaoh, derivation of the 529.
- Phayre**, Sir A., obituary no *et seq.*
- Phœbus, the resemblance of N to, 475.
- Phœbus's horses, enumera 475.
- Pi-ahiroth, derivation of 533.
- Pincott, F., "The Arrangem Hymns of the Adi Gran XVIII., pp. 437-461.
- Piggala, the metrical rules of Pithom, derivation of the nan
- PLAYFAIR**, Consul-General "La Calle and the Count Khomair, with a Note African Marbles," Art. 28-50.
- Poole, R. S., academical bestowed upon, 566.
- Pope, the Rev. Dr., his ap as Teacher of Tamil and Oxford, cxix.
- Potiphar, Potipherah, derivat names. 530.
- Prakrit literature, recent add cxi, 557.
- Pre-Akkadian Semites, 409
- Pre-Akkadian Writing, letter T. Lacouperie on, 548.
- Radloff, W., is of opinion th version of the Scriptu understood in Turkestan, Khiva, and Kokan, 188.
- Rāma, the warrior-god, 211.
- Rameses, derivation of tl 534.
- Rameses II. and III., unfold mummies of, 565.
- Ramkrishna Gopal Bhand demical honours conferred
- Ras-er-Rajel, iron and coop at, 34.
- Rāsif, the proper name of Bāmīān, 324.
- Raverty, Major, as to the of Bāmīān, 324.
- Rawlinson, Prof., quotation the condition of Western pre-Alexandrian times, 36

- REDHOUSE, J. W.**, "Observations on the various Texts and Translations of the so-called 'Song of Meysûn'; an Inquiry into Meysûn's Claim to its Authorship; and an Appendix on Arabic Transliteration and Pronunciation," Art. XIII., pp. 268-322; his version of "The Song of Meysûn," 274; *preis* relating to his elaborate Turkish dictionaries, cxxiv.
- Regnier, J. A. A.**, obituary note on, lxx.
- Renouf, P. le Page**, his appointment as Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, cxxix.
- Rhampsinitus**, Arab version of the story of, cxxxi.
- Rig Veda**, translations of the, cx.
- Rizâ Kuli Khân** (poetically surnamed "Hidâiyat," and popularly known as the "Lalah Bâshi"), sketch of his life, and list of his works, 196 *et seq.*
- Robinson, Sir W. R.**, obituary notice of, xliii *et seq.*
- Roman inscriptions** at Chemtou, 42, 43, 44, 46.
- Romanization** of the Japanese language, scheme for the, cxxiv.
- Rosen, Baron**, his "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts," 558 *et seq.*
- ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY**, Proceedings at the Sixty-third Anniversary Meeting of the, pp. i-clxix [compiled by the Secretary]; opening address by Colonel Yule, i; abstract of receipts and expenditure, liii; papers read at meetings of the, liv *et seq.*; proceedings resumed, and list of the officers and council elected, clxv; donations to the library, clxvi; publications received in exchange, clxviii; proceedings of, at the meeting on June 21, 1886, 543.
- Russian books** presented to the Royal Asiatic Society, cl.
- Russian domination**, the Túrki-speaking populations gravitating towards, 191.
- St. Barbe, H. L.**, obituary notice of, xlviii.
- Sal Sál**, the name of one of the idols at Bámián, 347.
- Samaritan literature**, ci.
- Samoyed branch** of languages, 178.
- Sānchi**, scarab ornamentation in the gate at, 401.
- Sancha**, the Story of, 566.
- Sañkhya system**, the, 142.
- Sanskrit literature**, recent additions to, ciii *et seq.*, 556.
- Sayyidah Nafisah**, reproduction and translation of the inscription on the mausoleum of, at Cairo, 84-5.
- Scarab**, the, an important Assyrian emblem, examples of, 398.
- "Scheibaniade,"** Professor Vambéry's edition of the, cxxvi.
- Schumacher, Herr**, his valuable contributions to the Survey of Palestine, lxxx.
- Sekenen-ra and Seti I.**, unfolding of the mummies of, 566.
- Semites**, the Pre-Akkadian, 409 *et seq.*
- Semitic Languages**, history of the, one of the subjects for King Oscar's prizes, cl.
- Semitic Literature**, summary of recently-published, lxxxv *et seq.*, 554.
- SEWELL, R.**, "Early Buddhist Symbolism," Art. XVI., pp. 364-406.
- Seyfiyyah** (sword pieces), coins so called, 516.
- Seyffarth, Prof. G.**, obituary notice of, xlvii.
- Shadrach**, derivation of the name, 536.
- Shahâb ed Daulah**, an 'Oḡayli prince, text and translation of an ode by, 517.
- Shahâbâd**, the romantic nature of the legends current in the district of, 211.
- Shâh Mameh**, the name of the female figure at Bámián, 347.
- Shah-nameh**, new edition of the, 560.
- Shakspere**, in favour in Ceylon, cxii.
- Shansi**, the recent find of Roman coins in the province of, cxli.
- Shelly's Helas**, quotation from, 150.
- Sidon**, recent discovery at, lxxxiv.
- Siloam**, new discoveries at the Pool of, lxxxii.
- SIMPSON, W.**, Notes by, on the Discovery of Caves at Murghab, 95 *et seq.*; "Notes by, on Capt. the Hon. M. G. Talbot's Letter," 334-339; "Notes to Capt. Maitland's Sketches of Bamian," 340-344; and further note by, on the same subject, 350.
- Sinhalese MSS.** in temple libraries in Ceylon, cxi.
- Si wang mu**, the legendary visit of Muh wang to, 474.
- Skandhas**, the five, 145.
- Société Asiatique**, proceedings of the, 546.
- Star-names** of the Cuneiform Inscriptions are evidently Semitic, 410.

## INDEX.

- Star-worship is the origin of various Chinese legends, 8.
- Straits Branch R.A.S., list of papers in the Journal of the, lxii.
- Subhi Pasha, His Excellency, obituary notice of, lii.
- "Sumerian Language and its Affinities," by Prof. Hommel, 351 *et seq.*
- Sun-god, characteristics of the, 476.
- Sun-worship amongst the Jews, 390.
- Nūr Dās, the Braj Bhāṣhā poet, 208.
- Susa, summary of M. Dieulafoy's exploration of, lxxxiii, 552.
- Srastika*, the, apparently of Western-Asian origin, 391.
- Syriac literature, cii, 554.
- Syriac MSS. recently discovered, ciii.
- Syrian and Arabian inscriptions collected by Prof. Euting, summary of their nationality, cxxviii.
- Tablier égyptien*, le, a racial feature of Bushwomen, 55; a physical characteristic also of the Egyptians, 80.
- Takht-i-Rustam, architectural details at, 344 5 (illustrated with a Plate).
- TALBOT, Capt. the Hon. M. G., "The Rock-Cut Caves and Statues of Bāmīān," Art. XIV., pp. 323-350; "Discovery of Caves on the Murghab," 92 *et seq.*; his first letter to Mr. W. Simpson, 329-334; his second letter, 344-347.
- Talmud, French version of the, lxxvi.
- Tanis, archaeological discoveries at, cxxix.
- Taranchi language, 185.
- "Tarikh Guzidah," by Hamd-Ullah Mustaufi Kāzvinī, in the British Museum, 206.
- Tau*, the Egyptian emblem, is apparently the half-*trisula*, 396.
- Taurus* symbol explained, 402.
- Tell Nebesheh, recent discoveries at, cxxix, cxxx.
- Temples, the orientation of, 425.
- Terantief, M., his Grammar of Languages spoken in Central Asia, 187; as was to be expected, he attacks Prof. Vambéry, 188.
- Theodores, Prof. T., obituary notice of, lii.
- Thomas, E., late Treasurer R.A.S., obituary notice of, xxxix *et seq.*, 546, 568.
- Tiruvalluvah Narayanah, his Sacred Kurral, 561.
- Trans-Caspian language, 182.
- Travancore, the Mahārājā of, notice of, xlviii.
- Trees, artificially-trained (illustrated see Plates II. and II 472).
- Trisula*, the late E. Thomas' origin of the, 386; could be a conventionalized scarab.
- Trumpp, Dr., extracts from his introduction to his translation of the Granth, 437-8.
- Tséng, the Marquis, his test to the genuineness of the in the Wu temple, 470.
- Tul'si Dās, the famous Bais', 208, 209.
- Tunis, note on the marbles of the Turki branch of languages, 1.
- Turkish literature, cxxiv, 564.
- Turko-Tatar and Finn-Ugrian controversy, note on the, 465.
- Uigur MS., the "Kudatku Bi", 192.
- Urdū Dictionary, by Mr. Plancher, 192.
- Vaishṇava emblem, the tortoise, 192.
- Vambéry, A., failure of the attempts to procure a paper of the Turki languages, 186; of his views on the origin of the Magyar nation, 465-6.
- Van, inscriptions at, 567.
- Vaux, W. S. W., late Secretary, obituary notice of, vii.
- Vedānta philosophy, the, 143.
- Vernacular Literature in India, 143.
- Veterinary art, the, in ancient times, lvii.
- Vienna, representatives of the Oriental Congress at, 143.
- Watson, Major C. M., "The of Sultan Nasir Moham-  
Kalaonn in the Citadel of  
Art. XX., pp. 477-483.
- Wilkinson, "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," notice of, 471 *et seq.*
- Winged-globe, the Egyptian curious specimen of the, New Segovia, 397.
- WORTHAM, the Rev. B. I., "Stories of Jimūtarāhānaśarman," Art. IX., 176.

Wu family in the province of Shantung, ancient sculptures in the sacrificial temple of the, 469.

Xerxes, derivation of the name, 536.

Yaki Deshik Caves, plan of, Plate I., p. 93; further details of, 99.

Yakút language, 184.

Yarkandi language, 185.

Yoga philosophy, the, 143.

Yueh-chi, the invasion of India by the, 376.

YULE, Colonel, his remarks on Prof. Monier-Williams's lecture, 137*n.*; the Introductory Remarks by, on Capt. Talbot's letter on the Rock-cut Caves and Statues of Bâmiân,

323 *et seq.*; his opinion about the Dragon at Bâmiân, 328; his Opening Address at the Sixty-third Anniversary Meeting, i-v.

"Zafr Nâmah," the name of a recently-discovered work by Hamad-Ullah Mustaufi Kâzvinî, its great value, 205.

Zaphnath-Paaneah, derivation of the name, 532.

Zend literature, recent additions to, cxii.

Ziyâ Pasha, remarks of "The Song of Meysûn," that it is by an unknown author, 278.

Zoroastrianism, the faith of the early Persians, 381.

Zuns, L., obituary notice of, lii.

END OF VOL. XVIII.

# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

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## PROCEEDINGS

OF

## THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

*Held on the 17th of May, 1886,*

COL. HENRY YULE, R.E., C.B., PRESIDENT  
IN THE CHAIR.

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### OPENING ADDRESS.

I SHALL not occupy much of your time, but it seems right and desirable on this our Anniversary that the man who, somewhat unaccountably to himself, finds himself in the Chair of this Society, should say something of the position and current history of the Society.

What first strikes us is the melancholy retrospect of the past winter. It is like the survey of a battle-field. The year has been busy in all circles, but it seems as if he who wielded his weapon nowhere more actively than in this small corner occupied by our Society,—striking down several of our most eminent and valuable members—Vaux, Dr. Birch, Sir Walter Medhurst, Sir Arthur P. James Fergusson, Edward Thomas, and Sir William Johnson. Full records of all these will appear in the Annual Report, but I could not let this occasion pass without speaking particularly of some of them, with whose co-

ances we are most familiar, and whose loss seems to change the aspect of our body, as the removal of the most familiar spires and towers of Westminster would change the aspect of that quarter of our capital.

With Mr. Vaux I can hardly say that I enjoyed intimacy, though our relations were always cordial and kindly. Phayre, Fergusson, and Thomas I had long been permitted to count as familiar friends. All that I will say of Mr. Vaux is that this Society owes him a heavy debt of gratitude. The Society had reached rather a low ebb when he joined us, but the result of his exertions, heavily weighted as they were by his deteriorated sight, was to raise both our list of membership and the quality of the Journal to a far higher level; whilst his kindly helpful spirit was ever ready to assist inquirers. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

The next whom we had to lament was James Fergusson, intimately associated with the Society ever since any of us here present have known it. He, like Phayre, was a man who, in the main, educated himself. Sent to India at an early age, he was brought up as a planter and a merchant in Bengal, i.e. in the Delta of the Ganges, which hardly affords the trace of an ancient building. His inborn taste led him to give himself to the study of architecture, and to devote the earliest opportunities afforded by leisure and means to travelling over India, in days when such travelling was a laborious business, examining, comparing, and drawing its ancient remains. His membership of this Society dates from 1844. His active mind and indefatigable industry found wide and various fields, the connexion of all of which is to be found in paths binding them either to taste or to construction. Of his Oriental work we would naturally speak most prominently here. That embraced his "Illustrations of Ancient Indian Architecture," "The Rock Temples of

<sup>1</sup> Here follow three or four paragraphs which will be found in the President's Obituary Notice of Sir Arthur Phayre at page x.

India" (the subject of one of his latest, as it was one of his earliest works), that treasure-house the volume of his great series on the "History of Architecture") and treats of Indian and Oriental styles, the two editions of this remarkable book so rich in varied interest which he published, "Tree and Serpent Worship," and numerous papers in the Transactions of this and other societies on subjects of Indian Architecture and Archæology. Another branch of study which he pursued with the keenest ardour and accuracy was the topography of Jerusalem, the dates of its ruin and the identity of the most noted sites: these gave rise to a whole series of dissertations, including his articles in the "Dictionary of the Bible," enough of themselves to have made him famous. A third subject embraced his ideas of fortification, and their application to the defence of our colonies. Though his particular theories were not accepted, his publication on this subject in 1849 led to his subsequent appointment to the Committee of National Defence, and had no small bearing on the defences actually carried out. Through his Jerusalem studies, and the interest and controversy created, he was, in effect, the father of the Survey of the City and of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and of all that it has accomplished and may yet accomplish. The lighting of Greek temples was another subject on which he gave original views, and strong ones, as he did on most subjects, and which he applied in the latter years of his life to the Kew gallery which he designed for Miss North, when an accomplished and munificent lady presented it, along with her beautiful drawings of tropical vegetation, to the National Gallery. The decoration of St. Paul's was another matter in which he took a prominent part, but it is a burning subject, and an Asiatic Society has no call to meddle with its controversies. Mr. Fergusson's was a character which ill fitted him in various ways the *perferendum ingenium* proverbially assigned to his countrymen. His convictions on all subjects

were intense. When *he* put forward a proposition, it was very far from his intention that it should be moulded or whittled by hostile hands : the character *qualis ab incepto* generally applied to any opinion of his, and in controversy he hit very hard, and too often needlessly hard. Even those who gave and took hard knocks in strife with him ache, we trust, no longer. We, again, and there are many of us, whose happier fortune it was to have no such passages of arms with him, look back only to his ripe sagacity, his kindly appreciation of our work, his constant readiness to open the matchless stores of his knowledge, and the rich abundance of his collections in books and photographs, to those who sought help in their researches.

Next on our casualty-roll is Edward Thomas, and time allows me but to say a word of that honest, friendly soul, whose name was recognized over Europe as a prince in Oriental numismatics, and was honoured by assumption into the Foreign Lists of the Institute of France and of the Academy of St. Petersburg. The aggregate of his work is immense, though much of it lies in articles scattered over various periodicals. His name will be preserved by these, by his *Chronicles*, derived from coinage, of the so-called Patan kings of Delhi, and by his intimate association with the publication of James Prinsep's *Essays*, with the historical collections of Sir Henry Elliot, and with the new edition of Marsden's *Numismata Orientalia*.

On one other subject I will touch before sitting down. Mr. Kay, a respected member of our Council, has recently addressed a letter to our Secretary on a matter of which we are all too conscious, *i.e.* the deplorably low ebb at which the study of Eastern languages and literature stands in this country, and on which he suggested the formation of a special committee to consider the causes and the possible remedies for this state of things. I feel strongly the truth of Mr. Kay's observations, and I may say in passing, and in all sincerity, that if things were in a better state, this chair would not



be filled as it is to-day. But what I wish to n is that we are attempting to carry out Mr. Kay's sugg and along with them to devise means for extendin membership of this Society and the interest in its pu A special committee has accordingly been named, con of Mr. Bendall, Mr. Dickens, Mr. Kay, Gen. M and Mr. Thornton, with Mr. Cust and our Sec *ex-officio* members ; and the following heads of inquir been indicated to them, without excluding others of a l kind that may suggest themselves :—

1. The preparation of a list of appointments in Eng in Government establishments, universities and colleg other institutions of sorts—for which a scholarly acqu with Oriental languages is a necessary or imp qualification ; with the emoluments of each and the of appointment.

2. Regarding the possibility of approaching the G ment, the Universities, the City Companies, etc., for s in the promotion of Oriental studies.

3. Regarding the possibility and expediency of amal ing this Society with any other of kindred objects, reducing the scale of subscription now in force.

4. Whether the publication of Oriental works bey scope of the Journal should be undertaken.

5. The consideration of any means by which the could be rendered more popular, consistent with its and character.

#### REPORT.

*Members.*—The Council of the Royal Asiatic Socie to report that, since the last Anniversary Meeting on Monday, May 18, 1885, there has been the follow crease in, and addition to the numbers of the Society's

They announce with regret the loss, by *Death*, *Resident Members*, viz.—

James Fergusson, Esq., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., *President*.

Edward Thomas, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.S., *Treasurer*.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir Arthur Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.B., *Member of Council*.

Sir W. Rose Robinson, K.C.S.I., *Member of Council*.

Sir Walter Medhurst, K.C.B.

Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart.

W. E. Forster, Esq., M.P.

Col. C. Ratcliff.

W. S. Gillett, Esq.

Francis Mathew, Esq.

of four *Non-Resident Members*,

The Mahārāja of Travancore.

Sir Robert Dalyell, Bart.

Rev. James Vaughan.

H. L. St. Barbe, Esq.

Also the loss, by *Retirement* or otherwise, of 15 *Resident Members*,

Israel Abrahams, Esq.

H. St. C. Baddeley, Esq.

Rev. S. Baronian.

E. A. Budge, Esq.

Hon. E. Drummond.

Bishop of Durham.

Professor Eggeling.

Fung-Yee, Secretary Chinese Legation.

Alexander Grant, Esq., C.I.E.

Joseph Haynes, Esq.

Sir L. Jackson.

Arthur Lillie, Esq.

C. W. Payne, Esq.

Marquess of Salisbury.

Dr. Forbes Watson.

and 9 *Non-Resident Members*,

Col. J. Cadell.

R. Gordon, Esq.

H. G. Keene, Esq.

Rev. W. B. Keer.

C. R. Lindsay, Esq.

E. H. Man, Esq.

Rev. W. T. Pilter.

Gen. Sir H. Thuillier.

Rev. Robert Bruce.

They have, moreover, to regret the loss by *Death* of a distinguished *Honorary* Member,

Dr. Samuel Birch, D.C.L., LL.D.

of one of their *Foreign* Members,

Professor Gustavus Seyffarth.

and of their able and well-known *Secretary*,

W. S. W. Vaux, Esq., M.A., F.R.S.

On the other hand, they have great pleasure in announcing that they have elected, as *Resident* Members,

Herbert Wigram, Esq.

T. D. Edwards, Esq.

Thomas Geisler, Esq.

Miss Agnes Smith.

E. Delmar Morgan, Esq.

The Venerable Archdeacon Harrison, M.A.

R. W. Fraser, Esq.

H. Priestley, Esq.

Herbert Baynes, Esq.

Lieut. Owen Wheeler.

and as *Non-Resident* Members,

The Right Hon. the Earl of Dufferin, Viceroy of India.

Professor J. Avery.

Dr. José de Fonseca.

Dr. Dominio D'Monte.

Govind Prasad Dube.

A. R. Colquhoun, Esq.

J. S. Scott, Esq.

Dr. William Wilson Torrence.

Mr. Justice Scott.

the difference showing a loss to the Society of *non-Resident* Members, of whom fourteen are death casualties.

Of the personal history of deceased Members and of the Society—a few words will now be said.

*William Sandys Wright Vaux*, son of the Reverend *Vaux*, Prebendary of Winchester, was born at Oxford the 28th February, 1818. His second name, *Sandys*, given to him after a distinguished ancestor on the maternal side, who was Archbishop of York in 1676. He was educated at

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE

at Westminster, a school for which he always retained boyish enthusiasm; and he graduated B.A. of Balliol College, Oxford, in 1840. The following year he was employed in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum. In January, 1861, he was appointed Keeper of Coins and Medals, a post which he resigned in 1870. From about that date until 1876 he was engaged on a catalogue of the MSS. in the Bodleian Library for the University of Oxford. In January, 1876, he became Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and continued in that office until the 21st June, 1885, the day of his death, carrying on his daily routine of work to the 19th idem.

He was also Honorary Secretary of the Royal Society of Literature from 1852 to 1858, and Secretary from 1858 to 1885, on the 28th January of which latter year he tendered his resignation—finally retiring at the Anniversary in April. Of the Numismatic Society he was President for exactly twenty years, or from November, 1855, to November, 1875.

He published in 1851 "*Nineveh and Persepolis*," a volume which reached four editions, and was translated into German; also in the same year a "*Handbook to the Antiquities of the British Museum*." In 1856 he edited for the Hakluyt Society Sir Francis Drake's "*World Encompassed*," for which he wrote a very able preface. He made many contributions to Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography in 1854-57.

In 1863 he deciphered and edited for the Trustees of the British Museum a Collection of ninety Phœnician Inscriptions found at Carthage. In 1868 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1876 he published a Catalogue of the Castellani collection of Antiquities in the University Galleries, Oxford, and the next year "*Greek Cities and Islands of Asia Minor*" for the series of "*Ancient History from the Monuments*." He added to the same series a history of "*Persia from the Earliest Period to the Arab Conquest*."

His publications in the Numismatic Chronicle are as follows:

In 1854. On Coins of Alexander the Great. On Rare Bactrian Coins. On Coins of Ceylon; with Remarks on the so-called Ring, and Fish-hook Money.

1856. On Some Greek Coins. Vol. xviii. p. 137.

1857. On Coins discovered by W. K. Loftus at Vol. xx. p. 25.

1858. On Coins of Characene. Ibid. p. 32. Coin Seistan. Ibid. p. 49.

1859. Coins of Marathus, and of Kamnaskires and Ar Ibid. p. 84. An Account of a Find of Coins in Goldboro Yorkshire. Vol. I. New Series, p. 65. On Some Remark Greek Coins. Ibid. p. 104.

1860. Coins of Carthage. Vol. iii. p. 73. Project Coinage for Port Philip, Australia, in 1853. p. 64.

1865. Silver Coins found at Eccles. Vol. v. p. 219.

1866. On a Coin bearing a Phœnician Legend, and relating to an Alliance between Motya and Agrigentum, in Sicily. Vol. vi. p. 128.

1868. On English and Foreign Waterloo Medals. Vol. ix. p. 109.

1867. On Coins of Tomi, Callatia, etc. Vol. ix. p. 133. On a Silver Coin of Seleucus I. Nicator. Vol. x. p. 133.

1875. On an Unique Coin of Platon, a King of Bactria. Vol. xv. p. 1.

1876. Indenture preserved in the Bodleian Library relating to certain Farthings of James I. Vol. xvi. p. 235.

Much might be said of the amiable character and accomplishments of the late Mr. Vaux. His work for sixteen years on behalf of the Asiatic Society has been referred to in the Journal, and more especially in the Hon Secretary's remarks attached to the last year's Report of the special care he took to advance the Society's interests, as well as the marked success which attended his

such as could not fail to be appreciated by all Council and Officers. Those who know him out of this particular sphere of usefulness have borne, and will still bear, ready witness to the universality of his knowledge, his industry and devotion, his kindly and genial disposition, and his readiness to help and oblige.

The late Secretary's remains were consigned to their resting place, at the Brompton Cemetery, on Friday, June 11, in the presence of a large gathering.

Among those of our members whose loss during the last season we have to record, one of the most eminent and most deeply lamented is Sir Arthur Phayre.<sup>1</sup>

He had not settled among us in London, like others whom we commemorate to day. Though born in England, he always reckoned himself an Irishman, and in Ireland, after his retirement from active employment, he set up his headquarters. But he regularly visited London in the summer, and was gladly welcomed at the Council-table of our Society, and at the Athenaeum Club. He is sorely missed at both, and we may add, in the councils of his country—for his death occurred just as the conquest of Upper Burma had taken place, and when his advice would have been of the highest value. His last public utterance was a letter which appeared in *The Times* of 13th October last, in which he gave his unhesitating approval to the military intervention for the deposition of King Theobaw. There could have been no more valuable sanction to the righteousness of that measure. Phayre was not only eminently just, but had ever been the true friend of the King of Burma, and the most moderate of men in his dealings with his government.

Arthur Purves Phayre was born at Shrewsbury, 7th May,

<sup>1</sup> The foundation of this notice is one of greater length compiled by me for the February number of the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society. But since then I have been favoured with memoranda by Lieut.-General Sir Richard Meade and by Major-General Barnet Ford, of which advantage has been taken. H. YELLS.

1812, the son of Richard Phayre, Esq., a resident t grandson of Colonel Phayre, of Killoughran Forest, county Wexford. He went to India as a Cadet in 182 served for some years with the 7th Bengal N. I. Going into the service, he had not received much instruction from the beginning of his career he was engaged in educating himself. Early friends who survive describe Phayre a young subaltern as hardy and temperate in his reading, thinking, and making notes, delighting in argument sometimes in paradox, and a most agreeable companion in camp. In 1834 he was selected for service with one of the local corps which often formed a door to employment of a higher kind; but nothing important came of this till when he was appointed assistant to the Commissioner of Arakan, then Captain Bogle (afterwards Sir Archibald).

Arakan, though geographically so near Calcutta, is practically one of the most secluded provinces of the Empire, its population scanty, and its only communication with the outer world maintained by a sailing vessel which came to the Hoogly about once in six weeks. Sir Richard Lushington, who, as a very young officer, stayed with Phayre at Arakan, records the impression which the latter then made on him, that "he was an officer of thought and judgment far beyond his years and standing. In his conversation, his earnestness for the welfare and interests of the people of his district, his love of justice, and an entire absence of self-assertion, indeed of self in any shape, were very striking. One day that he was a man of real work and worth. . . . I remember one evening, when I was sitting outside with a number of people brought in the body of a hill-tiger, which had been killed by a Mugh with a single blow of his sword. The man had been in his house, when he heard a cry from the garden, and running out he saw his brother struck by the beast. Seizing his *dhao*, he rushed on the tiger with one lucky blow in the neck disabled, and the

it. The brother was not seriously injured. Phayre commended the act in terms which evidently delighted the man and his friends; then going into the house, he brought out a handful of rupees as a reward for his brave deed."

In solitude at Sandoway, where he spent two years of his Arakan service, Phayre had ample scope not only for that study of the Burmese language and character, in which he stood so high, but for the pursuit of that self-cultivation which led all who knew him in later life to regard him as a man of exceptionally good education. The purity of his life, in a province where laxity was the rule rather than the exception, earned the exceptional respect of the people of the country.

At an early period of Phayre's service in Arakan, we find him associated with Lieut. (now Lieut.-General) Albert Fytche, who long afterwards succeeded him as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, in an expedition for the punishment of a hill-tribe, the Walien, in the upper basin of the Arakan River, whose unexplored fastnesses were supposed to be inaccessible to our arms. The chief stronghold of these caterans, 4000 feet above the valley, was scaled and destroyed, and both Phayre and Fytche received high commendation.

In 1846 Phayre was transferred to Moulmein as principal assistant to Mr. J. R. Colvin, then Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, and three years later his merits, by this time well known to Government, were rewarded with the Commissionership of Arakan. He held this position when the second Burmese war broke out in 1852, and as soon as the Province of Pegu was annexed to the British dominions, Phayre, not the oldest, but certainly the ablest of the officers associated with Burmese administration, was nominated by Lord Dalhousie to the charge of the new territory.

He governed the Delta province for ten years as Commissioner. His name, when he entered it, was not strange to the people. His justice and firmness, his great liberality, his mastery of the language, and intimate knowledge of



those whom he had ruled in the adjoining provinces known and appreciated; whilst his commanding figure, dignity, courtesy, and high personal character, his consistency and patient bearing, all combined to win him the favour and confidence of those whom he was called to govern.

The first two years of his rule in Pegu were full of anxieties to Phayre. He was especially exercised by the troubles of dacoity in the Tharawadi and other districts. The suppression of this was a service of most harassing character and very unpopular with the army, whilst more than one of his good previous reputation broke down under the strain. In those two years (1853-1854) the country greatly quieted down, and from 1855 dates the extraordinary progress made by the new province.

His authority was in 1862 extended over the whole of the Burmese provinces, which, under the denomination of British Burma, embraced a continuous sea-board of 900 miles. His wise and considerate administration, which, among other measures, carried through the abolition of forced labour, the introduction of a stable currency, the development of commerce, especially in the export of rice, and the effective repression of crime, he laid the foundation of that prosperity which reached a high pitch before his own rule terminated. From the beginning, too, he was determined that the province should pay its way; and whilst he enforced a rigid economy he maintained also a considerable taxation. But progress went on, and immigration flowed in steadily. The population of all the British provinces, Arakan, Tenasserim, and Pegu, at the date of the conquest of the last, was probably not more than 1½ million. In 1884 it had grown to 4½ millions.

One of the subjects to which he gave much attention in the latter years of his rule was that of vernacular education. Monastic schools, taught by the *p'hungyis*, or Buddhist monks, are a peculiar characteristic of the country. Through their agency the proportion of the population who

and write is very large. Phayre's idea was to bring these monastic schools under the influence of the educational department, by putting in the hands of their indigenous teachers elementary books of sound instruction, and by inducing them to enter the sphere of Government inspection. The plan was carried out, but has not always been viewed with favour by the department concerned; nor have I been able to learn anything very precise as to its success.<sup>1</sup>

Phayre three times went as envoy on the part of the Governor-General to the Court of Burma. The first time was in 1855, with the object (in part) of obtaining the King's assent by treaty to the cession of the delta province. The Envoy's conciliatory manners and thorough acquaintance with Burmese ideas attracted the King's goodwill, but he would assent to no treaty. On this mission I had the honour of being appointed, by Lord Dalhousie, as Secretary to the Envoy, and from that time I date a friendship and correspondence with my admirable chief, which death alone has interrupted, and in which I never ceased to take pride and pleasure.

Phayre's other missions occurred in 1862 and 1866, in connexion with trade matters, and were not very successful. The more than considerate treatment which the King had always met with at Phayre's hands had hardly been appreciated by his Majesty.

Phayre quitted Burma finally in 1867, declining further high employment in India; and greatly did he enjoy his leisure at home, his first visit to Europe since he had gone out nearly forty years before.

<sup>1</sup> I see that in the year 1884-85 the number of indigenous schools in the list as inspected was:—Monastic schools, 3837; Lay schools, 879. The schools helped by "grants-in-aid," were:—Monastic, 825; Lay, 449. Of Monastic schools inspected 21·5 per cent., with 3414 pupils, are stated to have earned grants for results, and 587 pupils, or 17·2 per cent. of those who earned grants, passed fully by one of the standards. Of Lay schools, again, 51 per cent., with 4622 pupils, or 14·6 per cent. of the total number, earned result-grants, and 1201 pupils, or 26 per cent. of the number who had earned grants, passed the primary school examinations.

In 1869 he returned to India as a traveller, visiting, among other parts, Kashmír and Pesháwar, and their Burmese remains, with great interest; and then continuing his journey round the globe by Saigon, China, Japan, San Francisco, and the United States.

On his return, he took up his abode at Bray, near Dublin, and there he continued to have his head-quarters for the rest of his unemployed life. But his public service was not ended. In the latter part of 1874 he was nominated Lord Carnarvon to the government of Mauritius, an office in which he held with satisfaction to the colonists and to the Queen's Government for more than four years. He returned home, after a visit to South Africa, in 1879. His death occurred suddenly in his lodgings at Bray, on the night of the 14th-15th December, 1885. Its announcement was a great shock and a surprise to a circle of friends very strongly attached to him. It is true that he was over three-score and three, but who ever realized the fact who saw him, youthful and vigorous in action, and in his great stature slim and lithe as a palm tree.

In concluding this abstract of the career of a good and illustrious man, let me note a few of his personal characteristics. Early recollections of Phayre speak of a certain angularity in his aspect and bearing; but assuredly the process of self-education that so long went on in his life, and the continual moulding from within, and the long exercise of authority and conscious influence, had replaced this, as my own remembrance of him goes, by a refinement and dignity, whilst there was an unfailing ease and grace of manner. These qualities always tended to win him favour among foreigners, and with his sympathy and friendly disposition he did him no small service in his government of Mauritius. He was naturally, as those who knew him most intimately were aware, of a warm temper, but no man had his passions under stricter or more habitual control.

An occupation of some of his later years, resumed from

to time, was the preparation of his *History of Burma*, finally published by Trübner in 1883. It is difficult to attract readers to such a subject, except under the passing stimulus of events directly adding to the matter of Burmese history. But Phayre's work is careful, lucid, and excellent. I have recently been told that he left behind him a carefully revised edition of this *History* in type. He also published, in 1882, as a fasciculus of the *International Numismata Orientalia*, a work on the coins of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma.

Some fifteen papers on subjects of a similar character, and in part contributions to the eventual preparation of the works mentioned, appeared from time to time between 1841 and 1881, chiefly in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

Let me conclude with words already used in the obituary notice, to which reference has been made in a note at p. x.

"Just, humane, magnanimous, beneficent, animated by an extraordinary sense of duty, courteous, modest—I never remember an instance in which himself, or his claims, or his rights, much less his merits, made any part directly or indirectly in his words or acts,—with the wisdom to build up a state, as he built up a great province: what a contemptible thing seems the oratory on which men set such value, and bestow such admiring epithets,—a tool as apt and as often used to destroy a kingdom as to build one up,—beside such a combination of qualities as these!"<sup>1</sup>

*Dr. Samuel Birch*,<sup>2</sup> who was elected an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society in the year 1866, was the eldest son of the late Rev. Samuel Birch, D.D., Rector

<sup>1</sup> A movement is on foot for the erection of a memorial to Sir Arthur Phayre, of which the Secretary in this country is Major-General Barnet Ford, 31, Queensborough Terrace, W. For the same object a meeting was held at Rangoon, on the 6th of March last. It is I presume a sign of the transitory character of society there that the meeting is reported to have been "not very numerously attended." It was unfortunate that the venerable Roman Catholic Bishop Bigandet, who was one of Phayre's oldest and most valued friends, was unable, probably from his great age, to attend; and that the chief member of the American Mission was also prevented by illness from being present.

<sup>2</sup> Obituary notice supplied by Mr. Th. G. Pinches, British Museum.

of St. Mary Woolnoth, and Vicar of Little M. Buckinghamshire. His grandfather was Samuel of Cornhill (the old business still bears the name Birch, though it is not in hereditary hands), who was not unknown as an author, and who attained to the dignity of Alderman, and was Lord Mayor of London 1814-15. Dr. Birch was educated at Greenwich, Blackheath, and at Merchant Taylors' School, where he gained distinction, and received an excellent education, which undoubtedly stood him in good stead in after-life. In the year 1834 he entered Government service, under the Commissioners of Public Records, and in January, 1836, received an appointment under the Trustees of the British Museum, in whose service he passed only a few days less than twenty years. On the retirement of Mr. Barnwell, Dr. Birch became Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Antiquities, which included the whole range of Greek, Roman, British and Oriental archaeology, as well as numismatics and ethnology. In 1851 when this very miscellaneous department was divided, Dr. Birch was raised to the responsible position of Keeper of the British, Mediæval, and Oriental sections; and at the subsequent subdivision, he was left with the strictly Oriental (Egyptian, Assyrian, Phœnician, and Himyaritic) Antiquities under his charge, retaining the post to the day of his death.

At a very early period of his life Dr. Birch had a knowledge of Chinese, and his first important duty at the Museum was the arrangement and cataloguing of the coins of China. He published, also, several articles and books, of which his most notable productions of the Chinese writings, *Friends till Death*, *The Foxes*, *The Chinese Widow*, and *The Casket of Gold* may be mentioned. One (or more than one) of these works was translated and published in Germany a few years ago. In the study of the Chinese coinage, Dr. Birch also devoted himself for a time, to the study of the coinage of the ancient Persians. This resulted in the recovery, in 1844, of the royal

Tasciovanus, the father of Cunobelin, from a few abbreviated legends (up to that time unexplained) found on the coins of the period.

It was to the study of the Egyptian antiquities, language, and literature, however, to which he ultimately devoted himself. Entering upon the study at the time when very little of a trustworthy nature existed, and great discredit had been thrown upon the discoveries already made in the science of Egyptology, Dr. Birch, following in the footsteps of Young and Champollion, made himself, by his detailed studies, so proficient that he may undoubtedly be regarded as one of the founders of the science. It was he who first gave continuous translations of the Egyptian texts—translations which, notwithstanding the progress since made in the study, remain, on the whole, exceedingly exact. Among other things, he made translations of the Hieratic texts published in fac-simile in the *Select Papyri*, as well as of the well-known Egyptian *Book of the Dead*—a text containing numberless difficulties.

Of the two hundred or more books or papers by Dr. Birch upon subjects purely Egyptian, the most important (besides those mentioned above) were *The Dictionary of Hieroglyphics* and *Egyptian Grammar*, in the 5th vol. of the English edition of Baron Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, an *Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphics*, a *Magical Papyrus*, the great *Harris Papyrus*, an Egyptian Reading-book, several *Guides* to the various galleries of his department in the British Museum, a *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, *The Coffin of Amam*, etc. etc. When one considers how the time of an official of the British Museum is taken up, the number and thoroughness of Dr. Birch's works can only be regarded as surprising. His great industry it undoubtedly was which made him one of the greatest Egyptologists in the world, with a reputation which was fully acknowledged

not only at home, but also in Germany, France, Italy, in fact, wherever notice is taken of the interesting results of the fascinating study to which he had devoted himself.

Dr. Birch began, at an early period, the study of Assyrian, but soon found that the acquirement of a useful knowledge of that tongue would necessarily occupy much of the time which could be most profitably employed in studying the subject which he had made his speciality, and the little which he had learnt of Assyrian was forgotten. Nevertheless, he took an active interest in the subject to the end, and was fully alive to the importance of the discoveries made by the later as well as by the earlier scholars.

As Keeper of the Department of Oriental Antiquities Dr. Birch was certainly pre-eminent. His capabilities as an arranger of antiquities were great, but he was much hampered in his work by the very limited space into which he was first obliged to pack the various objects, and the great changes which have taken place at the Museum during the last few years. His knowledge of antiquities was very extensive and his extreme caution, making him reject everything which even *seemed* to be false, undoubtedly kept the collections under his charge free from the many forgeries which abound, especially in Egypt, where falsifiers are plentiful. If Dr. Birch, however, suspected everything to be false, it was absolutely proved to be true. In the month of December last he received notice that certain antiquities connected with my own special department were to be sold to the Museum, and he asked me to examine them, remarking (though he had not seen the objects) that they were probably forgeries. The fatal illness which had already taken him when I was prepared to report upon them. On being told that the objects in question were forgeries, "I thought so!" he exclaimed, starting up

his pillow, "just write and tell the owners that they are not suitable for acquisition by the British Museum." This is the line upon which he went, in all transactions with dealers, and he was thereby undoubtedly successful in keeping the collections under his charge in a high state of efficiency and trustworthiness.

Although Dr. Birch never visited the sites which have yielded so plentifully the records of the ancient civilization which was his favourite study, it would be hardly fair to cast this omission against him as a reproach; for though a voyage in Egypt would undoubtedly have given him some advantage in his studies, it was nevertheless not by any means indispensable. It was with deliberate intention, however, that he stayed at home. "I prefer to stay here," he used to say, "for I know that most of the things of importance will ultimately be brought here into my room. I always told Mr. Smith that he would die if he went to Assyria, and it really turned out as I predicted."

One of the chief events of his life was the founding, in conjunction with the late W. R. Cooper and others, of the *Society of Biblical Archaeology*, upon the ruins of the *Syro-Egyptian Society*. Of this new and very successful venture he was president from 1870, the date of its foundation, until his death. He was also President of the London Congress of Orientalists in 1874. For such posts as these he was certainly eminently fitted from the wide range of his learning and reading.

To his study of fortification and military science in early youth is probably to be attributed that deep interest in politics which was one of his most characteristic traits, and those who came into contact with him will doubtless remember his opinions upon the Russian and Chinese questions. Though professing to be a Liberal, he nevertheless decidedly favoured Conservative policy. He was very unfavourably impressed by the "three acres and a



cow" idea, and jocularly asked, if his own poor two of an acre were to form part of some lucky peasant's three acres, when the idea came to be put into practice.

It has been asserted in one of the memoirs which been written, that Dr. Birch was only a pioneer, and his life was a failure, because he founded no solid students who, following their master's footsteps, might be able to continue his work. His very numerous work that his life was not a failure as far as solid work concerned—indeed, it may be regarded as a most triumphant success; for the success or failure of a man's life depends upon the number of pupils he has trained. Birch has left behind none, who, being still young, nevertheless advanced enough to take his place, it was his deliberate intention on his part. "What," he would say, "is the use of training a school of students of Egyptian or Assyrian? When they have become proficient in the branch which they have chosen, how are they to gain their living? There may be work enough to do for two or three in a miserable kind of way, but even that is doubtful, for the chances of getting a living by literary pursuits are very small, especially in a sphere so restricted when they find that they cannot earn their living, they naturally forsake the study, and take to something else. To the correctness of this opinion I can myself testify from personal knowledge. Whatever the great scholar who has just passed away did, was the result of deep thought and deliberate intention. Men in whom real talent and common sense are combined are rare, and for this reason it is probably, to those who had the honour of knowing him, that he was taken away from us all too soon, full of talents and honours as he was. Long, however, will it be before this talented and genial scholar will be forgotten by those who knew him, and who now miss his kind and pleasant speech, and his ready, unfailing help and

*Sir Walter Harry Medhurst*<sup>1</sup> was born in 1822 in Java, and his childhood was passed at Batavia and Malacca under the roof of his father, the celebrated missionary and Sino-logue. He was subsequently sent home to Mill Hill School, and returning to the East, in 1838, rejoined his family at Macao. As a child he had acquired a knowledge of Dutch and Malay, as children do, without tears, and he had possibly been introduced to the study of Chinese. Dr. Medhurst, a man of remarkable aptitude, independently of his attainments as a student of the written language, had become a proficient in the dialect spoken by the natives of Fuh Kien, between which province and the island of Java and the Straits Settlements, thousands of Chinese had been long used to drift to and fro.

At Macao, at all events, the son was fairly entered, and under the guidance more especially of John Robert Morrison, the distinguished Chinese Secretary of the Superintendency of Trade, he became a competent speaker of the Mandarin, and withal a fair translator of official correspondence and the more difficult papers published in the *Peking Gazette*. In addition to this he learned to write a Chinese hand of singular excellence; a rare accomplishment, which stood him afterwards in good stead.

In those days the one spot in China accessible to the foreigner was Canton; Macao being regarded as an out-lying dependency. Intercourse as well as trade was the monopoly of the Hong merchants. Chinese in any shape was studied more or less *sub rosa*, and the communication of the *Gazette* to the barbarian was a punishable irregularity. So short-handed in those days of anti-foreign jealousy was the native staff of the Chinese Secretariat, that the mere transcription and registration of correspondence was at times no easy matter. In 1839 occurred our first serious rupture with China, by which, of course, all difficulties of the kind

<sup>1</sup> Notice supplied by Sir Thomas Wade, K.C.B., M.R.A.S.

were much increased. The younger Medhurst's had already been recognized, and, in 1840, he was to a clerkship in the Chinese Secretariat, and the following year was attached to the suite of Sir Pottinger. He accompanied the combined force coast in 1841, and was present at the first capture and the second capture of Chusan, at which he was left as Interpreter to the Garrison until 1842. The Five Ports having been opened by signed at Nanking in September, Mr. Medhurst Interpreter to the Consulate of Shanghai, serving Sir George Balfour, and later under Sir Rutherford. In 1849, on the death of Mr. Gutzlaff, he succeeded him as Chinese Secretary, and in 1853, in addition to the duties of his own post, he acted as Secretary to the Superintendent of Trade. In 1854, he became Consul at Foochow, and in 1858, when the Northern Bight was opened by Lord Elgin's Treaty, he was named Consul there, but he never took up his commission there. He held various acting appointments up to 1864, among others at places at Shanghai, during the Gordon campaign against the Tai Ping insurgents. Mr. Medhurst's assistance was cordially acknowledged by General Staveley, who commanded our own forces engaged against the rebels, and in 1864 he became Consul at Hankow. In 1871, he was promoted to Shanghai, where he had been acting since 1868, and at this last post he remained until 1877, when he retired on a pension. He and his wife were then rewarded by a knighthood. He died of apoplexy at Torquay, on the 26th of December 1886.

Sir Walter Medhurst was one of the most conscientious and punctual of men, and one of the most painstaking. His reports on trade attested his industry, and his opinions were always received with respect. As a linguist, he was rather than brilliant; but very useful. It seldom

the lot of any man to be able to do what Sir Walter Medhurst did in 1876, when, at the instance of his former chief, Sir Rutherford Alcock, he proceeded eastward once more in the interest of the Borneo Company. The object of his mission being to encourage Chinese immigration in the direction of the newly-formed settlement, the Company were so fortunate as to secure in Sir Walter Medhurst an agent perfectly possessing the three languages, Dutch, Malay, and Chinese, for the employment of which necessity would be found to exist at either end of the line of communication.

*Mr. James Fergusson*,<sup>1</sup> C.I.E., D.C.L. Oxon., LL.D. Edin., F.R.S., F.G.S., Vice-President of this Society, a Past Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a Member of the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, a Member of the Society of Dilettanti, and of other learned bodies, was born at Ayr in Scotland, on the 22nd of January, 1808. His father, Dr. William Fergusson, author of *Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life*, was a man of some mark, who had seen service in various parts of the world, having been present on the Flag ship at Copenhagen in 1801, principal medical officer at the taking of Oporto, in the passage of the Douro, and at Talavera; and who, after serving in the West Indies, went to live at Edinburgh in the year 1817. James, the younger of Dr. Fergusson's two sons, had consequently the opportunity of beginning his education at the High School of that city. He entered Mr. Irvine's first class there in 1818, and in the following year was in the second class. Dr. Fergusson, however, left Edinburgh in 1821, and at the invitation of H. R. H. the Duke of Gloucester, on whose staff he had acted in France, settled at Windsor, where he ultimately obtained a large and lucrative practice as a physician.<sup>2</sup> The subject of this notice

<sup>1</sup> Notice supplied by Mr. William H. White, M.R.A.S., Secretary of the Roy. Instit. British Architects.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Fergusson's *Notes and Recollections of a Professional Life*, edited by James Fergusson. London, 1846, 8vo.

was then sent to a private school at Hounslow, and was destined for employment in the firm of Fairlie, Fyfe and Co., of Calcutta, with which his family had been connected, and in which his elder brother was a partner. His early education was neither academical nor classical; to the contrary, it was of a very ordinary character. He, however, failed soon after James Fergusson's arrival in India, and he became an indigo planter. He also, in connection with his brother William, started an independent business in Calcutta, from which he appears to have retired at the first opportunity open to him. Commercial pursuits were not to his taste; he took from the very earliest years a great delight in old buildings, particularly those of the Mughal type, and he was ultimately enabled to gratify his antiquarian logical bent. His rare powers of philosophical thought, how acquired, it is now difficult to ascertain—were applied upon the architectural remains to be found in the localities he visited during lengthened tours over India, which seem to have occupied him from the years 1812 to 1842, when he returned to England. His route throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula, sometimes on horseback, sometimes in a palanquin, is given in a manner which forms one of the plates of his *Picturesque Illustrations of Ancient Architecture in Hindustan*, published in 1843. Prior to the appearance of that valuable work, he communicated to this Society, of which he was elected a member in 1840, some of the fruit of his earliest labours. In the close of 1843 he read a Paper, apparently the first presented to any learned body, on *The Rock-cut Temple at Elephanta* [Vol. VIII. pp. 30-92, art. 10, illustrated with ten plates], which, after the due presentation of a memorial to the Council of this Society to the Court of Directors of the India Company, led to orders being sent to the respective presidencies, authorising the employment of competent persons to measure and draw the various antiquities remain-

—a fact which led Fergusson to note, somewhat jubilantly, in a reprint of his Paper, that “we may thus escape the hitherto too-well merited reproach of having so long possessed that noble country and done so little to illustrate its history or antiquities.” Going out a second time, he was in Bombay in the spring of 1845, and this was the last visit he paid to the country with which his name, as the acknowledged historian of Indian and Eastern Architecture, and indeed of all architecture, must be ever identified. This too was a period of troubles and anxieties, augmented as they were in 1846 by the death of his father, whose memory he has preserved in the interesting work previously referred to.

Fergusson, when he founded the house of business before mentioned in partnership with his elder brother William, had always intended to leave it at the earliest opportunity, and he did so, returning home to build his house in Langham Place, and, having known the pleasures as well as the discomforts of a planter's life, to keep a very tolerable stable. But he committed the fatal mistake of leaving his name in the Calcutta house, and was therefore partly responsible for its debts and liabilities when the ultimate failure of the business was announced. He had, in conjunction with Mr. (now Sir) A. H. Layard, been the adviser of the Crystal Palace Company in the erection of the Assyrian House in the tropical end of the building (since destroyed by fire), and the author of the Handbook describing that structure; and at the juncture just alluded to he accepted the request of the Company to be their General Manager, a post which he entered early in 1856, and occupied till the middle of 1858. The practical details of the Handel Festival, which still exist with hardly a modification, were all settled by him, in reference to the first Festival in 1857. On leaving the Crystal Palace, he became Secretary to a Bengal Railway, an office which he relinquished after a short period of service.

Fergusson's second public contribution to the study of

Indian architecture was made in 1848, in a Paper the Institute of British Architects, on the *Ancient Architecture of India*, which is the first article I have ever printed in the *Transactions* of that body. It was followed, almost immediately, by the independent publication of a book, described by him at the close of his preface as the best he had ever written, and of which he then had sold four copies, entitled, "*An Historical Inquiry into the True Principles of Beauty in Art, more especially with reference to Architecture*," etc. The preface contains a reference to his earlier career, which possesses some interest if not historical interest. Offering excuses for the delay of his ambitious task, he says: "In the first place, men have, either from education or the professional habits of their life, been less prepared for such a work. From boyhood I was destined to the desk. From that I passed to the counting-house; from that to a factory—of all places in the world, perhaps, the least suited for a cultivation of any knowledge of the fine arts. From this to become an acting and active partner in a mercantile establishment, from the trammels of which, in spite of every endeavour, I have never been able to free myself; and during the time this work has been in preparation I have written, and, perhaps, also thought, more about the state of the money-market, indigo, sugar, silk and other like articles, than I have regarding architecture, painting, or sculpture. This, in ordinary times, would have delayed the work, and rendered its completion less probable; but the last eighteen months have been times of great anxiety and distress to every one connected with mercantile concerns, and more especially to those connected with the East. Those with whom I was formerly connected have succeeded one after the other. The whole edifice under which I have passed my life has been swept away, and there has been nothing but ruin and misery around me."

He does not, however, omit to mention his obligations to the late Mr. Edwin Norris, an old Member of this Society, more especially for the ethnographical portions of his book, and for the assistance which Mr. Norris, from his extraordinary knowledge of languages, was enabled to render. Another quotation from the same preface will serve to illustrate the independence of spirit in which he approached his subject, and partly account, perhaps, for some of the animosities he afterwards encountered, particularly among archæologists, while forcing his facts and theories—his “harsh and unfashionable doctrines,” as he termed them—into unwilling ears. He says: “I have also had the good fortune to spend the best years of my life in countries where Art, though old and decrepit, still follows the same path that led it towards perfection in the days of its youth and vigour, and, though it may be effete, it is not insane. In the East, men still use their reason in speaking of art, and their common sense in carrying their views into effect. They do not, as in modern Europe, adopt strange hallucinations that can only lead to brilliant failures; and, in consequence, though we may feel inclined to despise results, they are perfection itself compared with what we do, when we take into account the relative physical and moral means of the Asiatic and the Anglo-Saxon. . . . A course of study pursued among the products of art themselves in this manner I have found far more instructive than books of theories are or perhaps ever can be; and I believe all would find it so if they could follow it in such circumstances as would prevent their being influenced by the errors of bad education, or free them from the trammels of the stereotyped opinions of the age. The belief that it has been so to me induces me now to publish the result of my experience. I believe I see the path which other and cleverer men have mistaken; and as the veriest cripple who progresses in the right direction will beat the strongest pedestrian who chooses a wrong path, I trust to being able to instruct even those



before whose superior knowledge and abilities I would wise bow in silence."

At the end of the same preface he tells how he then put aside entirely the subject of that volume every thought and every spare moment to the science of fortification, his head being wholly filled with "walls of iron mounds of earth of the most murderous form and utilitarian ugliness." In 1849 he published his *Proposed System of Fortification*, the main feature of which was a proposal of earthworks in place of masonry—then an unfashionable doctrine, though now universally adopted. He further illustrated his ideas by printing a pamphlet entitled *The Perils of Portsmouth, or French Forts and English Forts*, the third edition of which appeared in 1854, whereby he forcibly directed public attention to the danger and insecurity of that great military and naval port; and followed in 1856 by a sequel entitled *Portsmouth Protected with Notes on Sebastopol and other Sieges during the Crimean War*. The reputation obtained from these works caused him to be appointed a Member of the Royal Commission on the Defences of the United Kingdom.

He contributed to the *Transactions* of the Institution of British Architects papers of great value, namely, in 1847, *The History of the Pointed Arch*; in 1850, on *The Architecture of Southern India*; in 1851, on *The Architecture of the East*; in 1854, on *The Architectural Splendour of the City of Constantinople* and *The Great Dome of Muhammad's Tomb, Bijapur*; the following year appeared his *Illustrated Handbook of Architecture*, in two volumes, a work undertaken by him at the request of Mr. John Murray, and afterwards enlarged into four closely printed, profusely illustrated octavo volumes containing the History of Ancient and Mediæval Architecture (2 vols.), the History of the Modern Styles of Architecture (1 vol.), and the History of Indian and Chinese Architecture (1 vol.), the last one bearing the date

and it may be added that of all the many volumes which bear Fergusson's name on the title-page these are perhaps the only works from which he derived any emolument, the majority of his writings having been brought out at his own cost for the edification of a necessarily small number of readers.

An important characteristic of Fergusson's labours lay in the courage with which he maintained the opinions he had once given to the world. All or most of his so-called theories were started early in life, and they were seldom if ever withdrawn as untenable, though capable, as he often admitted, of obvious modification. In his first great architectural effort, *The Principles of Beauty*, &c., published in 1848, he devoted a portion (pp. 385-393) to the mode in which the ancient Greek Temples were lighted. It seemed to him, even then, absurd to suppose that while the Egyptians had been so long familiar with the "clearstory," by which he translated the word *ὀραῖον*, the architects of ancient Greece should have remained in ignorance of it, and he contended that they were too artistic, either to shut out the light of day from their temples, as some thought, or to expose an ivory statue to the atmosphere even of Athens, as the text of Pausanias was interpreted to imply. He treated the same subject on a precisely similar basis at a meeting of the Institute of British Architects in 1861; and having prepared a large model of the Parthenon, complete, with its roof and "clearstory," as he believed it originally existed, he wrote as late as 1883, *The Parthenon : an Essay on the mode by which light was introduced in Greek and Roman Temples*—a subject of the utmost interest to architects and artists, as well as to archæologists, but one which, during all the years that passed while he was writing about it, failed to elicit anything like enthusiasm either from theoretical critics or from practical men. On other ground further east Fergusson's perseverance was attended with more immediate success. In 1847 he published a work in large octavo form entitled *An Essay on the*

*Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, grounded on the pl measurements of Catherwood, Arundale, and Bonomi, a singular chance had been employed by the Turks t the so-called "Mosque of Omar" in Jerusalem, t seized the opportunity to make complete drawings edifice. In this remarkable essay he contended t present Church of the Holy Spulchre does not the true burial-place of our Saviour, but that the of the Holy Sepulchre is the "Dome of the where the "Mosque of Omar" now stands, which l he believed, from the evidence of the architecture the identical Church erected by Constantine the Gr the tomb of our Saviour at Jerusalem. The work use his own word, "stillborn." But in 1860 an appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, on "The Chur the Holy Land," and Fergusson replied to it, the ing year, with a pamphlet entitled *Notes on the Sit Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem*, in which he repeated tion and concluded with expressing his belief th very short time it would be generally acknowledged he was right. A storm of opposition to this then thereby raised, but at the same time the idea of an accurate survey of the Holy City was induced novel views he advocated, and carried out at the cost Burdett Coutts by Capt. C. W. Wilson, R.E. At t time his personal influence was rapidly increasing, and l gained adherents. We have it on the authority of Sir Grove, his colleague at the Crystal Palace, his colla in the Dictionary of the Bible, and throughout his friend and warm champion, that the Palestine Explorati had its origin in a remark of Fergusson's addressed during the building of the Assyrian house in the Palace at Sydenham, in the year 1853—a complaint th was no exhaustive and accurate Concordance of the Names of the Bible. Nor did he confine himself to i

His purse was open for the prosecution of his favourite investigations, when he had confidence in the investigator. The first large map of the *Haram Area* at Jerusalem was drawn at his cost. In a letter to *The Times*, published on the 17th of January, 1886, about a week after Fergusson's death, Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson, R.E., wrote: "It was Mr. Fergusson who enabled me to make those tentative excavations at Jerusalem in 1865, which led the way to the better known, and much more extensive excavations which were afterwards carried out by Sir Charles Warren for the Palestine Exploration Fund. In forwarding the necessary funds Mr. Fergusson, with characteristic fairness, wrote 'Dig wherever you like; you cannot dig anywhere without adding something to our knowledge of Jerusalem; and if you want more money, you can have it.' It is also no secret, I believe, that Mr. Fergusson was prepared to pay the cost of certain excavations in the Haram area, on the result of which he acknowledged his theories must stand or fall, and that the persistent refusal of the Sultan to allow excavations to be made in that area alone prevented him from putting his theories to practical test." His views on Jerusalem topography and on the Temple are given in a condensed form in two remarkable articles in the late Dr. William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vols. i. and ii.

Fergusson continued his inquiries into the subject with unabated persistency, and in 1878 published a work of more than three hundred quarto pages, fully illustrated with plates and woodcuts, on *The Temples of the Jews and the other buildings in the Haram Area at Jerusalem*, in which he maintained his original opinions in respect of the Mosque of Omar, as being the original church erected by Constantine, and developed them by learned and minute historical references.

The facts brought to light by the publication of the Marquis de Vögué's book on *Syrie Centrale*, formed a subject of intense

interest to him, and through his influence the Royal Medal for Architecture, which has been given annually since 1848 by Her Majesty the Queen to some architect or scientist of any country, was offered to and accepted by Fergusson in 1879. Nor is it any secret that the recommendations for this honour, made by the Royal Institute of Architects in 1883 on behalf of Mr. Penrose, and in 1884 on behalf of Dr. Schliemann, were brought about by Fergusson's earnest advocacy. Some years previously, in 1871, he received it himself for "patient and zealous industry, power, as an architectural historian, and for the thoroughness, ability, and truthfulness with which he had performed his task," the words used by the late Thomas H. Bland when, as President, he presented the Royal Medal to Fergusson.

In 1867 Fergusson described to this Society the *Amravati Tope* in Gantúr, and illustrated his subject with photographs and casts. This was the year of the *Exposition Internationale* at Paris, where, with the co-operation of the British Government, a large collection of photographs of Indian architecture, including the *Tope*, was being exhibited in the Indian Court, and the facts connected with the collection are so identified with Fergusson and his research, and are also so interesting, told as they are by himself, that they should find a place in his *History of Architecture*. Having just completed the *History of Architecture*, enjoying, consequently, some leisure, he accepted, on the suggestion of the late Sir Henry Cole, the task of arranging a number of photographs of Indian architecture, for the *Exhibition*, and he proposed that some casts of sculptures or some architectural fragments should be added, to enable students to judge of the merit of the objects from specimens of the work. But the necessity of making casts was obviated by the discovery that portions of a monument—the *Amravati Tope*—were then in

These marbles had been excavated as far back as 1845, and sent to Madras, where they had lain exposed to wind and rain for some ten or twelve years. They had then been sent to England, and no room having been found for them in the India Museum, they were deposited at Fife House, in a dis-used coach-house, where Fergusson found them. The marbles were then photographed, the photographs were pieced together, and thereby two elevations of the outer Rail, and one of the inner Rail, of the Amravati Tope, were obtained. "During the three or four months," to use his own words, "which I had spent poring over these photographs, I had not only become familiar with their forms, but had acquired a considerable amount of unexpected knowledge of ancient Indian art and mythology"—the greater part of which, he afterwards adds, was quite new to him.

These marbles and photographs, and the Paper respecting them contributed to this Society, were the prelude to a work which was prepared by Fergusson under the authority of the Secretary of State for India in Council, and published by the India Office in 1868, namely, *Tree and Serpent Worship: or Illustrations of Mythology and Art in India, in the first and fourth centuries after Christ, from the Sculptures of the Buddhist Topes at Sanchi and Amravati*. Lord Iddesleigh, then Sir Stafford Northcote and in office, had entered warmly into Fergusson's views on this subject, and the Council had granted permission, and also the necessary funds, to publish all the information then possessed regarding the Amravati Tope; moreover Fergusson in the course of his investigations at the Library of the India Office had lighted on a beautiful series of drawings of the Sanchi Tope made in 1854, and at the same time there arrived from India a set of photographs of the same monument. The result was eminently gratifying to Fergusson, and a very valuable work, upon a subject which may ultimately obtain further elucidation, was thus placed at public disposal for a com-

paratively small sum—a work to which General Cunningham and others contributed important appendices.

The perplexed questions connected with megalithic next occupied Fergusson's attention, although the was not unfamiliar to him, seeing that he had written an article on Stonehenge, which appeared, in July 1866, in the *Quarterly Review*, and another in the same *Review* in July 1870, which was entitled "Non-Historic Times." His attention with regard to these singular and inexplicable monuments was that they are by no means so old as antiquaries believe, and his *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries: Their Age and Uses*, treated of remains known to exist not only in Europe, but also in Asia and America.

Prior to this, a new post had been created at the Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings, with the object of securing Fergusson's services there. In 1869, he was appointed by the then First Commissioner (A. H. Layard) "Secretary of Works and Buildings." The business he was expected to do was not to his taste. A Committee was consequently called together, consisting of Treasury officials and the late Mr. Austin, who presented their Report that the First Commissioner required to be an officer conversant in a high degree with architecture in reference to questions connected with existing or contemplated public buildings, and on their advice Fergusson's new appointment was altered to "Inspector of Public Buildings and Monuments." His recommendations, however, were not adopted in the most important instance, namely, that of the recently-erected Courts of Justice, and he retired at the first opportunity which offered. The fact was much to be regretted in Fergusson's case, but for the country's sake, and a Minute (11 March 1869) on the subject of the appointment is in the highest degree instructive. In it Sir A. H. Layard wrote that the office held by Fergusson was imperatively required for the public service, and that

such an officer been connected with the Office of Works, many things which have brought discredit on the Department might have been avoided."

Fergusson was often consulted on architectural questions by authorities of various kinds, and buildings were erected from his designs, notably the picture gallery containing Miss North's wonderful paintings in Kew Gardens, in which he put into actual practice his life-long theory of the mode of lighting Greek temples. He was also an active member of the several committees engaged in the difficult task of completing St. Paul's Cathedral.

Between his first and second contribution to the *Journal* of this Society a gap of years intervenes. These contributions are:—

Vol. VIII. (Original Series) Art. II.—On the Rock-cut Temples of India, read 5th December, 1843, containing 10 plates.

Vol. III. (New Series) Art. V.—Description of the Amravati Tope in Gantúr, read 1868.

Vol. IV. (New Series) Art. II.—On Indian Chronology, read 15th February, 1869.

Vol. VI. (New Series) Art. IX.—On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi.

Vol. XI. (New Series) Art. VIII.—On the identification of the portrait of Chosroes II. among the paintings in the Caves of Ajunta.

Vol. XII. (New Series) page 105.—Remarks on Mr. Robert Sewell's "Note on Hiouen-Thsang's Dhanakacheka."

——— Art. IX.—On the Saka, Samvat, and Gupta Eras, being a supplement to the author's paper on Indian Chronology.

——— page 139.—Notes on Babu Rájendralála Mitra's paper on the age of the Caves at Ajunta.

Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, whose name is last mentioned, is the author of many papers connected with Indian Archæology,



as well as of two considerable works, one of which (on Gáya) was published under the orders of the Government of Bengal, and the other (on the Antiquities of Orissa) those of the Government of India, he having been attached to an archæological mission which, in 1869, visited the Caves, examined hurriedly by Fergusson in 1833, the result not being satisfactory to the latter, he urged the possibility of sending another expedition to these Caves, under European guidance, and offered to pay the expenses, should the Government decline to bear them. This was a controversy of somewhat acrimonious character, the strength of Fergusson's convictions was often expressed by him with an almost unnecessary strength of language, may, however, be largely excused on account of the character of many of the attacks with which he was assailed. Irritated and indignant, he published, perhaps in 1884, a pamphlet entitled *Archæology in India*, in which he wrote in the preface, he took an opportunity of saying a few last words on some points of that subject which his study had rendered clearer to him than they were to others, and Dr. Rájendralála Mitra's works became a peg on which to hang his observations. But in such positions, especially upon Indian matters, even his opponents were his debtors. Fergusson, by his individual efforts, and a jot of encouragement from the Government, with no special criteria which could enable him to form a judgment of the age or style of the buildings he was studying, and them, and laid the solid foundations of an archæological chronology for Hindustan. Undoubtedly some of the most remarkable edifices of that country had been discovered and partially described, both by the illustrious Bernier and by other travellers, French and English, of the seventeenth century, as well as by later writers, to whom Heber may be prominently mentioned, and many edifices had been even drawn, though imperfectly, by

and others. But until Fergusson began to systematize the result of his laborious examinations and to publish his studies of the historical monuments in stone and marble scattered over the face of India, the mass of these and their mutual affinities were like a sealed book to the learning and intelligence of the world. It is not too much to assert that the present votaries of Indian research owe to him the means of checking historical tradition by easy reference to the substantial records with which, principally through his works, they are now familiar.

It would not be right to terminate a memoir written for this Society without mentioning the Paper which Fergusson contributed to the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, for August 1863, on "Recent Changes in the Delta of the Ganges." He had resided as a planter for five years on the banks of one of the most active of the Bengal rivers, and had been a witness of some of the changes he described. When, as he states, he first became aware of the disturbance that was taking place around him, he set himself to measure and observe what was passing, and in 1835 made a sketch survey of the Lower Ganges and Brahmaputra from Jaffiergunge to the sea. This was published soon afterwards, and his Paper read to the Geological Society was illustrated with a map of the rivers of Bengal showing the changes since Rennell's survey. Such wide versatility of genius was all the more remarkable from the fact that his views on subjects of the most varied nature requiring study and ability of the most distinct character, and information from sources totally opposed to and distant from each other, were neither superficial nor cursory, but on the contrary were carefully thought out and illustrated generally with direct evidence of skill and learning. Besides those enumerated, he has written articles for periodicals, and letters without end which have been published in the newspapers, and his last contribution of this kind appeared in the *Nineteenth Century*,

for November 1885, on "The Restoration of West Hall." Seized the following month with a second of paralysis, he died on the 9th of January, 1886, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

"Those," says an old and intimate associate, "who knew Fergusson in a business or an official capacity, came into contact with his rough exterior alone, and had little idea of what a very affectionate and even tender there was to his character. To those whom he loved he devoted, and the number was greater than many would believe. As a son and a brother few equalled him in unwearied and thoughtful attention; and besides relatives, many friends of all classes who would gladly testify that things were not too sacred for open testimony—to the value of his friendship, the firm attachment with which he inspired them during a long intercourse of unvarying kindness, and their deep sorrow at his death."

*Mr. Edward Thomas*,<sup>1</sup> C.I.E., F.R.S., the learned numismatist and Indian Antiquary, who had been for nearly thirty years a Member, and for twenty-five years, Treasurer of the Royal Asiatic Society, died on Wednesday, 1st February, at his house, in Victoria Road, Kensington, after an illness of some weeks' duration. Having passed through the prescribed ordeal of study at Haileybury, and returned out in 1832 to India, in the service of the Hon. East India Company, as a writer on the Bengal establishment, his continued ill-health, which necessitated change of scene, his career in the East was more than once interrupted by absence on medical certificate, and his abilities and industry had not the same opportunity for display as in other circumstances have been offered. Consequently, notwithstanding his many claims to distinction and popularity, he retired on his civil service annuity in 1857,

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of this memoir, and list of writings which accompany it (by Mr. Stanley Lane Poole, M.R.A.S.), have already appeared in the

himself thenceforward to those literary and scientific pursuits which had, to a great extent, been the charm if not the recognized business of his life. A constant attendant at the meetings of societies, he wrote a long series of essays and articles on many branches of Indian and old Persian Archæology.

The services he rendered to science by breaking ground in a dozen obscure subjects—such as Bactrian, Sassanian, and Indo-Scythic coins, Indian metrology, Sassanian gems and inscriptions—are admittedly very great. Ever eager to turn his researches to practical account, he would sometimes hasten fearlessly to express his views, even in an embryo state, upon a new discovery, or to explain the bearings of a new point that had struck him in his constant and patient study of Indian antiquities. Indeed, it would not have been difficult to trace the gradual progress into shape of the new thought in a series of amended proof-sheets. But this promptness in publishing fresh data served as a stimulating impulse to other students, and it would be hard to say how many branches of study previously unexplored Mr. Thomas set on foot by one or other of his suggestive papers in the transactions of learned societies. He had the genius of the archæologist for detecting analogies and relations, and he was a palæographer of a very high order. He made many mistakes—as scholars must do if they prefer premature hatching to prolonged incubation—but he also advanced every study he took up, and gave it a fresh impetus, and often a new and accurate direction.

Like De Quincey's, Mr. Thomas's works were mainly contributed to periodicals; but instead of *Blackwood* or *Tait's*, he wrote for such learned journals as those of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, as the *Numismatic Chronicle* and the *Indian Antiquary*. Many of his papers were afterwards collected in book form, and one such collection is his well-known "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli" (1847), which went to a second and greatly

enlarged edition in 1871, and will always remain a work for Indian numismatists. Another important taking was his edition of James Prinsep's "Essays on Antiquities," with the "Useful Tables," 2 vols., 1861; he enriched with many valuable notes, and rendered its want of order, an indispensable work of reference for archaeologists. His last great enterprise was the one which was intended to form a cyclopædia of Eastern Numismatics—the "International Numismata Orientalia," which nine parts, mainly written by leading authorities, appeared between 1874 and 1885, and many more had been arranged for. Besides his constant literary activity, as an energetic member of various learned societies, to the proceedings he took a lively interest. The Royal Asiatic Society loses in him an excellent Treasurer and an able Member of Council; and has recorded its deep appreciation of its loss in a special minute. Those who attend the meetings at Albemarle Street will miss the familiar figure that regularly abandoned the temptations of the Authors' Club to attend the Council of the Asiatic. Other men have owed much to Mr. Thomas's energy and experience, but his quick temper, intolerant of opposition (as befitting an Indian official of the old school), gave him an almost despotic authority on subjects which he had made his own. No man has done more by personal influence, as well as by his writings, to encourage the study of Oriental antiquities in England. His conclusions may sometimes be erroneous—theories—say, of primitive Indian coinage and metallurgy—fanciful, and his mode of expression peculiar; but the services to archaeology have been many and varied, and no one can dispense with his guidance in the numerous research which he has opened to exploration. The Royal Asiatic Society recognized his work by electing him a Fellow; the French Institute made him a Correspondent, and the Emperor decorated him with the Order of the Indian Empire.

The following is a chronological list (with abbreviated titles) of the chief writings of the deceased:—

1846. Coins of the Hindu Kings of Kábul (Journal Royal Asiatic Society).

1847. Coins of the Kings of Ghazní (J.R.A.S.). Pathán Sultans of Hindustán (Numismatic Chronicle). Second edition, with title 'Chronicle of the Pathán Kings of Dehli,' 1871.

1848. The Sáh Kings of Suráshtra (J.R.A.S.).

1849. Pahlavi Coins of Arabs in Persia (J.R.A.S.). Oriental Legends on Arsacidan Coins (Num. Chron.).

1851. Eight Kúfic Coins in Panjáb (J.A.S.Bengal).

1852. Sassanian Mint Monograms (J.R.A.S.). Col. Stacy's Ghazní (J.A.S.Bengal). Unpublished Coins of the Sassanidæ (Num. Chron.).

1854. Excavations at Sárnáth (J.A.S.Bengal).

1855. Epoch of the Gupta Dyuasty (J.A.S.Bengal). Coins of the Guptas (*ibid.*) Outline Catalogue of Bactrian Coins (Num. Chron.).

1858. Supplementary Coins of the Kings of Ghazní (J.R.A.S.). Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities, and Useful Tables, with notes, 2 vols. (Murray).

1862. Bactrian Coins (J.R.A.S. and Num. Chron.).

1863. Bactrian Alphabet (Num. Chron.). Indian Numerals (Journ. Asiatique).

1864. Bactrian Coins (Num. Chron.). Xandrames and Krananda (J.R.A.S.). Ancient Indian Weights (Num. Chron. and J.A.S.Bengal). Earliest Indian Coinage (Num. Chron. and J.A.S.Bengal).

1866. Initial Coinage of Bengal (J.R.A.S. and J.A.S. Bengal). Sassanian Gems and Armenian Coins (Num. Chron.).

1867. Early Armenian Coins (Num. Chron. 4 parts).

1868. Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals, and Coins.

1870. Indo-Parthian Coins (J.R.A.S.).

1871. Recent Pahlavi Decipherments (J.R.A.S.)  
Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire in India.

1873. Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pt. II. (J.R.A.S.)

1874. Numismata Orientalia : Pt. I., Ancient  
Weights (Trübner).

1876. Bactrian Coins and Indian Dates (J.R.A.S.)  
Faith of Asoka (J.R.A.S.). The Sâh Dynasty and  
Coins (in Burgess's 'Second Report Arch. Survey  
India').

1877. Early Coins of Western India (Ind. Antiq.)

1879. Jainism (Ind. Antiq.). Bilingual Coins of  
(*ibid.*).

1880. The Indian Swastika and its Western Counterparts  
(Num. Chron.). Andhra Coins (Ind. Antiq.). The  
(*ibid.*). Buddhist Symbols (*ibid.*).

1881. The Epoch of the Guptas (J.R.A.S.).

1882. The Indian Balhara and Arabian Intercourse  
(Bengal). Revenues of Mughal Empire (*ibid.*).

1883. The Rivers of the Vedas and how they  
entered India (J.R.A.S.). Mahrattas ('Encycl. Brit.').  
Coinage of the East India Company at Bombay (Num.  
Indo-Scythian Coins (Ind. Antiq.).

Sir W. Rose Robinson, K.C.S.I.<sup>1</sup> On the 27th  
month the grave closed on one whose life-long  
England's distant empire merits a brief notice.

William Rose Robinson entered the Madras Civil Service  
in 1842, having passed the two previous years at Haileybury  
College. On first arrival he had, as usual, to acquire  
knowledge of the local languages, and was then employed in the  
Revenue Department in various districts. Limited  
opportunities of displaying marked ability necessarily  
subordinate positions, he soon evinced the qualities which  
distinguished him to the last—untiring zeal and industry,  
energy, independence of thought, and fearlessness in

<sup>1</sup> This memoir is supplied by a friend and brother civilian.

and doing what he believed to be right, and the entire subordination of every personal consideration to the performance of duty. His was never the perfunctory discharge of official business during "office hours," his whole time and every thought were given to his work: the pleasures of society, and even the comforts of home life, were sacrificed without hesitation whenever duty required.<sup>1</sup> By general consent no one was more thoroughly conversant than he with the character and disposition of the people and their peculiar land tenures and customs, and this knowledge was turned to good account in after years when he rose to positions of influence and authority.

It is impossible here to follow him throughout his lengthened career, embracing service in every district of his presidency, and also in Calicut, where he took a prominent part in the framing of various legislative enactments and police measures. One or two instances of special work may, however, be noted. As quite a young civilian he was sent by the Madras Government to the Laccadive Islands, where famine and "a scourge of scurvy" were rife, to supply the inhabitants with food and medicine. Accompanied by a few native officials, he left Calicut for the scene of his labours, and remained at his post for some months, the only European in that comparatively strange locality. His comprehensive description of the islands form the subject of an instructive and interesting article in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for the second half of 1847. It was on the occasion of one of his visits there that a ship, through stress of weather, was driven ashore, and that his gallant and official services in helping to save the crew and

<sup>1</sup> The following incident will show the energy Mr. Robinson brought to bear upon his work in India from his first arrival in the country. Very shortly after he joined his first appointment as assistant to the Collector of Canara, the civil engineer in his circuit visited Mangalore, when an improvement of its harbour was suggested; but nothing could be done because there was no one of the Public Works Department available to make the necessary surveys. Before the engineer's next visit, however, the young Assistant-Collector had taught himself surveying, and prepared a map of the harbour with its soundings ready for his use.



cargo earned him the award of salvage money for the owners.

He was at a later period employed in the Malabar and earned marked distinction during the troubles when Moplah fanaticism culminated in the murder of the magistrate, Mr. Conolly (1855).

But the crowning work of his career was unquestionably the reorganization of the police of the Madras Presidency. The condition of that force had long been a cause of deep concern to the Government; its inefficiency was shown by the prevalence of crime undetected and unrepressed, and the general belief in the venality and oppression of its native officers was extensively current. The reform of this important branch of the administration was entrusted, in 1858, to Mr. Robinson, and, undeterred by the magnitude and difficulty of the task, he undertook it single-handed, and so well performed it that when, in the ordinary course of the service, his services in his standing have been entitled to promotion and emoluments in other departments, his Government granted special sanction for such an increase to his allowances as to enable them to retain his services when they were so valuable to the State, without subjecting him to pecuniary loss. It is difficult to exaggerate the magnitude of his scheme. His scheme was not composed in the quietude of study, or on the mere reports and suggestions of others. On the contrary, he visited every district of the Presidency, seeing for himself, and conferring with the local magistrates and others, submitted to his Government a plan of reorganization for each district complete in every respect, in accordance with the general principles previously laid down by the Government and approved by them. His plans provided for every branch of police administration, and included also the readjustment of the existing territorial divisions in order to provide for the relation of the force to the magistracy, the relief by the abolition of the numerous small detachments of military

about the country, guarding treasuries and jails to the prejudice of military discipline, the framing of police regulations and laws, and other important matters. The mental and physical strain was indeed great, and he had also formidable difficulties to contend with, in the inert hostility of native officials of the old school, and especially in the submissive character of the people, affording no extraneous check to malpractices or oppression by the police. The force was at first entirely officered from the army, and the invidious task of selecting officers was, by universal consent, discharged by Mr. Robinson with the most absolute disregard of every consideration save that of fitness for the duty.

In 1866 Sir William was selected to be one of the first recipients of the honour of the Companionship of the Star of India. The following year he left the police force, which he had not only instituted but personally governed with admitted success, leaving to his successors a comparatively facile task. Experience has now proved the soundness of the principles he adopted; and the police administration of the Madras Presidency remains the enduring monument of his official career.

In 1869 Mr. Robinson was made a member of the Revenue Board and Inam Commissioner, and in 1873 a Member of Council of the Madras Government; and on the death of Lord Hobart in May, 1875, he became acting Governor, which post he held for seven months, and until the arrival of His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos. On the 31st December he was raised to the dignity of a Knight of the Star of India. Of his work in these last years of his Indian service it is enough here to say that, like *all* his work, it was characterized by unceasing energy and diligence.

Sir W. Robinson retired from the service on the 5th December, 1878, and finding no means of further serving his country and the land in which he had spent a lifetime, betook

himself to the work of charity, becoming an active member of several societies, and

“ Life's race well run,  
Life's work well done,  
Life's crown well won,”

he passed to his rest on the 27th April last. The assembly round his grave afforded silent testimony to his worth. Friends who had known him and his work were gone by, and friends who had only known him by reputation learned to value him, since his withdrawal from the world of his life-long labours, now gathered round it, paying the last tribute of love and esteem.

We gather from *The Nation* that *Professor Seyffarth*, the learned German archæologist, died in New York on the 17th of November last, in his eighty-ninth year. Born in Saxony and educated in Leipsic, he was at one time Professor of Archæology in the latter place at the age of thirty. He turned his attention to Egyptian studies, and with Champollion the authorship of the now accepted system of hieroglyphics. In 1855 he came to the United States, where he was for six years a Professor in the Lutheran Seminary at St. Louis. In 1857 he published in this city a ‘*Summary of Recent Discoveries in Biblical Chronology, Universal History, and Egyptian Archæology*,’ in English and German. He was a constant contributor to European and American periodicals.

Dr. Seyffarth had been on the List of Foreign Members of the Royal Asiatic Society since 1829, or for 57 years. In 1834 presented its Library with a copy of the *Beitrag zum Kenntniss der Literatur, Kunst, Mythologie und Geschichte Aegypten*, published at Leipsic in the previous year.

His long residence on the other side of the Atlantic cut him off from European literary circles; but the news of his recent death brings to remembrance the fact that his work done by him was in a wide field, and remains to the benefit of students in all quarters of the world.

*Mr. Henry Louis St. Barbe*, killed by dacoits in February of the current year, was a distinguished member of the Bengal Civil Service, which he joined in 1872. Removed to Burma within six months after his arrival in India, he filled several offices of importance in that country, and in 1879 was placed in charge of the Residency at Mandalay. His withdrawal from that station in October of that year was effected under stringent orders, and he afterwards became Assistant Agent to the Governor-General in Central India. In 1882, he returned from a two years' furlough to Europe, and in the following year his services were again utilized for the government of our possessions in the Far East. He was placed at the disposal of the Home Department, and appointed Deputy Commissioner of the fourth grade in British Burma, and posted to Bassein. It appears that while following dacoits in a steamer with a small force, he landed to reconnoitre, attended only by an orderly and guide. All three were shot: the bodies were removed by the captain of the steamer, who was wounded on the occasion. Mr. St. Barbe's death was not only a cause of deep sorrow to friends and relatives, but a heavy loss also to the Government he served with so much zeal and ability. As an Asiatic scholar, he may be mentioned as having passed examinations in Shán, Burmese, and Pali. He had been for about eight years a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and contributed an article to the 10th Volume of the Journal under the heading of *Burmese Transliteration*.

In addition to the above, whose obituary notices may fairly demand admission in the Annual Report, as of members immediately forwarding the objects of this Society, there are recently deceased members who, from personal associations, or a certain position in the outer world, reasonably claim a passing mention, however brief.

Of the *Mahárájá of Travancore* (Ráma Varmá, brother of Vanchi Bála Ráma Varmá), the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times*, in notifying his death in August, 1885, thus

writes:—"It is not too much to say that this event is only less grave to the Indian Empire than to the parent State which he governed. Since he ascended the throne three years ago, the late Mahārājā has been known as the enlightened and the most learned of native princes. He wrote and spoke English with ease, was well versed in several Indian vernacular languages, and was an accomplished Sanskrit scholar. He had travelled over a great part of India, and wherever he went he made himself thoroughly well acquainted with everything worthy of notice. In his youth he had the advantage of training under Sir Siva Rao, the ablest of modern Native statesmen. He was the first man to start Travancore on that path of progress which it has followed with so much success. The Maharaja was a firm friend of the British Government, and during his rule Travancore continued to advance in prosperity. He well deserved the epithet often applied to it—the Native State of India.

On the 28th July, 1885, the Society lost in Sir *Montefiore, Bart., F.R.S.*,<sup>1</sup> a Member of 30 years' standing who had completed his hundredth year in the present month of November. In early life he became a member of the London Exchange, and shortly amassed a large fortune. It was, however, his ambition to become a millionaire, and he retired from business in 1825.

In 1827 Mr. Montefiore and his wife paid their first visit to the Holy Land, and on their way thither acquired the friendship of Muhammad 'Ali. They were cordially received at Jerusalem both by Jews and Gentiles, and spent some time there in prosecuting inquiries of interest. Sir Moses Montefiore visited Palestine on six subsequent occasions. These visits were used as opportunities for the distribution of relief,

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from an original memoir kindly supplied by F. D. Montefiore, M.B.A.S.

provement or establishment of works of education, sanitation and industry. In 1840 the blood accusations at Damascus, which occasioned the imprisonment of Jews and threatened them with horrible tortures, took Sir Moses, in company with M. Crémieux, to Alexandria and Constantinople. He obtained from Muhammad 'Ali the order for the release of the prisoners, and from the Sultan not only a firman entirely exculpating the Jews from the offences with which they were charged, but one of general toleration for them throughout the whole of the Turkish Empire. In 1863, he obtained a confirmation of this firman by the new Sultan Abdul 'Aziz, and in 1864, when in his 80th year, his present influence at Morocco gained for him a similar favour from the Sultan Sidi Muhammad for Jews in the Moorish States. Two journeys to Russia, where he was well received by the Emperors Nicholas and Alexander respectively, and one journey to Bucharest in the same cause, should also be here noted.

His final journey was his seventh visit to the Holy Land at the age of 90, in 1874. The last ten years of his life were passed in retirement at East Cliff Lodge near Ramsgate. He was, to the end, active in mind, and full of the projects to which he had devoted his life. He still directed an enormous correspondence, which flowed to him from all countries and in all languages, and still contributed largely to a number of benevolent enterprises, entirely ignoring diversities of creed or race. His appearance was dignified and commanding and, in old age, venerable in the extreme, with a charm of manner which was equally extended to poor and rich, to young and old. Chosen Sheriff of London and Middlesex in 1837, he was knighted in the same year; and about nine years later he received a Baronetcy from Her Majesty.

Though wanting, in early life, the advantages of a very finished education, and never laying claim to scientific attain-

ments, the tastes and interests of Sir Moses were so that he belonged to most of the learned societies of London. Of the Royal Society, in whose proceedings he always took much interest, he was elected a Fellow so far back as 1836. His frequent journeys to the East, his efforts for the welfare of the Holy Land, and his intimate acquaintance with many Oriental rulers and persons, may be considered also to have given Sir Moses Montefiore a fitting place among the Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, who will ever regard his memory with affection and respect.

*Mr. Francis Mathew, M.I.C.E.*, who died on the 1st September, 1885, was, when in India, Chief Engineer of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company, and more recently in England, Consulting Engineer, Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway Company. He was a nephew of the celebrated Father Mathew.

The funeral in Westminster Abbey, on the 9th August, of the *Right Hon. W. E. Forster*, bore plain testimony to the high esteem in which he was held by a very large number of official and public men irrespective of party. Although his memory of the deceased statesman was not directly associated with Asiatic literature, travel or research, yet his long and arduous life for India and the welfare of its people amply justified the special mention of his name in the Obituary Notice of this Society. The busy character of his public life readily explains his rare attendance at its meetings. It must not be forgotten that for 24 years he was one of its Resident Members. His personal history, as told elsewhere. It is that of a patriotic Englishman; his distinguished and honourable career sheds lustre on the country to which he belonged.

Among those Orientalists, not Members of the Society, who have died since the date of the last Annual Meeting or between July 1885 and July 1886, may be mentioned *Pandit Tara Nath Tukatchaspati*, for 30 years a Professor of Sanskrit in the college at Banáras : *M. Brosset*, an

Georgian and Armenian scholar, in whose memory a monument has been erected at Tiflis; and the Hebrew scholar, *Dr. Kalisch*, the two last on the 22nd and 23rd August respectively. A Baptist Missionary, *Dr. Nathan Brown*, who died during the same year in Japan, had worked for 20 years in India, publishing there, in 1848, his *Grammatical Notes of the Assamese Language*, and in 1849 a translation of the New Testament into Assamese. On the 16th January 1886, *His Excellency Subhi Pasha*, a liberal patron of literature and science, died at Constantinople. He was the possessor of an Oriental Library of exceptional value. *Dr. Jens Peter Broch*, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Christiania for a quarter of a century—said to have published the only book in the Arabic character ever printed in Norway—died on the 15th March; and on the 17th idem, in his 92nd year, *Leopold Zunz*, the distinguished Talmudic scholar. To the above should be added, on the 27th April, *Tobius Theodores*, Professor of Oriental Languages at Owens College, Manchester, a scholar said to have been well acquainted with Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, as well as Latin and Greek, and six modern European languages. Born at Posen in 1808, he came to England when a very young man, and engaged in commercial pursuits.

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The Auditors submit the accompanying Account of the Receipts and Expenditure of the Society, which will, they hope, be considered satisfactory.



## ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1885.

Dec. 31, 1884.		Dec. 31, 1885.	
RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance at Bankers', January 1, 1885	...	Rents—House	...
153 Resident Members ..	481 19 0	Water Rate	...
1 Half-Resident Member ..	1 11 6	Income Tax	...
129 Non-Resident Members ..	135 9 0	Fire Insurance	...
2 Non-Resident Members, in advance	2 2 0	Salaries—Secretary	...
Arrears—8 Non-Resident Members	8 6 0	Assistant	...
2 Resident Members	...	Bedford (pension)	...
Compositions (less 5d. Bank charges)	20 19 4	Journal—Tribune for Vol. XVII.	...
Donation from the India Office	210 0 0	Illustrations, Map, Index, &c.	...
Dividend on Consols	27 12 2	Books purchased	...
British Association	317 0 0	Stationery and Miscellaneous Printing	...
University Extension Society	30 0 0	Postage and parcels	...
Hellenic Society	23 0 0	Advertisements	...
Aristotelian Society	13 13 0	Bank Charges and Cheque Book	...
Numismatic Society	20 0 0	House Expenses	...
Hermætic Society	10 10 0	Housekeeper	...
Sale of Publications	...	Errand Boy	...
	...	Gas	...
	...	Repairs	...
	...	Allowance	...
Total Receipts	1403 19 9		
		Investment	...
		Total Expenditure	...
			966 17 4
			99 12 6
			1066 9 10
			837 9 11
			£1403 19 9

*Proceedings of Asiatic Societies.—Royal Asiatic Society.*—The following papers have been read at different meetings of the Society, since the last Anniversary of May 18:—

1. H. F. W. Holt, Esq., M.R.A.S., "On the Chinese Game of Chess." Read June 15th, 1885.

2. The Rev. Hilderic Friend, F.Z.S., of Canton, "On the Buddhistic Element in Oriental Life." Read November 23rd, 1885.

3. William Simpson, Esq., F.R.G.S., Hon. Assoc. R.I.B.A., "On the newly-discovered Caves at Panjdeh." Read December 21st, 1885.

4. H. C. Kay, Esq., M.R.A.S., "On the Early History of Cairo and its Founders." Read January 11th, 1886.

5. Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., M.R.A.S., "On Buddhism in its Relation to Brahmarism." Read February 15th, 1886.

6. Professor Fritz Hommel, of Munich, "On the Sumerian Language and its Affinities."

Nos. 2 and 4 have not been published in the Journal of the Society. The subject of the first is one which could only be glanced at in the few pages given to its discussion, and would demand a bulky volume for exhaustive treatment. That of the second is handled by the author with the freedom of an old resident in Egypt, who has carefully noticed its people and history.

*Journals.—Royal Asiatic Society.*—Since the last Anniversary of May 18, 1885, Part III. of Vol. XVII. and Parts I. and II. of Vol. XVIII. have been published. They contain the following papers:—

*Vol. XVII. Part III.*—The Age of the Avesta. By Professor de Harlez, of Louvain, M.R.A.S.

——— Notes on the Chinese Game of Chess. By H. F. W. Holt, Esq., Asst. Secretary R.A.S.

——— Customs and Superstitions connected with the

Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon.  
C. R. J. Le Mesurier, Ceylon Civil Service, M.  
F.R.G.S., etc.

———— The Vernacular Literature and Folk-Lore  
Panjab. By Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L.

———— Beginnings of Writing in and around  
By Terrien de Lacouperie, M.R.A.S., Professor of  
Chinese Philology (University College, London).

And *Vol. XVIII. Part I.*—Ancient Navigation  
Indian Ocean. By the Rev. Joseph Edkins, D.D.,  
Hon. Member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

———— La Calle and the Country of the Khoms  
a Note on North African Marbles; being the Report  
a recent tour, addressed to H.M. Secretary of State  
Consul-General R. L. Playfair. Communicated by  
Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary, with the consent  
Author.

———— The Bushmen and their Language.  
Bertin, Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— Inscriptions at Cairo and the Burj  
By Henry C. Kay, M.R.A.S.

———— Gleanings from the Arabic. The  
of Maisun, the Bedouin wife of Muâwiya. By  
Freeland, M.A., M.R.A.S., late M.P., Commander  
Order of the Crown of Siam.

———— Discovery of Caves on the Murghab  
Captains de Laessoë and the Hon. M. G. Talbot  
With Notes by William Simpson, R.I., F.R.G.S.  
Assoc. R.I.B.A. (*Forwarded through the late*  
*S. W. Vaux, Secretary R.A.S.*)

———— The Alchemist. A Persian Play. Translated  
by Guy le Strange, M.R.A.S.

In *Vol. XVIII. Part II.* are:—On Buddhism  
Relation to Brahmanism. By Professor Sir Monier  
Williams, C.I.E., D.C.L., M.R.A.S.

———— The Stories of Jīmūtavāhana, and of Hariśarman. Translated by the Rev. B. Hale Wortham, M.R.A.S.

———— The Geographical Distribution of the Modern Túrki Languages. By M. A. Morrison, Esq., Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society in South Russia. Communicated by R. N. Cust, Esq., Hon. Secretary R.A.S., with a Note, Table of Authorities, and a Language-Map.

———— A Modern Contributor to Persian Literature. Rizá Kulí Khan and his works. By Sidney Churchill, Esq., Esq., M.R.A.S.

———— Some Bhoj'pūrī Folk-Songs. Edited and translated by G. A. Grierson, M.R.A.S., Bengal Civil Service.

———— Observations on the various Texts and Translations of the so-called "Song of Meysūn"; an Inquiry into Meysūn's Claim to its Authorship; and an Appendix on Arabic Transliteration and Pronunciation. By J. W. Redhouse, M.R.A.S., Litt.D., C.M.G., etc., etc.

Four numbers of part 1, vol. liv. of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1885), contain much interesting matter. In No. 1, Mr. Atkinson continues his learned "Notes on the History of Religion in the Himalaya of the N.W. Provinces," confining his remarks almost wholly to the funeral ceremonies, which are well worthy of study as illustrative of the character of the people by whom they are practised. The last service for the dying—preparation of the body for the pyre-office for cremation—procedure after cremation, with the ceremonies belonging to each of twelve days, are all curious details. Mr. G. A. Grierson and Śrī Náráyan Singh edit and translate "The Battle of Kanarpí Ghát, a poem, perhaps the most popular of its kind in Tirhut," written by a Maithil Brahman at the end of the last century, in the Baiswári dialect; and this is followed by Mr. Grierson single-handed, who, with his usual skill and industry, prepares for his reader the Bhojpurí and Magahi versions of the song

of Gopi Chand, and appends an English translation. C. J. Rodgers supplies information on some copper coins of Akbar, on coins of Ranjít Deo, Rájah of Jammú, of the last century, and on coins of Ahmad Shah Abdali. These last give valuable testimony to historical data.

In No. 2 Mr. J. Boxwell, B.A., of the Bengal Civil Service, in his paper on the Trishtubh Metre, introduces some Latin renderings of Sanskrit verse.

Of the *Proceedings* of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1885 (1885) contain notices and discussions in the departments of Numismatics, Meteorology, and History. The greater part of the papers alluded to, however, been published *in extenso* in the Journal, and need not be here considered. At the monthly general meeting of the 1st July, the President, Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, exhibited five Sanskrit MSS. treating of Veterinary Medicine. He gave an interesting analysis of them. The subject, however, had not been hitherto noticed by any European Orientalist. It is a circumstance due to the neglect it has experienced in the hands of modern Pandits, to whom the characteristic diseases of horses offered no attraction. In ancient India it had been otherwise. Bráhmans and scholars were interested in it, and ministers, and the horse was looked upon as an important element of a kingdom." Tracing back the history of Veterinary art in India to a period before the separation of the Hindus into Greeks and Hindus, Dr. Mitra pointed out that eventually it became split into two parts, one relating to cattle, and one to horses only. Of the most noted Professor was Pálakápya: of the latest the earliest professor was Śálihotra whose name appears in a Hindi manuscript he had found, the name of the text being Chetana. Other works noticed were those of Dīpañkara, son of Mánákara, and of Jayadatta Vijayadatta. In the same number of the *Proceedings* (7) as that containing an account of these treatises

related "a Coincidence in Folk Lore" by the Rev. Charles Swynnerton. The writer finds in the *liber facetiarum* of the 15th-century ecclesiastic, Poggio Bruciolini of Florence, the Italian counterpart of a folk-tale of the Upper Panjáb which he had himself told in a recently published volume. It is the story of a husband moving *up* the current of a river to seek the body of his drowned wife, on the principle that she always, during life, took an opposite course to every other person. Such coincidences are certainly not rare; and Mr. Swynnerton is perhaps fully justified in arguing that the fables "trace their original source to some common tribe or family of men, whether in Central Asia or elsewhere, whose descendants, extending themselves east and west over the world, carried their household words with them." The Annual Report of the Society for 1884 shows the total number of Members at the close of the year to be 326, of whom 102 are Resident, 157 Non-Resident, 12 Foreign, 15 Life, and 40 Non-Subscribing Members. A six years' average makes the total 336, of whom 282 are paying, and 54 non-paying.

Mention of the *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* will be here appropriate. This goodly volume, which embraces the hundred years from 1784 to 1883 inclusive, is in three Parts, with an Appendix in the shape of Proceedings of the Special Century Meeting held on the 15th January, 1884. Part I. is the History of the Society by Dr. Rájendralála Mitra, elected President in 1885. The learned native gentleman, in concluding his careful record, thus summarizes the great services rendered by the Society :—

1. It has provided for the use of scholars a commodious house valued at 150,000 Rupees.
2. It has got up a library containing 30,000 volumes, of which upwards of 8000 are manuscripts.

3. It has obtained a collection of ancient coins and medals valued at 10,000 Rupees.

4. It has collected a small but valuable gallery of pictures and memorial busts.

5. It has created an Archæological and Ethnological Museum of considerable extent, a Geological Museum rich in Meteorites and Indian fossils, and a Zoological Museum all but complete as regards the Avi-fauna of India.

6. It has published a total of 354 vols., including 21 vols. of the Asiatic Researches and Index, 84 vols. of the Journal and Index, 19 vols. of Proceedings, 167 vols. of Oriental works of different kinds, 31 vols. of miscellaneous works relating to India, 14 vols. of catalogues, and 18 vols. of Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts.

His concluding words may be quoted as expressing an accepted fact: "These are deeds which, for extent, variety and usefulness, may well claim the consideration of the public. They compare very favourably with the works of other and older Societies in other parts of the earth. To the student of science in India they have proved of invaluable service. And it is in view of these the Society this day celebrates its Centenary Jubilee."

Part II. treats of Archæology, History, Language and Literature; and is the work of Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, the Philological Secretary. It has full and interesting Appendices. Part III. is devoted to Natural Science, and is by Mr. P. N. Bose. Appended to it is a Classified Index to the Scientific papers in the Society's Publications from 1788 to 1882.

Among the six Special Centenary Honorary Members lately created are three highly-esteemed Members of the London Society, Professor A. H. Sayce, M. S  nart, and Professor Sir Monier Monier-Williams.

In connection with the Bengal Asiatic Society may be mentioned the numerous *fasciculi* of the *Bibliotheca Indica*

which have been added to our library during the current year (1886). They are as follows :—

*Sanskrit.* 1. The Mimamsa Darsana, with commentary of Savara Svamini, edited by Mahésachandra Nyáyaratna. Fasciculus xviii.

2. Narada Smṛiti, edited by Julius Jolly, vol. i. fasc. i.

3. Tattva Chintámani, ed. Pandita Kamakhyanatha Tarkaratna. Fasc. iii.

4. The Nirukta, ed. Pandit Satyavrata Samasrami, vol. iii. fasc. ii. and iii.

5. Parásara Smṛiti, by Pandit Chandrakánta Tarkálankára. Fasc. ii.

6. Chaturvarga Chintámani, by Hemádri, ed. Pandita Yogeśvara Smṛitiratna and Pandita Kamakhyanatha Tarkaratna. Vol. iii. part i. Paríseshakhanda. Fasc. xii.-xiii.

7. The Vivádaratnákara, ed. Pandit Dínanátha Vidyálan-kára. Fasc. i. and ii.

8. The Srauta Súra of Apastamba belonging to the Black Yajurveda, with commentary of Rudradatta, ed. Dr. Richard Garbe. Vol. ii. fasc. xi. xii.

9. The Vayu Purána, ed. Rájendrála Mitra. Vol. ii. fasc. vi.

10. The Srauta Sutra of Sánkháyana, ed. Dr. Hildebrandt. Vol. i. fasc. ii.

11. Manutikásangrahu, ed. Julius Jolly. Fasc. i.

12. Kála Mádhava, by Pandit Chandrakánta Tarkálankára. Fasc. ii.

13. The Kúrma Purána, ed. Nilmani Mukhopadhyáya Nyáyálankára. Fasc. i.

14. Vrihannáradíya Purána, ed. Pandit Hrishikesa Sástri. Fasc. i.

*Prakrit.* The Uvásagadasáo, ed. Dr. Rudolf Hoernle. Fasc. i.

*Persian.* 1. Muntakhabu 't-Tawárikh by 'Abdul Kádir bin Maluk Shah (al Badáoni) translated by Löwe.

2. Zafarnáma by Maulana Sharfu-d-dín 'Ali Yazdi, ed. Maulavi Muhammad Ilahdád. Vol. i. fasc. ii. and iii.



3. Akbar Nāma of Abúl Fadhl ed. Maulavi Rahim. Vol. iii. fasc. iii.

*Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—No. 44 of vol. xvii. has already been noticed in the Report of last year, No. 43 of vol. xvi. has o to hand during the current year. It contains the twelve articles :—

1. On the Auchityālamkāra of Kshemendra, wi on the date of Patanjali, by Professor Petersen.
2. A note on Bādarāyana, author of the Brahn by the Hon. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, M.A., LL.J
3. A reply to Professor Petersen on the date of by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A.
4. Five Copper Plate Grants of the Western Dynasty, from the Karnul District, by J. F. Fleet, C
5. Development of Language and of Sanskrit. Lectures by Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, M.A.
6. Pāli and other Dialects of the Period. Ditto.
7. Relations between Sanskrit, Pāli, the Prākṛits Modern Vernaculars. Ditto.
8. A Copper Plate Grant of the Traikúṭaka K kasena. By Pandit Bhagwán Lāl Indrajī.
9. Transcript and Translation of the Bhitari scription. Ditto.
10. An Inscription of King Asokavalla. Ditto.
11. Böhrtlingk's Indische Sprüche. By Pandit Durj
12. An Inscription from Kotah. By Prof. Peterse

Among these papers, Professor Bhandarkar's le remarkable specimens of clear and well-reasoned : written in that kind of English which many well young Englishmen might not scorn to imitate. T lication in the Society's Journal appears to be an i in practice.

*Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—

Translations from the Pāli and Proceedings noticed in the last Annual Report, no new publication has been received from Colombo.

*Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.*—

In the December number (1884), besides a list of Members, the brief Annual Report and Proceedings, are to be found the following papers:—

1. Journey to the summit of Gunong Bubu, by the Rev. J. E. Tenison Woods.

2. Continuation of a former paper on the Religions of the Sea Dyaks of Sarawak, by the Rev. J. Perham.

3. The History of Perak from Native Sources, by the Hon. W. E. Maxwell.

4. British North Borneo, by E. P. Gueritz, Esq.

5. Jelebu, by H. A. O'Brien, Esq.

These, however unpretending in themselves, all supply more or less valuable data for larger works on the history, politics, people, or geography of the places mentioned.

Of the nine principal articles in the June number (1885), four are translations, one is an extract from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and four are original contributions. All these last have geographical interest, especially the Journey from Kuāla Bernam (Straits of Malacca) to Kuāla Pāhang (Chinese Seas): but the French Missionary's Journey from Bangkok to Ūbon will attract the archæologist also in its account of a ruined city. "Puthai-saman," the explorer writes, "was an important town—or perhaps rather an imposing temple erected to the worship of Buddha. It is one of those monuments of Cambodia which are so much renowned and which astonish all travellers by their original and beautiful architecture." The "Notes and Queries" issued with this number (15) of the *Journal*, are full of interesting local matter, bearing on history, language, law, folk-lore, social customs, games, etc. Though Penang and Perak may have

the lion's share, the scene is not limited to these localities. Malacca, Singapore, and even Borneo are included.

*North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society Series*, vol. xviii. contains the following Articles:—

I. What did the Ancient Chinese know of the Greeks and Romans?

II. *Corea*. Extracts from F. Scherzer's French publication of the *Chaou-hsien-chih*, and Biographical Notices. Translated into English by Charles Gould.

III. *Researches into the Geology of Formosa*. By H. J. Kleinwächter.

IV. *Fragmens d'un voyage dans l'intérieur de la Corée*. Par G. Imbault-Huart.

V. *Some Notes of a Trip to Corea in July and August 1883*. By G. James Morrison.

VI. *Notes on some of the Dykes at the Mouth of the Nankow Pass*. By H. B. Guppy, M.D.

VII. *Samshu Brewing in North China*. By the same.

VIII. *Notes on Szechuen and the Yangtse Valley*. By Archibald J. Little.

Volume xix. pt. i. has the following papers:—

I. *Animal, Fossil, Mineral and Vegetable Products of the Ichang Consular District*. By C. T. Gardner, H.B.M.

II. *A Journey in Chekiang*. By E. H. Parker, Acting-Consul.

III. *A Journey in Fukien, with a map*. By the same.

IV. *A Journey from Foochow to Wénchow, through the Central Fukien, with map*. By the same.

V. *A Buddhist Sheet-Tract, translated with Notes* by the Rt. Rev. Bishop G. E. Moule, of Hangchow.

VI. *Trade Routes to Western China*. By Ale. Hosie, of H.M. Consular Service.

In July, 1885, the Hon. Librarian addressed a printed circular from Shanghai to the several Societies with which the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society was in correspondence, stating that their Journal would henceforth be published in short instalments, instead of, as formerly, in annual volumes. Since that date the Royal Asiatic Society has received six numbers of the new publication (vol. xx. parts i. to vi. inclusive) of which the contents are now summarised :—

The Hung Lou Méng, or Dream of the Red Chamber, by Herbert Giles, President. On the Prevalence of Infanticide in China; a question discussed in writing and orally by selected and special authorities. The Mystery of Ta-Tsin, by G. M. H. Playfair. Chapter iv. of the Ching-Hua-Yuan, translated by C. B. T. What is Filial Piety? discussed by several writers. Is China a Conservative country? Anon. Sinology in Italy, by M. Nocentini. Western Appliances in the Chinese Printing Industry, by Mr. Hirth. Chinese Theatricals and Theatrical Plots, by several writers. The Seaports of India and Ceylon, by G. Phillips. Some additions to my Chinese Grammar, by G. von den Gabelentz; and an instructive article on Bibliography, giving a list of books and papers in China published since 1st January, 1884, compiled by Mr. Hirth. There are also to be found Proceedings, List of Members, and interesting Notes and Queries. Among the last, referring to the word *Brangoye* used in the chronicles of Bar Hebræus, Dr. Edkins says, "We can hardly doubt that it is the Persian word *Farang* applied after the Muhammadan conquests to Western nations generally." An extract from Sonnerat in Col. Yule's "Glossary of Indian Terms" (p. 269) gives almost the word itself: "Ainsi un Européen est tout ce que les Indiens connaissent de plus méprisable; ils le nomment *Parangui*..." But there can be no possible question on the identity of the words.

*Journal Asiatique*, Serie viii. tome v. No. 3, M 1885, contains the following papers :—

I. "Etude sur les Inscriptions de Piyadasi," in which Senart continues his series of learned remarks on the inscriptions of Piyadasi.

II. "Bibliographie Ottomane," in which M. Cl. concludes his notice of Turkish, Arabic and Persian literature published at Constantinople during the period 1299-1882-4). the Hegira (1882-4).

III. "Le Mariage par Achat dans l'Inde Aryenne," by M. L. Feer.

IV. "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la Numismatique et de la Metrologie Musulmanes," being a further instalment of M. H. Sauvaire's papers on this subject.

Under "Nouvelles et Mélanges" are M. Zotenberg's review of the "Livre de Barlaam et de Joseph"; a review by Sénart of Sir Alfred Lyall's Asiatic Studies in their present guise; a paper by Dr. Saad on the Turko-Persian Pilgrims to Karbala; and part of a communication by René Basset to the editor, in which he mentions having discovered, in a list supplied to him at Algiers, four manuscripts of historical interest hitherto unknown.

The July number (vol. vi. No. 1) contains the Annual Report prepared by the Secretary, M. James Darmesteter. It contains a paper of considerable interest, and may be perused with advantage by other readers than Orientalists. Among the casualties of the Society during the foregoing year mention is specially made of the former President, Jacques Antoine Regnier, editor and translator of the *Prâtisāra* of the *Rig-Veda*, a distinguished Sanskrit scholar and critical philologist; also of the accomplished Stanislas Julien, a skilful translator and critic, and withal a brilliant writer whose memory is paid a tribute of high but well-deserved praise. Installed, at the early age of 37, Professor of Sanskrit in the Collège de France, he died shortly after delivering

opening address, described as a “*chef-d’œuvre de concision et de précision, digne de devenir classique, où il embrassait toutes les branches de ce domaine si varié et si vaste avec une aisance, une clarté, une hauteur d’aperçus qui, à chaque ligne, révélaient un esprit maître d’un monde.*” Another helper, though not a member of the Society, Charles Huber, is honourably noticed for zeal and energy in epigraphic research, in connection with M. Eutig and our countryman Mr. Doughty.<sup>1</sup>

In vol. vi. No. 2, for August, September, and October, 1885, are:—1. A contribution by M. Maspéro, *Sur une Version Arabe du Conte de Rhampsinite*. 2. Tchao-Sien-Tche, *Mémoire sur la Corée*, by M. F. Scherzer, French Consul at Canton. 3. *Origine des Ecritures Indiennes*, by M. J. Halévy; and 4. *Notes de Lexicographie Berbère*, by M. René Basset. Under “*Nouvelles et Mélanges*,” it is notified that the July and October sittings have been discontinued; M. Bergaigne reviews M. Ludwig’s interpretation of the chronology of the Rig Veda, and M. L. Feer remarks

<sup>1</sup> Of Huber’s melancholy fate the following particulars recall the tragedy of the three Englishmen enacted only two years before, beside the Egyptian frontier, some five hundred miles nearer Europe:—

On the night of the 26th July, 1884, he quitted Jedda to return to Haib, his head-quarters, where he had left the greater part of his luggage and collections. His intention was to explore Sadous, a distance of eight days’ march to the S.S.E. of Haib, having learnt that some important ruins and inscriptions were to be seen there. Two days later he fell assassinated at Kassai Alia, almost at the very gates of Jedda. He had been accompanied from that town by his servant, Mahmúd, and two guides. Mahmúd had followed the road in charge of the baggage, while Huber and the guides had separated themselves to the right and left, in search of monuments and inscriptions. It had been agreed that all were to meet again at a certain halting-place, at which they were to take rest and refreshment. On the 29th, when Mahmúd reached the appointed *rendezvous*, he saw Huber lying on the ground covered up in his Arab cloak, apparently asleep, and a little way off his guides engaged in prayer. He was about to unload the camels when he felt the muzzles of two barrels placed upon his breast, and heard one of the guides say, “*Throw away your arms, or we shall treat you as we did your master.*” Mahmúd then observed for the first time that Huber was lying on the left side, and that the right side of his head was covered with blood, but that the body was in repose. He had been killed in his sleep by a pistol shot. Mahmúd, after being kept prisoner for two days, managed to escape the assassins, and relate the story of his master’s death to the French vice-consulate. Huber’s body lay for two days exposed in the open air, but was at length buried by passers-by, who dug a ditch for the purpose.

upon Dr. Duka's Life and Works of Csoma de Körös are also two short notices of a Persian translation of Turkish plays, and a *fasciculus* of the Annals of Tabaristan.

In No. 3 for November and December are:—1. *hatkathamanjari* of Kshemendra in the Roman character, with a French translation, by M. Sylvain Levi. 2. *Sur de l'Ecriture Perse*, by M. J. Halévy, and, 3. *Les Cansures de Bâbâ Tâhir* 'Uryân en Pehlevi Musulman, edited in original and translated by M. Clement Huart. "Nouvelles et Mélanges" mention is made of a paper by M. Zotenberg on the origin of *Galad et Chimas*, a romance spoken of by writers in the fourth century, a discussion on direct translations from the Sanskrit into Pahlavi other than that in Pahlavi, and on the inscriptions.

Vol. i. No i. for January, 1886, contains two articles:—1. *L'Alchimiste*; being M. Barbier de Meynard's French translation of the play, an English version of which, by Mr. Strange, appeared in the January number of our own *Journal*. The simultaneous appearance of the two translations explained by Mr. Le Strange to be quite fortuitous. 2. *de Lexicographie Berbère*, by M. René Basset, c. The "Nouvelles et Mélanges" review Mr. Bendall's notice of Buddhist-Sanskrit MSS. in the Cambridge University Library; that of Professors Cowell and Eggeling in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; and that of M. Brian Hodgson in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The notice an Arab account of the island of Jerba, translated by "Exiga dit Kayser, interprète militaire," and published at Tunis.

*German Oriental Society*.—Vol. xxxix. part 2 contains the following papers:—Dr. Samuel Kohn, a notice of the "Bibliotheca Samaritana" of Dr. M. Heidenheim, the first of which has appeared; F. H. Mordtmann, new fragments of the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Inscriptions, with two plates ; A. Merx, Specimens of Syrian Translations from the Writings of Galen ; Theodor Aufrecht, Strophes of Kalidasa ; Dr. P. Schroeder, Phœnician Inscriptions in Tyre ; Franz Prætorius, Tigrîna Proverbs (continued) ; F. Kielhorn, Prākṛit words in the Mahābhāṣya ; O. Böhtlingk, the verbal roots स्ख and स्ख म् ; W. Robertson Smith, on the Songs of the Hudhailten.

Vol. xxxix. part 3 contains :—Th. Nöldeke, on Mommsen's account of Roman dominion in the East ; Dr. P. Schroeder, Palmyrene Inscriptions ; M. Th. Houtsma, on the History of the Seljuks of Kerman ; F. Prætorius, an Arabic Document on Ethiopian History ; J. Wellhausen (editor), Scholia on the Diwan Hudail, No. 139-280 ; O. Böhtlingk, Remarks on Trübner's Edition and Bühler's Translation of the Vasishṭha-dharmaçāstra ; G. Bühler, Contributions towards an Explanation of the Aśoka Inscriptions (continued), with map ; R. V. Sowa, Tales of the Slavonic Gipsies.

Vol. xxxix. part 4 contains :—Professor Dr. B. Stade, Opening Speech as President of the Oriental Section at the Philological Congress, 30th September, 1885 ; O. Böhtlingk, Remarks on Bühler's Edition and Translation of the Âpastambijadharmaśūtra ; O. Böhtlingk, Attempt to settle a literary dispute (i.e. between Professors Bhandarkar of Bombay and Petersen) ; O. Böhtlingk, on Indian Lexicography ; O. Böhtlingk, Some Remarks on Bau-dhâjana's Dharmaçāstra ; M. Grünbaum, on Shem Ham-maphorash as an Imitation of an Aramaic Expression, and on Linguistic Imitations in General ; George A. Grierson (editor and translator), Selected Specimens of the Bahārī Language ; August Müller, Catalogue of the Arabic Inscriptions in the Viceroy's Library at Cairo ; G. Bühler, Some Notes on Böhtlingk's Remarks on Trübner's Edition and Bühler's Translation of the Vasishṭhadharmaçāstra ; O. Böhtlingk, Appendix : Dr. C. Seybold, Notice of La Garde's Petri Hispani de Lingua Arabica libri duo.



Vol. xl. part 1 contains :—E. Hultzsch, on a Coll. Indian Autographs and Inscriptions; J. G. Stiekel, *Ma. Askalon Coins* (with illustration); J. Gildemeister, *kallisthenes bei Moses von Khoren*, with parallel of Hermann Jacobi, Appendix to Treatise on the Origin of Çvetambara and Digambara Sects; Hermann Jacobi, *laneous Papers* (1. *Niroshṭhyvarṇa*; 2. *Model Ve Play on words in the Sûtrakritāṅga*); Eugen V. Kingdom and Priestdom in Ancient Iran; R. Vedic; G. Bühler, Contributions in Explanation of Aśoka Inscriptions; Theodor Aufrecht, on the Umāpā O. Böhrling, Observations on Bühler's Article in vol. on the *Vasishṭhadharmaśāstra*; Th. Nöldeke, R. Smith's "Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia."

*Archæology.*—The third annual report of Major Curator of Ancient Monuments in India, showing important work has been done during the year 1884 in the Bombay Presidency the chief operations have taken place at Bijapur. Sanction has been given for repairs to Usman's mosque and tomb at Ahmadabad. Major made long journeys, visiting most interesting ruins and monuments. He adds to his report certain weighty remarks on the value of Indian Archæology apart from its influence on the elucidation of the early history of the country.

Four volumes of the Archæological Survey of India have been added to the Library since July last year. These vol. xix. contains an account by Mr. H. B. W. of a tour through Behar, Central India, Peshawar, Yusufzai. General Cunningham explains that his after photographing and exploring the old temples of kandi, Mahadevpur, and Banarak, visited the sites of and Darauli in Western Shahabad, where he found monoliths supposed to be the work of the aborigines. He further explored the remains of an old Buddhist mon.

Barmāyan, the ancient city of Gúrga in Rewa, and certain sites which had been unvisited in the Yusufzai district. Of the monastery no tradition of any kind has been preserved locally, but a golden image is said to be buried in its immediate neighbourhood; its main walls, which are in ruins and traced with difficulty, cover an area of 100 feet from north to south by 67 from east to west. General Cunningham had proposed to identify it with the monastery built by Maharaja Sri Gupta for the use of the Chinese pilgrims who visited India. At Gurga or Gurgi Masun are the remains of an ancient city, measuring "along the stone walls on the southern side 3475 feet, along the eastern wall 3041 feet, the north wall 2050 feet, and that to the west 3700 feet." A colossal figure in blue stone, and similar monuments, are to be seen in the locality. In the Yusufzai country Mr. Garrick thinks that many valuable inscriptions are yet to be found among the graveyards and *Ziárats*; but one of those brought to his notice he afterwards ascertained to have been discovered before by General Cunningham, whose account of it had actually been published.

Vol. xx. is the General's own report of a tour in Eastern Rajputana during the cold season of 1882-83. Some notion of the range of inquiry may be gathered from the statement that portions of Alwar, Bharatpur, Karauli, Dholpur, and Gwalior, with adjoining British districts of Dehli, Gurgam, and Mathura, were among the tracts visited. In Mathura he discovered several old inscriptions of the Indo-Scythic period, one of which he reckoned to be dated in A.D. 150; also a colossal statue seven feet high, cut in the round, with an inscription in Mauriya characters.

Vol. xxi. is in two parts, the first containing General Cunningham's personal reports of a tour in Bundelkhund and Rewa in 1883-4; the second of a tour in Rewa, Bundelkhund, Malwa, and Gwalior, in 1884-85. Among the more notable places visited were the great

forts of Kālanjara and Ajaygarh, and Khajuraho, the religious capital of the Chandels. Among other things, an inscription of Prithvi Rāja Chauhan was found at Madanpur, about 50 miles to the north of Saugandha records," writes the General, "his conquest of the *Jejakabhukti*. The same spelling of the name I have found in a Mahoba inscription. This then was its original form, which soon became shortened to *Jejāhuti*, as was *Abu Rihān*, just as *Tirabhukti* became *Tirahuti* and so on. The usual Brahminical derivation of the name of Jejak from Yajur-hota, is thus proved to be erroneous."

Vol. xxii. is Mr. Carlleyle's "Report of Tours in Gwalior, Sarau, and Ghazipur in 1877-78-79-80." In this General Cunningham remarks that the discovery of Kapilavastu,<sup>1</sup> the birthplace of Buddha, has been brought up "by the identification of several other important sites in the early history of Buddhism." Among these he mentions Rājagṛha, "the site of the famous Stūpa of Rāmagrama, which the Nāgas are said to have filched the tooth of Buddha, that is now believed to be preserved in Ceylon," and several other places or monuments, which appear to him to be of great importance. Of the last, the colossal statue of Buddha at Kasi, and the inscribed pillar of Asoka in the Tarai, are referred to. General Cunningham believes the statue to be identical with that seen by the Chinese pilgrims in A.D. 637. It was lying prostrate, with part of the inscription under its broken capital being attached to the shaft by a copper bolt. Hence the inference that the Hindus were aware of the destructive property of iron when used to fasten stone, which the General adds: "I have long held the opinion that the Hindus knew and practised the art of stone-cutting at least two centuries before the time of Asoka. Indeed, the name of Taxila, or Takshasila-Nagara, the 'city of

<sup>1</sup> Alluded to in Annual Report for last year, page lxiii, as also in the report of Rāmagrama and the statue at Kasi.

buildings, proves that the art was known and used before the time of Alexander." As regards our ignorance of any Indian inscription prior to Asoka, the learned commentator cannot but conclude that the beautifully-finished letters inscribed on the pillars of his period were preceded by a ruder alphabet, lost "owing to the universal use of *wood* in early times."

*The Theologische Literaturzeitung* of the 11th July speaks well of the "Geschichte des Alterthums" of Mr. Edw. Meyer. It pronounces this first volume of a history of the East to the period of the founding of the Persian Empire, to be of great interest and to contain much new matter. To the *Athenæum* of the 5th September, Mr. Lindsay supplies a paper on the Fáiym papyri in the Bodleian Library, noticed by Mr. Nicholson, the librarian, in a subsequent number. The fragments are mostly written in Greek cursive characters, but several are in Coptic and some in Arabic. There is also in this issue a thoughtful review of tome iii. "Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité—Phénicie-Chypre," by Perrot and Chipiez, in which the reviewer points out how much has been done during the last two years to throw light upon a somewhat occult question, and define the "Rôle Historique des Phéniciens." In the *Academy* of the same date, Dr. Bühler notices Gen. Cunningham's discovery in the Panjáb-Hazára district of a new version (the seventh) of Asoka's Rock-edicts. It exhibits the so-called Bactrian, or Ariano-Pali characters. Such portions as he had been able to examine, through photographs, are stated to agree in every respect with the version of Shahbazgarhi. At the Séance of the Académie des Inscriptions on the 11th September is an account of the work carried on in the West of Persia in continuation of M. Dieulafoy's proceedings reported in the *Revue Archéologique*. MM. Babin and Houssay, that gentleman's collaborateurs, driven away for four months by the heat of the plain country, proceeded to Ispahan by Ram

Hormuz, Shahpur, Shiraz and Persepolis. At Mā visited by Layard in 1841, Loftus in 1852, and Wells in 1881, they made an inspection of the archæological relics of Kal'a Fir'aún and the Shigáf-i-Salmún, photographed the Elamite figures of the bas-reliefs, and the inscriptions heretofore only known by rough sketches. At Susa photographs were taken of the Sassanian bas-reliefs, to be "inédits"; while at the Naqsh-i-Rustam, some three or four miles west of the Takht-i-Jamshid (Persepolis), M. Babin caused a scaffolding to be raised before the rock of Darius to carry on the same process in a thoroughly and complete manner. Seven inscriptions in turquois were, moreover, brought to light from under a calcareous deposit. Whatever the results of M. Dieulafoy's explorations it is hardly to be doubted that Susiana—especially the Shushan—has yet much to reveal to the archæologist. In the *Athenæum* of September 26 is a notice by Professor Sayce on the Semitic origin of the Greek name Semele—a name recurring in that of the Edomite king (Genesis xxxvi. 37). The same journal of the 3rd October reviews favourably Professor Hall's narrative of an expedition to the Sinai Peninsula, Wadiu'l Arabah, and the Negev of Palestine. We learn from a report of a Séance of the Académie des Inscriptions on the 20th November that the Museum of the Louvre had been enriched by ten objects found in Asia Minor; and that among other objects placed in it by M. Schlumberger was a gold ring from Susa belonging to the Patrician Aetius who was martyred by the Saracens on the banks of the Euphrates in A.D. 846. At a Séance of the same Academy on the 27th November the subject was that of Sanskrit inscriptions of Kambujades which had been collected by M. Aymonier, and published by M. Barth. The most ancient of these antedated the seventh century, the most modern to the eleventh century, were said to throw much light on Indian history. On

oldest cites the Ramayana. Another and later Séance was interesting from its treatment of Annam Inscriptions, obtained in the provinces of Binh Thuan, Khanh Hoa, Phu Yen and Binh Dinh—all in the ancient kingdom of Champá, known to and described by Marco Polo. They confirm the Indian civilization of the country, and introduction therein of the various Brahmanical forms of worship, also of a Buddhism as in Kambuj. They are written in Sanskrit, and a dialect spoken in Binh Thuan; and they supply the names of some twenty kings, whose names end in *varman*, that flourished during the years from 784 to 1436 of the Christian era. The removal, in 1881, of the standing monument called Cleopatra's Needle from Alexandria to New York, has been made the *raison d'être* of a volume on Egyptian Obelisks by Commander Gorrings of the U. S. Navy, reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 26th December. The work is said to be exhaustive, and its shortcomings are attributed to the repetition of commonly-received errors, "unavoidable owing to the march of science and philology" in a wide field. To the *Academy* of December 26, Mr. C. J. Lyall contributes a learned article on Euting's Nabatean Inscriptions. He shows how the valley, or rather "depression" of El Higr or Hegr, about 165 miles to the N.W. of Madinah, was in the first century of the Christian era, the southernmost point of the kingdom of Aretas—he whose governor "kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison" (2 Cor. xi. 32). "The commerce of the Sabeans," he states, "was transferred to the camels of the Nabatæans, a people reckoned by classical writers among the Arabians, of whom we first hear as a united power about 300 B.C." As to the inscriptions, they are found on tablets placed on the semi-classical frontages of rock-hewn sepulchres, and they bear the names of those who built or dedicated them, a limitation of their use to certain inheritors, and a denunciation of penalty against those who violate or alienate them. Mr. Lyall disagrees with, and combats Mr. Berger's "strange" theory

that classical Arabic owes its spread throughout A Muhammad.

Professor Ramsay's note on the river Castrus *Athenæum* of the 2nd January of the current year forth the discovery of its true source by the late Stewart of the 11th Hussars in an exploration of the m of Taurus, has not merely an archæological and geo interest, but evokes a new tribute of respect for the m Charles Gordon's only companion on his last jo Khartoum. An article in the same paper, four wee headed "News from Central Asia," mentions some arch researches carried out under the direction of Profess Vessloffsky, partly in the environs of Samarkand and par northern districts of Khokand. In the former localit tions of a Pre-Islamitic period had been found, which to throw light on the doings of Alexander in Transox on the epoch of Buddhism in the same region. The 4 of the 10th April notices that the late Subhi Pa numismatist and archæologist of Constantinople, had Sultan an agate seal of the Prophet, identified by the as the only preserved heirloom of the three seals w hammad is reported by the initiated to have possessed next week's number is a notice of the opening to the new collections in the department of the British Mus which Mr. Franks presides. Among these are some specimens of early Buddhist remains excavated by Cunningham at Jamulgarhi. The *Athenæum* of states that ancient ruins of interest, older than the fo of Aynthia in 1350, had lately been discovered in S Chiangmai. A marked feature in the discovery is material used in the construction of the buildings is not brick, agreeably to modern local custom. Some ins had also been discovered, but do not appear to h deciphered. The *Academy* of the same date has a c cation from General Schindler, from Tehran, in which

to identify places mentioned by the older geographers with those now visited by travellers. In the district Rivend of the Arabs he finds the modern Nishapur; in the mountain Ræventa of the Shahnâma a section of the mountains in that province; in the Gunabat of the Shahnâma the Gunabad of to-day, and so on. The paper will repay perusal, and is worth closer examination. Some fifteen days after publication it called forth a short supplementary notice from Munich. "Le Roi Donaghi à Tello" is the title of an article by M. Heuzey, in the *Revue Archéologique* for April and May, 1886, in which the writer deals with the very difficult question of the age and political relations of the Sumerian and Akkadian King of Ur of the Chaldees. The pages of our Journal will tell their own tale of the more recent explorations on the Northern Afghan frontier and at Bamian.

In the *Indian Antiquary* for June, 1885, Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri continues his paper on the Folklore of Southern India, the subject being "The good husband and the bad wife." Captain R. C. Temple has a paper on "The Delhi Delals and their Slang," a dialect used for the purposes of secrecy and deception. Professor Kielhorn of Göttingen writes on "A Copper Plate Grant of Vakpatriraja of Dhara," of which he furnishes a transcript and translation. The inscription has already been published by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal, vol. xix. p. 475. Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle has a paper on "The Palas of Bengal," reprinted with revision from the Centenary Review of the Researches of the Asiatic Society Bengal 1784-1883, Part ii. Appendix ii. The historical interest of the Pala dynasty is very great, for they were Buddhists in religion, and they ruled over the whole of Bengal from Oudh eastward to the sea during the tenth century A.D., before the rise of the dynasty of the Senas. The object of Dr. Hoernle's paper is to reconstruct the chronology of the Palas by means of a more



careful reading of the Amgachhi inscriptions, of which he prints a revised text. He reduces the number of Palis from eleven to only six. Mr. Howorth continues his translation of the paper "On Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors."

In the number for July is a "Note" by Captain R. C. Hooper on "A Modern Ornamental Kufic Alphabet from India." Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., contributes an interesting paper upon Vidyapati, the most famous of the old master-singers of Bihâr, and his contemporaries. Dr. E. Hultzsch, of Bonn, writes on "A Copper Plate Grant of the Gujarat Râshtrakûṭa King Dhruva II., dated Saka 757 (A.D. 835-836). The inscription was found at Baroda. A German version of the paper has appeared in the Journal of the German Oriental Society. In the "Miscellanea" Sir Walter Elliot writes a note on the family and date of the great Rajendra Chola of Tanjore, in which he refers to the two inscriptions contributed by Mr. Fleet to the February number of this volume. Thomas Foulkes contributes a "Note on the Genealogy of the Cholas," and Mr. Best continues his translation of the "Proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi."

In the number for August the first paper is "The Marriage of Alha; a Bhojpuri Epic," edited and translated by Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. The Eastern version of the exploits of the famous Bundêl'-khand heroes Âlha and Ugrasena only exists in the mouths of itinerant singers, and is always couched in the Bhoj'pûri dialect of Bihâri. The text given by Mr. Grierson was obtained with considerable difficulty from the mouth of one of these men, and has been carefully revised with the help of competent Bhoj'pûri scholars. Dr. George Bühler, C.I.E., contributes "A Note on an Old Palm Leaf MS. from Japan," which has recently been discovered by Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio. The leaf is of great importance for Indian palæography. The contents are Buddhistic, and probably belong to one of the larger divisions. Short as the piece is, it furnishes several new words.

hitherto found in the Sanskrit dictionaries. In the third paper Mr. J. F. Fleet continues his remarks on "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," the present paper being devoted to the "British Museum Plates of Eregana." Mr. Lewis Rice, C.I.E., M.R.A.S., writes on a "Jaina-Vaishnava Compact" engraved on a stone at the Jaina town of Śravaṇa-Belgoḷor. It is known as Rāmānujachāri's Śāsana. The inscription is in Hale-Kannada characters, and in the Kannada language. Mr. Whitley Stokes has a note on "Another Baumayantra" obtained some years ago from a gentleman in Benares. Mr. K. T. Best continues "The Proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi." There is also a notice of "An Examination of the Claims of Ishmael as viewed by the Muhammadans," by J. D. Bate. The reviewer explains it to be the first chapter of the first section of an immense work that the author has in hand, entitled "Studies in Islam." The part issued is in itself a volume, and is an attack on the cardinal Muhammadan doctrine that Ishmael and not Isaac was the "Child of Promise." It is therefore considered as the commencement of a general attack along the whole line of Muhammadan dogma.

The September number contains a paper by Mr. E. Rehatsek on "Russian Icons." The second paper is by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, and gives a Kashmiri tale entitled "The Prince that was three times Shipwrecked." The third paper is a "Summary of the Alha Khand," by Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S. In the Miscellanea Mr. K. T. Best continues "The Proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi."

In October, the Rev. Hinton Knowles writes on the Kasmiri Portable Brazier, called the *kāngar* or *kāngrā*; Mr. Howorth continues his chronicle of Chinghiz Khan and his Ancestors; a long paper by Mr. Ball on the identification of the animals and plants of India known to early Greek authors is reproduced, with additions and revisions, from the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*; and Mr. Fleet resumes his inquiries on Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions. In

the Correspondence and Miscellanea, it is to be noticed that one of the six proverbs of Ali Ebn Abi Talebi, "The heart of a fool is in his mouth, and the tongue of a wise man is in his heart," is almost word for word Ecclesiasticus xxi. 20.

In November, Mr. Fleet's Sanskrit and Kanarese Inscriptions and selection of Kanarese Ballads; a continuation of Mr. Ball's paper of the previous month; Mr. Pattibai Wadia's Folklore in Western India; and a learned article on the identification of places in the Sanskrit Geography of India, with a book notice and Miscellanea supplied by Mr. Grierson and Dr. Bühler, make up a highly satisfactory number; and the following double part issue, in completion of the year, is again largely indebted to Mr. Fleet and Mr. Ball, who, with Professor Kielhorn, the Hon. K. T. Telang and Dr. Bühler, contribute to its pages. The last-named able writer has an appreciative notice of the Centenary Review of the Bengal Asiatic Society.

For January, 1886, the first part of vol. xv., Mr. Longworth Dames writes on "Old Seals found at Harappa," in the Montgomery District of the Panjáb; Mr. Pattibai Wadia on Folklore; and Professor Kielhorn on Copper Plate Grants in Kanauj; Mr. Grierson introduces an English-Gipsy Index compiled by Mrs. Grierson; and Mr. Edward Thomas publishes extracts from Chinese authors concerning the history of the Kushans. M. Stein's "Afghanistan in Avestic Geography" is a reprint from the *Academy* touching upon questions which have been more largely treated by Sir Henry Rawlinson; and the book notices are remarkable for an elaborate article by Sir Walter Elliot, reviewing Mr. Egerton's *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, and a preliminary notice of Beruni's *Indica*, by Dr. Bühler.

The number for February opens with a paper by Professor Kielhorn on the Sasbahu Temple Inscriptions of Mahipala of Vikrama Samvat 1150. This is followed by a continuation of Folklore in Western India; a translation into Sanskrit

by Professor Weber of the British National Anthem ; and an additional part of Mrs. Grierson's Gipsy-Index. The Miscellanea are unusually brief, but the book notices would be interesting, if only for including the Thousand and One Nights, by that marvellous traveller and Orientalist, Sir Richard Burton.

A question which—if Oriental study and research can ever be called popular—would be an especially popular one at the present day, is that of the comparative study of Asiatic Symbolism. Mr. Murray-Aynsley supplies "Discursive Contributions" on this in March. Colonel Jacob adds an article on the readings of the Nrisimhatapaniya Upanishad ; and the Rev. Hinton Knowles one in the form of a Kasmiri tale, entitled Gullāla Shah. Professor Kielhorn contributes notes on the Mahabhashya, while Mrs. Grierson continues her English-Gipsy Index. Book notices complete the number.

There is no new original contribution in April, which continues already mentioned papers by Mr. Murray Aynsley, the Rev. Hinton Knowles, Mr. Fleet, and Mrs. Grierson. The retirement of General Cunningham, after a connection with India, and "with the study of Indian Archæology in all its branches, that has lasted more than half a century," naturally calls for special notice.

The first three articles in May and the Gipsy-Index are continuations of papers. There is also a passage in the Jain Harivamsa relating to the Guptas from the pen of Mr. K. B. Pathak, B.A., with a note by Mr. Fleet. Prominent among the book notices is Mr. Fleet's review of the Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, to which we have before alluded.

*Palestine Exploration Fund.*—At the annual meeting held on 24th June, 1885, it was announced that the Committee had received a magnificent contribution to the Survey of the East, in a packet of memoirs, plans, and maps from Herr Schumacher. This, certainly the most important examination,

so far as it goes, of the Jaulan district, as yet made traveller, is put forward as the principal work of the The map covers about 200 square miles; and the contain a list of Arabio names, a general description country, and an account, with plans and drawings, villages and sites visited. Among the principal ruins d may be mentioned Khurbet Arkub er Rahwah, whi Schumacher would identify with the Argob of the Bib monly placed at the Lejjah, and those in Bait Ak Ain Dakhar. North of the last is a field of near Dolmens, called by the natives Kabar Bani Israil—the children of Israel. Ancient stone bridges were crossing the stream at Nahru'l Allan and Nahr Rukka a remarkable altar and statue of basalt at Kefr el M village called Sahem el Jolan, Herr Schumacher think discovered the Biblical Golan, which has hitherto identification. The ruins of the remarkable und city of Ed Dera were examined and planned for the together with the towns and monuments of El Mezeiri and Nawar, identified by Mr. Oliphant with the land Other subterranean buildings were found at Khurbet and at Sheik Saad. The rock-tomb of Job was also graphed and planned. Mention is made of a Dolm recently discovered in Judæa, where hitherto none observed, and it was supposed that all had been d It lies in a desert and hilly part of the country Khurbet Aujeh-el-Foka (Sheet xv. O.r.) and El (Sheet xv. N.q.).

How Mr. Oliphant came upon the Dolmen and a sarc in Zimmarin is related in the July number, which con Report, enriched also with an account of Mr. Guy Le interesting journey east of Jordan, and Herr Hanaud on a Rock Altar near Zorah suggestive of that of (Judges xiii.). Moreover, in this particular issue, notice of our late lamented Secretary, Mr. Vaux,

connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund, must not be forgotten. It need scarcely be repeated here that Schumacher's "Across the Jordan," with appendices, maps, plans and drawings, is published as a separate record.

The Quarterly Statements for October, and January and April (1886), are full of valuable papers. Among them are Mr. Oliphant's "New Discoveries," and "Excavations on Carmel," Mr. Chichester Hart's "Naturalist's Journey," and contributions by Capt. Conder, Dr. Merrill, the Rev. W. F. Birch, Herr Hanauer and Mr. Greville Chester. But these are by no means all the names of those who supply this admirable serial with readable and instructive articles. A valuable archæological communication from the pen of a less prominent contributor may be found in the April number under the head of "The Aqueducts of Siloam."

Herr Schick, in describing this particular locality at the present day, writes: "When the Pool of Siloam is mentioned, that which contains water is generally meant; below this there is another and much larger pool, now used as a garden, and called *Birket el Hamra*; it is formed by a thick wall or dam built across the Tyropæan Valley from Ophel ('City of David') to the Western hill (Jerusalem)." Outside the dam the writer had himself observed, in 1846, a tank of an oval form, since filled up; and two other tanks were discovered by Professor Guthe, one as late as 1841, near the north of the Pool of Siloam. "There is now," he adds, "only one real pool, but ancient Christian writers mention several . . . one called 'Natatoria,' or the swimming pool; it was large, and had a kind of apsidal end; this appears to be the *Birket el Hamra*." He then goes on to describe traces of aqueducts now coming to light; the famous one, and several others which he took note of when clearing out the main aqueduct into which they all lead. Going down the road from the Pool of Siloam to the mill, he saw in the rock-wall to his left a hole; this he cleared out, and found to be a rock-hewn tunnel crossed by

another, the exploration of which led eventually to the discovery of a "second aqueduct." After a detailed account of his investigations, he concludes by making certain suggestions to the Palestine Exploration Fund, the effect of which is to the effect that something might be found in the hitherto unexplored caves on the southern side of Ophelaim which might throw light on the "Tombs of the Kings." Sir John Wilson, in remarking on Herr Schick's paper, gives an opinion that the discovery of a "second aqueduct," partially recorded, is very interesting; moreover, that his description makes it clear how "the lower pool, *Birket el Hamra*, receives water direct from the 'Fountain of the Virgin,' at some distance which Herr Schick places prior to the completion of the well known Siloam Tunnel."

Mention has been made of the work in Western Palestine carried on by M. Dieulafoy's collaborateurs; but leaving the subject of Biblical Archaeology, it may be better to revert to that gentleman's own proceedings reported in the *Revue Archéologique*.

The mound of Susa, an artificial hill from 25 to 30 metres high, and of about 100 hectares in extent, had been explored in 1851, by Loftus, who discovered there the cuneiform Inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Continuing these investigations, M. Dieulafoy came upon a double-headed column nearly four mètres long, similar to the Persepolitan column, part of the crown of the pylons placed before the palace of Artaxerxes; two fragments of a porcelain balustrade of the Elamite epoch, curious specimens of the most ancient pottery art; fragments of bas-reliefs in enamelled brick, representing negroes clothed with royal insignia, suggesting an African origin whether the dynasty which preceded that of the Achæmenians was of Ethiopic descent; various utensils of ivory, silver, bronze, and earthenware, but nothing of gold or silver; a great number of Elamite or Achæmenian seals, and an opal which appears to have belonged to Xerxes.

Artaxerxes I.; a series of bricks and stèles with inscriptions; and lastly, two-thirds of one of the towers which defended the entrance to the palace—part of a very complete and scientific system of fortification. In a future exploration M. Dieulafoy hoped to penetrate into the Elamite palace.

Among the principal papers in the 3rd fascicule of the *Gazette Archéologique* is one on ancient Sculptures found in Carthage (Musée Saint-Louis), by MM. Reinach and Babelon.

At the séance of the 17th June of the *Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* M. Germain Bapst announced that excavations had been made at Van (Armenia), resulting in the discovery of some monuments of Chaldæo-Assyrian art, the workmanship of which recalls that of the bronze seat obtained from the same place by the Marquis de Vogüé.

In the *Revue Critique* of 7th September M. Clermont Ganneau contributes a “Note d’Archéologie Orientale” on the subject of the positions of Segor, Gomorrah, and Sodom.

In the *Academy* of 1st August is the notice of an interesting discovery recently made at Sidon, showing that the Phœnician city was preceded by an older settlement, whose inhabitants were still in the Stone age. Some natives, excavating for stone, after penetrating through the alluvial soil, had dug through a deposit of blown sand, six mètres in depth, below which they found a stratum of earth containing flint implements, fragments of coarse red pottery, and other objects, among them a clay whistle.

The *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* has adjudged the Jean Reynaud prize to M. Aymonier, for his scientific voyages of exploration and archæological discoveries in Indo-China.

We are told in the *Athenæum* of the 8th August of a grant for the repair of the little mosque of Santa Sophia in the Seraglio, in which the Imperial Ottoman Museum is placed; moreover, that a collection of Egyptian antiquities had been commenced in the form of presents from an Egyptian prince.



The fifth volume of the "Journal of Hellenic Studies" contains a paper on "Sepulchral Customs in Ancient Persia" by Mr. W. M. Ramsay, representing a further outcome of the researches in Asia Minor which he intended to publish in the spring.

In "L'Art de la Verrerie," by Gerspach, recently published, are details on the antique productions of Egypt, Persia, and Greece, while the division treating of Eastern glass deals with the products of Byzantium, Persia, Damascus, and China. The ancient glass of this last-named country is considered by Dr. Friedrich Hirth, in his paper "Die Geschichte des Glases in China und des Antiken Orientalen," in the June number of the *Oesterreichische Monatshefte für die Kunde des Orient*, in which the writer concludes that the Persians first derived their knowledge of glass from the Phœnicians.

*Semitic Literature.—Hebrew and Chaldee.*—"The papers read at Canon Driver's house at Oxford," referred to in the last Report as about to be printed, have appeared under the general title of "Studia Biblica." The volume contains ten articles, of which Dr. Neubauer and Professor Saner each contributed two, the remainder being the work of Dr. Edersheim, Professors Driver and Wordsworth, and Messrs. Ward, Gwilliam, and Randell respectively. A careful notice in the *Athenæum* of the 19th September analyzes the contents of this interesting collection of essays, nearly all of which are regarded as "adaptations, for English students, of German work on Bible subjects." As the volume awards the palm for interest to Mr. Randell and Dr. Neubauer, it may be well to state that the first bears testimony to the importance of classical epigraphy in the early history of the Church, and the second gives a learned *résumé* of the discoveries in Nabathæan and Temanite epigraphy, with a separate paper on the languages spoken in Judæa in the time of our Lord.

Dr. Moïse Schwab, of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a scholar distinguished in the field of Rabbinical literature, who has for some years past been engaged upon a French version of the Talmud, of which five volumes have appeared, has now undertaken an English translation after the model of the French, of which the opening tractate, the "Tractate Bera-choth," has recently been published. In the *Standard* of 22nd August is a long article with special reference to this publication. The writer points out how, when the Syro-Aramæan dialect fell into disuse, and was gradually forgotten, much of the Talmud became unintelligible without numerous glosses, which in time slipped from the margin into the text, and when, finally, came the scissors of the Church censors, confusion was made worse confounded. Thus, any modern translation of the Talmud should be accompanied by full explanations and comments, to make the allusions—of which the work is full—clear, and the meaning manifest to those unacquainted with the methods of Rabbinical teaching. This appears to be a want in Dr. Schwab's version.

In the *Academy* of 25th July is a review by Dr. Driver of Prolegomena to the History of Israel, with a reprint of the article "Israel" from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, by Julius Wellhausen. "Its aim, viewed as a whole, is," we are told, "to develope and illustrate a theory of the history and legislation of the ancient Hebrews, which, though commonly associated with the name of Graf, has found its most able and powerful exponent in Professor Wellhausen." Messrs. Black and Menzies are praised for the manner in which they have accomplished the translation, and retained the "lucid and incisive" style of the original.

The *Athenæum* of 11th July briefly notices Dr. Robert Young's "Grammatical Analysis of the Book of Psalms in Hebrew," and recommends it to students as the "outcome of careful labour and extensive knowledge." It also reviews the Rev. W. Randolph's "Analytical Notes on the First and

three Last of the Minor Prophets," a book intended for use of Hebrew students of the intermediate class.

In a letter to the *Athenæum* of the 1st August Dr. states that he possesses an edition of Kimchi's Grammar, nearly ten years older than the supposed *princeps*, which is dated 1534. Unlike the 1534 edition does not give in the margin the references either to the respective books of the Scriptures or to the chapters of the books quoted in the body of the text. He notes, that folios 53, 60, 77 and 82 are blank, a circumstance remarked in other early-printed Hebrew books.

The same journal of the 8th August announces that Hartwig Hirschfeld, the translator into German of Halevi's philosophico-theological work usually called "*Sefer Halevi*," has in readiness for the press the original Arabic text of the work. He is to add in parallel columns the Hebrew translation of the same work, collated with several MSS.

The *Academy* of 5th September notifies the public that Herr Morris Jastrow of an able and careful monograph on "Abu Zakariyya Jahja ben Dawûd Hajjûg und seine grammatischen Schriften." Hajjûg, who belonged to the middle of the tenth century, may be regarded as the author of scientific Hebrew grammar. The two treatises which are the subject of this essay are still unknown, although several MSS. exist.

The *Academy* of 3rd October has a note on "Kohelet: nach der Auffassung der Weisen des Talmud, Midrasch und der jüdischen Erklärer des Mittelalters. Theil i., "Von der Mischna bis zum Abschluss des Talmud. Nebst zahlreichen kritischen Noten, und einer Abhandlung, von Rabbiner Dr. Sinai Schiffer." Dr. Schiffer thinks that a collection of the Talmudic and Midrashic explanations of biblical passages, arranged chronologically, would be of much use to philological expositors of the Old Testament.

In the *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Janvier-Juin, 1885, M. J. Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques* III., writes "Sur l'origine du ך dans les noms propres composés," and under the head "Bibliographie" reviews Frederic Delitzsch's "The Hebrew Language," with special reference to its comparison with Assyrian.

In the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of the 11th July is an appreciative review of "The Comparative Philology of Hebrew-Arabic Tongues," by Abûl Walîd Merwân Ibn Ganâh (Rabbi Jona). The learned reviewer, Professor Bucher, has since published the *Life and Works of the Grammarian*, favourably noticed in the *Revue des Etudes Juives*.

Dr. F. Rosenthal has published "Vier Apokryphische Bücher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas." The publication is reviewed with approval by M. Steinschneider in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of 5th September.

From the pen of Dr. Wünsche we have, in the *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, "Der Midrasch," and "Der Midrasch Bemid bar Rabba," a review of which appeared in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of 22nd August. In the same journal, No. 30, of 18th July, M. Perles' "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien" was pronounced to be full of interest.

One of the communications presented to the meeting of the American Oriental Society at Boston in May, 1885, was on "The Holy Houses from the Hebrew Scriptures; also from the original texts of the Chronicles, Ezra, Maccabees, Septuagint, Coptic, Itala, Chaldee, Syrian, Samaritan, Talmud and leading Rabbis, by Professor J. A. Paine, of Elmwood, Massachusetts."

The *Academy* of the 12th September, mentioning the contents of the *Expositor* for that month, refers to Professor Driver's notes on the revised version of *Leviticus* and *Numbers* as "very full and valuable for the history of exegesis." They are concluded in October.

In the *Athenæum* of the 7th November we read of a notice, in the press, of the Hebrew MSS. of the Pentateuch in the Chetham Library, Manchester, by the Rev. James Gillespie, to be issued in pamphlet form, under the title "Codex Chethamensis." On the 14th, the same paper announces the appointment, at Berlin, under the patronage of the Deutsch-Israelitischer Gemeindebund, of a Commission for the publication of original documents concerning Jewish settlers in the Holy Roman Empire from A.D. 1273, and minor papers, a special volume being devoted to writings in Hebrew.

The annual notices of Continental literature which appear in the first issue of the *Athenæum* for the New Year are of great interest and value, but they contain little of importance under the present head. When a Mosaic theme is treated, it is rather from the philosophical than philological point of view. We may, however, notice two publications which appear under the head "Theological Books," in the number of February; one, a Rabbinical commentary on Genesis translated by Mr. Hersheon from the Judæo-Polish; and the other, the Talmud of Jerusalem, translated "for the first time" by Dr. Moses Schwab. This last, as already stated, is a translation into English of a French translation; but it is not clear that the meaning is far from clear, and the reviewer concludes that "the Talmud must be studied in its original language, and with critical knowledge of the subjects treated in it." So far back as the 3rd October the *Academy* had noticed the English translation as the work of an unknown collaborateur who had done his work implicitly; but the *Athenæum* speaks of it as by Dr. Schwab. Under "Literary Gossip" the *Athenæum* of the 21st November states that Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts of Oxford was approved for publication by the Delegates of the Clarendon Press; and repeats a statement of the *Jüdische Wochenblatt* that Signor E. Hoepli, the Milan bookseller, proposed to publish it.

MS. of Maimonides' ritual work, entitled "Mishneh Thorah," purchased by Don Isaac Abraband in the 15th century.

A long article on "Animal Names of the Revised Version of the Bible," in the *Academy* of April 24, by the Rev. W. Houghton, opens an interesting field of inquiry, and will, no doubt, have attracted the attention of Oriental scholars.

Vol. viii. part 3 of the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (1885) has some remarkable papers. That upon the "Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in Talmudical Writings," by Dr. Louis, intended to throw light upon the social and industrial habits of the Jews about 2000 years ago, contains information which may be useful to those who are students, as well as mere readers of the Bible. In the *Proceedings* of the Society the Rev. C. J. Ball continues his illustrations of Hebrew verse, by adding to his specimens of trisyllabic metre, suggested metrical arrangements of Bible passages, such as "The Great Pæan, or Lob-gesang, of which we have two independent copies preserved respectively in 2 Sam. xxii., and in the Psalter (Psalm xviii.)." He has examined and metrically divided, and he shows the Poem to consist of "combinations of octosyllabic, heptasyllabic, and hexasyllabic stichi, with an obviously Iambic rhythm." It may interest Hebrew scholars to know that an entirely new French version of the Psalms, preceded by a word for word rendering, and a "petite grammaire Hébraïque et dictionnaire des racines," by M. B. Mossé, a Rabbi of Avignon, was published in that city, as also in Paris, in 1880, and, though not perhaps likely to afford much aid to critical research, cannot fail to be useful in comparing translations. While on this subject it may be stated that the Rev. Dr. Chotzner's work on Hebrew rhymed prose, called "Sichronoth; or Reminiscences of a Student of Jewish Theology," is accompanied by an English essay on the "Rise and Progress of Hebrew Poetry in post-Biblical Times."

Among the more recently published books may be mentioned the following :

The Pentateuch, its Age and Authorship, by Dr. Ewald's History of Israel, translated by J. F. Smith, Le Poème de Job, d'après le texte Biblique, par Bernard de Montmélian ; La Cantique des Cantiques en vers, par Jean Laher, d'après la version de M. Découvertes en Chaldée, par Ernest de Sarzec, 1<sup>re</sup> L. La Monarchie chez les Juifs en Palestine, par Emile Le Prophète Habakuk, introduction critique et examen spécial des Commentaires Rabbiniques du T de la Tradition, par Antoine J. Baumgartner. [The truly says : " Une production littéraire de la valeur d'Habakuk mérite, en effet, plus qu'aucune autre, l' de tous ceux qui aiment et qui admirent l'antique p Hebreux." Dr. Pusey (Minor Prophets) and other known English commentators have taken up the subject the third and last chapter of this grand book is described in Smith's Dictionary of the Bible as " the magnificent . . . unrivalled for boldness of conception, sublimity of thought, and majesty of diction." ] B. Strassburger, Geschichte der Erziehung und Unterricht bei den Israeliten der Vor Talmud Zeit bis zur Gegenwart ; B. Drach, Bedeutung d. Jehuda Hajjug in der Hebraischen Geschichte, G. Karpeles, Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur, P. Friedrich, Die Hebraischen Conditionalsätze ; Carl Grammatik der Neuhebraischen Sprache ; Herm. L. Abriss der Neuhebraischen Literatur [the two last publications, reviewed in the Austrian Monatsschrift Orient for October].

*Assyriology.*—On the 2nd June, 1885, at the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Mr. T. G. Pinches read a paper " Series of Specimens of the Familiar Correspondence of the Babylonians and Assyrians " ; and on the 3rd identical

British Archæological Association, one "On Babylonian Cylinders." The Journal of Assyriology (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*), published by Schulze, at Leipzig, has now been issued for January and June, and takes the place of the Journal of Cuneiform Research (*Keilschriftforschung*). Its object is international, and it seeks to carry on its work by co-operation from abroad as at home. In this sense it is represented by the foremost Assyriologists of Europe; and the names of Sayce for Oxford, Oppert for Paris, and Schrader for Berlin, carry its guarantee of scholarship. The first number has seven papers, inclusive of criticisms, and is completed by a short but pertinent "Bibliographie." The second issue (June) has eight papers and a "Bibliographie." Under the head "Sprechsaal" are some interesting notes and comments on previously published articles or statements. Among them we find Prof. Oppert correcting M. Delitzsch for interpreting, as he himself had done before, the verb *napahu* as "to rise," whereas, coupled with *samsi*, it signifies, like the Arabic انتفاخ الشمس mid-day, or the period of the sun in full power. Two numbers of the superseded journal, *i.e.* for July and November, have yet to be noticed. They contain in all 15 articles, besides reviews of books and Bibliographie. Mr. Pinches contributes additions and corrections to the fifth volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, and two texts from Sippara of the Sun-god; one, referring to blacksmith's work, dated in Tammuz, 13th year of the reign of Nabonidus, King of Babylon; the other in Nisan, 14th year of the same monarch. Professor Sayce continues his learned exposition of "an ancient Babylonian work on medicine." The remaining papers are by Messrs. Schrader, Grünbaum, Latrille, Haupt, Jensen, Lehmann, and Delitzsch, besides fresh writers in the "Sprechsaal."

M. Carl Bezold, editor of the *Zeitschrift* just noticed, writes to the *Academy* from Munich, under date the 1st August,



a resumé of recent work in Assyriology. Honourable mention is made of M. de Sarzec's excavations, resulting in a large collection of ancient Babylonian inscriptions, of which was reported last year the issue of the first part; also of Joachim Ménéant's *Catalogue méthodique et raisonné de la Collection de M. de Clercq*; the autograph by the Rev. R. Strassmaier, of "a beautiful Cuneiform text from a tablet discovered in 1853, now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York" (transcribed and translated, with introduction and notes, by Dr. O'Connor, of the Woodstock College, Maryland); the researches of Mr. Pinches, recorded in the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung*, and of Professor Sayce, in the third edition of Professor Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesarten*, "with grammatical paradigms, a full list of signs, and a comparison of the Babylonian and archaic forms of the Cuneiform characters"; newly collated or entirely new texts, like the so-called 'vocabulary', the interesting 'reading-book' of the 'Assur-Bani-Pal' (Kouyunjik 4378), the eleventh tablet of the 'Assur-Bani-Pal' series, or so-called Deluge tablet, newly translated by Dr. Oppert, and a short Assyrian glossary." As regards the labours of our own countrymen, the Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology for May, 1885, show the interest of a curious Babylonian text by Mr. Pinches, referring to work done by Babylonian workmen on board the ship of Darius, and papers by Professor Sayce on inscriptions from Assur-Bani-Pal and Tarkondemos. Besides the able and learned editor notices especially Dr. Jensen's dissertation on the sixth tablet of the Surbu series as useful for lexical and comparative studies; a brochure called "Babylonian Buss-psalmen," by Dr. Zimmern, of Erlangen (which way rejects the theory on the Sumerian language); a contributor, Dr. Fritz Hommel); an "excellent" paper on Assyrian Phonology, by Professor Haupt, published in the Chicago Hebraica; and an "interesting" paper

Bertin on Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns, which appeared in our Journal for January, 1885.

In the *Academy* of July 4 is a favourable review of the "Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament," by Professor Eberhard Schrader, of Berlin, translated from the second enlarged German edition by the Rev. Owen Whitehouse, M.A. The reviewer expresses his regret that the translator has not always given the Hebrew proper names in the forms adopted in the English Bible.

In the *Muséon* for June, 1885, Mr. E. J. de Dillon notices Prof. Sayce's "Fresh Light from the Ancient Monuments," and gives a cordial welcome to this new work from his "plume infatigable." At the annual meeting (May, 1885) of the American Oriental Society at Boston, Professor Lyon gave an account of recent progress in Assyriology. Independently of German and English publications, he referred to Professor Paul Haupt's contributions to the *American Hebræica* of a valuable paper on Assyrian vowels, and of a minute commentary on the confinement at Nineveh of a Kedarene prince, related in the annals of Assurbanipal. Mention also was made of "an entertaining and scholarly address by Professor Francis Brown" under the title of *Assyriology: its use and abuse in Old Testament Study*. Professor Lyon's own work, entitled *An Assyrian Manual*, announced as in the press, was intended for those who wish to study the language with or without a teacher; and would contain texts partly in Cuneiform character, but mostly transliterated, together with paradigms, notes, glossary and lists of Cuneiform signs.

In the *Revue Critique* of 27th July is a notice by M. Halévy of Dr. Jansen's "Dissertations" and Dr. Zimmern's *brochure* mentioned in M. Bezold's *resumé* which has been summarized above. He couples the last with Dr. Fritz Hommel's *Sumarisch-Akkadische Sprache*, giving as a reason that they exactly represent the three successive stages through

which the Akkadian question has passed in German a year. Dr. Hommel's work will, he believes, be the forward in support of the theory of the Turanian origin of the Sumerian or Akkadian language. As before shown, in the pages of this Journal (see Report for 1883, p. 1) many eminent scholars differ from this view and utterly reject the dictum of his penultimate sentence on mot, l'Accadien ou Sumérien pur est une chimère; trouve nulle part, parcequ'il n'a jamais existé.

Besides a note in the *Hebraica* on Fred. Delitzsch's of the "Kassites" (*die Sprache der Kossäer*), there is in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of the 11th July, a laudatory notice of the same scholar's Assyrian reading-book, described as very useful and trustworthy.

Professor Sayce's "Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People," published by the Religious Tract Society, has been favourably reviewed in the *Athenæum* of the 15th May. While the author himself is described as an "eminent and brilliant leader in the difficult study of Assyriology," the small volume is pronounced to be "instructive and really interesting." The chapters on religion and Assyrian literature are specially selected for comment. Not the least important feature to be noted with satisfaction in this but valuable publication, is the aid afforded by the Cuneiform Inscriptions to the elucidation of history.

No. III. of the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* contains, among other interesting papers and notes, one by M. Bertin on "L'Incorporation Vocabulaire de l'Accadien." The Editors take exception to the title, and plead that, while admitting the term Sumerian, they are doubtful whether "Akkadian" can be applied to a dialect of Sumerian or to the Semitic languages of the Assyrians; but the able and painstaking writer may be allowed to assert his own theories on the matter.

Among lately published works, not heretofore

may be noticed: "By-paths of Bible Knowledge," written by Professor Sayce for the Religious Tract Society, on the Assyrians and their History: *Die Annalen Asurnazirpal* (B.C. 884-860), from the London edition, by Heinrich Schotzky: "*Les Langues perdues de la Perse et de l'Assyrie*," by J. Ménant: *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient jusqu'aux Guerres Médiques*, tome iv., 9ème édition: "*Les Assyriens et les Chaldéens*: Aug. Vogel's "*Nach Kanaan, Tagebuch, eine Reise durch Ægypten, Palastina und Griechenland*": Fr. Hommel, "*Geschichte Babylonien und Assyrien; mit Abbildungen und Karten*": D. G. Lyon, *Assyrian Study, its bearing on the Old Testament* (in the *Christian Year*, Nos. 15 and 16): J. Ménant, *Catalogue Méthodique, etc.*, above alluded to in M. Bézold's notice, 1<sup>re</sup> et 2<sup>me</sup> Livraison (deux fascicules); a beautifully printed and illustrated work: the same author's "*Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale*," 2nd part, *Assyrian Cylinders* (1886), of which the first part was published in 1883: *Acta Sancti Maris Assyriæ, Babyloniac Persidis, seculo i apostoli Syriace sive Aramaice*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos (reviewed by Nöldeke in the *Austrian Monatsschrift für den Orient*, October): *Die Keilinschriften am Eingange der Quellengrotte d. Sebeh-Su* by E. Schrader (reviewed by Müller in the November number of the same): *Assyriologische Bibliothek* (vol. iv. parts 5 and 6), Delitzsch and Haupt.

*Arabic.*—Some further correspondence on the "Arabian Matriarchate" (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII. Part 2), will be found in the *Academy* of 4th July, where is a letter from Mr. J. W. Redhouse in reply to one from Professor E. B. Tylor, which appeared on 27th June. Writing again on 15th August, Professor Tylor mentions that Dr. G. A. Wilken has published the "*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*"; but, as the said publication is apparently not so accessible to English anthro-

pologists as it deserves to be, he cites some of its chief points. To this there is a rejoinder by Mr. J. W. Redhouse in the issue of 22nd August, in which he expresses the opinion that his main contention had been overlooked; and declines to commit himself to any decided view on a "conceivable historic Arabian or Semitic matriarchate."

In the *Academy* of the 8th August is a review by J. Lyall of the Arabic-English Dictionary by Dr. F. Johnson, commending the book, in that it furnishes students with the first time in English, with a trustworthy authority in a compact and convenient form. He points out that there is room for improvement in the classification and grouping of different significations.

A long-felt want has, it is hoped, been supplied by the publication of Dr. Tien's "Manual of Colloquial Arabic," noticed in the *Athenæum* of 25th July and *Saturday Review* of 22nd August.

In the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, W. Robertson Smith has a note on M. Wellhausen's article on the "Lieder der Hudhailiten," in the preceding number of that Journal, pointing out that the hareheads on the heads of the maidens are not metaphorical, but, without doubt, actual heads, intended as amulets and worn as bracelets.

The *Academy* of 25th July announces the issue of a new book by Schulze, the Leipzig publisher, of the "Buch Al Chazari," by Abu'l Hasan Jehuda Hallewi, by Dr. Hartwig Hirschfeld. It is published by subscription, in two parts (at the price of 10 marks each), and contains the original Arabic text in Arabic and Hebrew characters from the unique MS. in the Bodleian, and also, in parallel columns, the Hebrew translation, by Dr. Ibn Tibbon, which is preserved in five MSS. collated for the purpose, with critical notes.

In the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* of June and July are two long notices by Dr. Ign. Goldziher on "Aben Pascualis Assila" (dictionarium Biographicum)

codicis Escorialensis Arabice nunc primum edidit et indicibus locupletissimis instruxit Franciscus Codera. The reviewer welcomes the appearance of Ibn Bashkuwâl's (A.H. 494-578) Biographies as evidence of the progress in Spain in the region of Oriental studies. The work forms the first two volumes of a *Bibliotheca Arabica-Hispana*, on the continuation of which Signor Codera gives a short programme in the preface. The editor, who is Professor of Arabic in the University of Madrid, has already acquired considerable reputation by his works on the history, numismatics, etc., of Muhammadan Spain. To these must now be added the present publication, a source of Spanish-Arabic literary history from the 4th to the 6th century of the Hegira. Ibn Bashkuwâl's work, in continuation of that of Ibn al Faradî to his own time, is again continued by Ibn Al Abbâr, and Abu'l Hasan Hazim of Carthagenâ. In editing this curious and instructive book, Signor Codera has rendered a service to Oriental science which merits acknowledgment. Although the reviewer indicates that the edition is in some respects inadequate in satisfying philological requirements, he bears evidence to the fact that much very learned information is conveyed in the 1440 biographical notices which it places before the reader. Three indices are appended, one topographical, one biographical, and one bibliographical. On the completion of the "*Bibliotheca*," it is intended to supply a general biographical index covering the whole of the names therein contained. Such a task, if well performed, would afford welcome aid to students of Arabic literature. The third volume of the "*Bibliotheca Arabica-hispana*," by MM. Codera and Ribera, has also been issued. Its title is "*Desiderium Quærentis historiam virorum populi Andalusiae auctore Adh-Dhabbê. Ad fidem codicis Escorialiensis Arabice nunc primum ediderunt Franc. Codera et Jul. Ribera.*" 8vo. Madrid, 1885.

In the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, No. 26 of 20th, June, is a notice of the "*Saadia Al-Fajûmî, Arabische Psalmen-*

übersetzung, nach einer Münchener Handschrift herausgegeben und in Deutsche übertragen," von Dr. S. H. Marquardt. Theil. In No. 27 "Die Zahiriten, ihr Lehrsystem und ihre Geschichte," by Dr. Goldziher, is favourably noticed as being a very important contribution to our knowledge of the development of Musalman jurisprudence and in No. 31 "Das Matriarchat bei den Alten Arabern," Uebersetzung aus dem Holländischen," by Mr. G. A. V. Leiden, is noticed. To this last allusion has already been made.

In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, No. 22, of 30th September, Ranke's "Weltgeschichte, V.; die Arabische Welt und das Reich Karls des Grossen," is reviewed by Kaufmann, who praises the chapters dealing with the commencement and development of Islam as distinguished by valuable evidences of special research. In No. 3, of 30th September is a notice by M. J. Schmidt of Roches' *deux ans à travers l'Islam 1832-64*, vol. ii. *Mis à jour de la Mecque; Bugeaud en Afrique*"; a work also noticed in the *Saturday Review* of 4th July.

Among books issued during the past year may be mentioned "Translations of Ancient Arabian Poetry, Pre-Islamic," by Charles J. Lyall. Reviews of these appear both in the *Academy* and *Athenæum* of 10th October. The first, bearing the well-known signature of B. F. Burton, gives ready testimony to the translator's exceptional scholarship, but does not find in his translations that most rare of all rarities in renderings from Arabic texts, the "peculiar *cachet* of the original." Burton's words immediately following this expression are very good, repetition, not only from their characteristic force, but also show the difficulty of the task signified: "This Oriental poetry is spirit-stirring as a trumpet sound, though the words be thin. It is heady as the golden wine of Libanus, which tastes like water and is potent as the clear contrary of our nineteenth-century style."

be represented only by the verse of the old English ballad, or by the prose of the Book of Job." From the review in the *Athenæum*, the concluding passage may be taken to express the general opinion entertained of Mr. Lyall's great merits: "The book is replete with novel and valuable materials for the student of poetry, and we do not doubt it will receive the hearty welcome which so original, scholarly, and charming a collection deserves." There may also be noted: R. Dvorak, "Ueber die Fremdwörter in Korân"—"Ibn Giunnû," de flexione libellus, arabice nunc primum edidit in latinum sermonem transtulit, notis illustravit Godfredus Hoburg. H. Derenbourg "Les MSS. Arabes de l'Escurial," tome i. H. Derenbourg and J. Spiro, "Chrestomathie élémentaire de l'Arabe Littéral, avec un glossaire." "Arabic Bibliography," edited by Dr. A. Sprenger. Prof. Giuseppe Sapeto, "Grammatica arabica volgare ad uso delle scuole tecniche," 2<sup>a</sup> ediz. Professor M. Nahmias "Manuale pratico d'italiano e arabo moderno, per uso dei viaggiatori italiani in Oriente." "Ueber meine Sammlung Orientalischer Handschriften" by Alfred von Kremer. [Upon this last work Müller remarks in the *Oesterreichische Monatschrift für den Orient* for August, that these MSS. which, with the exception of 17 relating to Turkish and Persian-speaking districts, belong entirely to Arabic Literature, were collected by Herr von Kremer during a period of over 30 years (1849-80) in various centres of Muhammadan life in the East.] Ahlwardt (W.), Verzeichniss der Landberg'schen Sammlung Arabischen Handschriften. Socin's "Arabische Grammatik. Paradigmen, Litteratur, Chrestomathie und Glossar," of which an English translation has appeared: "Le Livre de Sibawaihi: Traité de Grammaire Arabe," tome ii. part 1, by H. Derenbourg. Dieterici (F.), Die Abhandlung der Ichwân es Safâ in Auswahl. Fifth edition of the "Dictionnaire Français Arabe des dialectes vulgaires d'Algerie, du Tunisie, de Maroc et d'Egypte, avec la pro-



nonciation figurée en lettres latines," by J. J. Mare, foreign systems of transliterating Arabic must, unfortunately, be perplexing; a truth self-evident to the English, and the difficulty experienced by his countrymen in adopting an uniform system for themselves.

Two publications by Brill of Leiden merit remark. *Geographie der Arabischen Halbinsel* of Abu Muhammad Hasan bin Ahmad bin Yağub bin Yusuf bin Dâwud bin Bakr, and the *Kitabu 'l Baldân* of Abi Bakr Ahmad bin Muhammad al Hamadâni.

*Samaritan.*—Dr. Kohn, in his review of the first volume of the *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, noticed in our last report, and again mentioned this year among the contents of the *Z.D.M.G.* vol. xxxix. pt. 2, points out that the Samaritan language, which has survived the lapse of centuries, has not received the attention which it demands. Of Samaritan literature still extant, but a very small portion is accessible, while in respect to the numerous MSS. lying unedited in the Libraries of Oxford, St. Petersburg, Berlin, etc., not only the contents, but even the titles are scarcely known. The *Bibliotheca Samaritana* of Dr. Kohn should remedy this manifest deficiency. The contemplated periodical issue in the Hebrew Square, with the requisite Introduction, Notes and Supplements, should supply a series of valuable texts, and material for the thorough elucidation not only of the history, but of the language and religious and spiritual life of the Samaritans. In conclusion, Dr. Kohn regards the *Bibliotheca Samaritana* as the light of a praiseworthy undertaking; but he holds that to promote the study of Samaritan, it must be completed with more attention to grammatical precision and accuracy, and more systematic and scholarly supervision than hitherto evinced. The second volume of the *Bibliotheca Samaritana* has recently been published.

*Hittite*.—Notwithstanding certain specific objections to some of the author's conclusions, Dr. Francis Brown's criticism of the "Empire of the Hittites," in vol. i. of the American Journal of Archaeology, admits that Dr. Wright's book "opens a new and attractive field to the general reader, and will be welcome to those who are concerned for the historical accuracy of the Old Testament." He further points out the strong evidence that there was once a large and formidable population between the Middle Euphrates and Orontes, with some kind of natural organization, to which the Assyrians gave the name of Chatti . . . and that the "Chittites"—A.V. Hittites—of the Bible present the same name in a very slightly modified form.

*Syriac*.—The *Athenæum*, 13th June, states that there is in the press a Neo-Syriac (dialect of Salamâs) translation of Thomas à Kempis by Father Bêdjan. In the *Academy* of the 20th June is Capt. (Sir Richard) Burton's review of "Kalilah and Dimnah, or the Fables of Bidpai, being an account of their literary history, with an English Translation of the later Syriac version of the same and Notes," by J. G. N. Keith-Falconer. The eighth Essay in the "Studia Biblica" is a careful study by Dr. Gwilliam of a Syriac version of Saint Matthew and Saint Mark in the Tattam collection.

The advertised course on Semitic languages at the Johns Hopkins University comprises no less than thirteen series of Lectures for advanced students, among them being one each for Syriac, Aramæan, Ethiopic, Babylonian, Akkadian and Sumerian.

At the May meeting of the American Oriental Society in Boston (1885), Professor Hall reported receipt of a letter from Professor Albert Long, intimating that he had found a fragment of a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, containing a portion of St. Luke. It was not Peshitto, but in the style-

of the Harklensian version. He had also received of fragments of Syrian MSS. from the Rev. Dr. Hay obtained from a monastery in the Tûr (name not rather valuable as specimens of writing than for other. Of two carefully examined, one, a leaf from a L was in splendid Estrangela, of uncertain age, of portions of lessons from three of the four Gospels; the other was in old Estrangela, and Professor Nöldeke identified it as almost a similar text to one found in Ancient Syriac documents—a part of a Syriac text of Eusebius. Of the remaining fragments, the most valuable was a folio (two leaves) of vellum, each leaf over 16 by 11½ inches in dimension: it was a sermon written in magnificent monumental Estrangela. A vellum, written in old Jacobite, contained an entire “Supplications of (the feast of) my Lord James (or

Among the new books on Philology advertised in *Athenæum's* special List on the 18th July last, in the *Verzeichniss der Sachau'schen Sammlung Handschriften*.

*Ethiopic, or Himyaritic.*—Under the heading *Glossen*, the Austrian *Monatsschrift für den Orient* has learned notice of Dr. J. H. Mordtmann's paper on Himyaritic Inscriptions, the third in the list of vol. xxxix. part 2 of the German Oriental Society's before specified.

*Aryan Languages.—Sanskrit.*—Among the papers specified in the contents of the four parts of the *Zeitschrift* may be selected for repetition under this head: 1. Aufrecht's “*Strophen von Kālidāsa*”:—in this the author has brought together those verses which, in the *Sanskrit* and other writings accessible to him, have been ascribed to Kālidāsa, but which are not to be found in any work

at present known to exist. 2. Dr. F. Kielhorn's "Prākṛitwörter in Mahābhāṣya":—the writer observes that a few Prakrit words are known to exist in the Mahābhāṣya, but the more interesting of these do not appear to have hitherto received any attention.

In the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for May and June, 1885, Professor George Bühler, of Vienna, reviews at length "A Second Report in Search of Sanskrit MSS. in the Bombay Circle." Like the former report, he considers it to be replete with matter both interesting and instructive; and he remarks that Dr. Petersen can render a very great service to his colleagues if he will see that all the Sanskrit anthologies are printed. In the number for July Professor Bühler speaks in high terms of Professor Jolly's "Tagore Law Lectures," a work useful to the general student of Sanskrit, and the first attempt to trace in a comprehensive manner the historical development of some of the most interesting topics of the Hindu Law. His confirmation of the discovery that the so-called Bṛihat or Vṛiddha Manu was a later recension of Bhṛigu's Samhitā, deprives of its foundation the former opinion that "our Manu must be later than the fifth century, because *its predecessor*, the Vṛiddha Manu, enumerated the signs of the Zodiac." In the number for August, Dr. Rudolf Meringer reviews the first volume of M. A. Bergaigne's "Etudes sur le Lexique du R̥gveda," and trusts that the appearance of his work will have the effect of giving fresh impetus to the discussion of questions connected with this particular subject.

In the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, No. 23, "The Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila, with Illustrative Extracts from the Commentaries," translated by Dr. Ballantyne, 3rd edition, is reviewed by M. Deussen, who considers it to be the best work on the subject. In No. 29 M. Garbe reviews "La Théodicée de la Bhagavadgīt, étudiée en elle même et dans ses origines," par Ph. Colinet, which he considers well done, though diffuse;

and in No. 30 is a review of Prof. Edgren's Sanskrit which is said to be based essentially upon Whitney's, pointing out its isolated faults, but behind it in exactness of detail and correctness of printing.

At the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Boston, on the 6th May, 1885, Professor Hopkins presented reasons for dissenting from Burnell's argument in favour of the date of the *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*. We cannot but think, judge the age of the work by its latest portions. We have no grounds for narrowing the date to the time of Pulikeṣi I. Professor Whitney concurred in this view. He further alluded to his own work on "Numerical Residues and Indexes of Sanskrit Tense and Conjugation Stems," which is now through the press; described its character, and gave examples of the statistics of classification he had adopted. Lanman continued the discussion, and took occasion to mention a Sanskrit manuscript of a Hindu treatise on Logic, which had come into his hands since the October meeting. At the same time Professor Edgren, of the Nebraska University, on the subject of the *Tan*-class in Sanskrit was presented by Professor M. Bloomfield, of Baltimore, remarked that the Vedic derivatives of the root *praç* "ask," hitherto misunderstood, and referred to the respective translations of the hymn by Weber, Ludwig, and Grill as missing the sense of the original.

The *Academy* of the 6th June quotes from the *University Reporter*, Mr. Cecil Bendall's preliminary report on his tour in Northern India in the previous year, in connection with his search of Sanskrit MSS. In its issue of the 29th June we are told that among those collected in Nepal is a leaf copy of Nārada written in A.D. 1407, which contains an entirely new recension of that law-giver's code. The date of the work, *Mānava nyāya śāstram Nārada prokta*, confirms the Indian tradition as to its connection with the celebrated Institutes of Manu. Mr. Bendall has

MS. to Professor Jolly of Würzburg, who is printing the text. The *Athenæum* of the 15th August, 1885, notifies that Mr. Cecil Bendall, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and in charge of the Oriental Books at the British Museum, has accepted the post of Professor of Sanskrit at University College, London.

Part I. of the Catalogue of the Old Collection of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of Deccan College, issued during the past year, was prepared under the superintendence of Professor F. Kielhorn, and Part II. with Index by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar.

On the authority of the *Academy*, we learn that in the course of last year, Mr. Anundoram Borooah, Officiating Magistrate and Collector, was preparing for the press a critical edition of the Amarakosa, to which end he had borrowed a large number of MSS. from various quarters, among them the entire Kosa Collection of the India Office, which is probably the richest that any library can boast. Subject to receiving substantial support, he intended to issue a cheap edition of the text, with the commentaries of Xirasvami and Rayamukuta in full, and material extracts from all other important commentaries.

The *Academy* of July 4 notices an interesting monograph by Dr. Von Brandke on *Dyâus Asura, Ahura-Mazdâ und die Asuras*, the aim of which is to show, by passages from the Rig-Veda and other works, the true signification of *Asura*.

The *Academy* of July 11 publishes the Latin diploma of the University of Göttingen, conferring the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy upon Prof. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, of the Deccan College, Bombay. This is an honourable recognition of the learned Professor's high proficiency in the ancient languages of India. Professor Bhandarkar has long been an Honorary Member of the London Royal Asiatic Society, and is an important con-

tributor to the number of the Journal of the Branch, noticed in p. LXI *antè*.

In reviewing "The Ordinances of Manu," translated from the Sanskrit, with an Introduction by the late A. C. Burnell, the *Athenæum* of June 6, 1885, states that the translator's sound scholarship and accurate knowledge of Indian literature qualify him in an eminent degree for the undertaking. He had only however reached the beginning of the work when failing health compelled him to lay it down, and for the remaining five lectures we are indebted to Dr. E. W. Hopkins. It is added that a happier arrangement of the text and a more judicious selection of an editor could not have been made, that Dr. Burnell had cordially entered into the scheme of the publication, and had ably supplemented Dr. Hopkins's annotations left incomplete at his death.

The *Athenæum* of June 13 contains an interesting communication from Professor Max Müller, furnishing evidence of the existence of the "Horiuzi Palm Leaves" in A. D. 1000, in which year they are spoken of with reference to their former history. In the 4th and 18th July and 8th August a discussion is carried on between Professors Max Müller and Beal as to the value of the historical and palæographical evidence of the high antiquity assigned to these leaves. G. Bühler, C.I.E., contributes a note on this subject in the *Indian Antiquary* for August, intimating that a set of palm-leaf MS. had been newly discovered in Japan by Bunyiu Nanjio. It is but a single fragment, but of high importance for Indian Palæography. The leaves are Buddhistic and probably belong to one of the *Sûtras*. Short as the piece is, it furnishes several names not hitherto found in Sanskrit dictionaries.

The *Athenæum* of 11th July mentions that the next issue of the "Anecdota Oxoniensia (Aryan Series)," then in the press, would contain the "Dharmasamgraha," a collection of Buddhist technical terms. The materials were

by Kenyū Kasawara, one of the Buddhist priests who came from Japan to Oxford to study Sanskrit, and who died soon after his return to Japan. Prof. Max Müller, assisted by Dr. Wenzel, the well-known Tibetan scholar, who has been resident at Oxford for several years, had superintended the work when passing through the press. It contains copious notes and indices.

Prof. George Bühler writes to the *Academy* of 15th August giving a short description of a *Saurayantra* belonging to Mr. Whitley Stokes, which, being of good execution, and apparently some antiquity—perhaps between 300 and 400 years—he deems worthy of notice. This tablet was probably used in worshipping the sun, just as the *Bhaumayantra* in the adoration of the planet Mars. Edgren's "Compendious Sanskrit Grammar, with a brief sketch of Scenic Prakrit," being No. xiii. of Trübner's Simplified Grammars, is commended in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of the 24th October. Reviews of the same work, both in the main favourable, had before appeared in the *Academy* of 11th and *Athenæum* of 25th July. So also Jolly's "Outlines of an History of the Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption, as contained in the original Sanskrit treatises," is again favourably noticed in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of the 14th November. In the *Academy* of January 9 is a letter from Professor Max Müller stating that he is not aware any Sanskrit scholar had ever referred the date of the Rāmāyana to later than the 7th century A.D., but as regards that century the testimony of Subandhu was available. The same paper of the 13th February, referring to Sanskrit study in Benares, mentions that the Prāṭisākhya of the White Yajurveda with Uvata's Commentary; Bhartrihari's Vakyapadiya; Tantravārttika, the great Mīmāṃsā work of Kumārilabhatta; and Prasātapādabhāṣya, the oldest commentary on the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, are in progress in the local series. Other items of literary interest in connection with the above-mentioned city



are also given. The *Academy* of the 13th March contains notice by Professor Max Müller of Oriental translation of the National Anthem; including one by Professor Weber of new lines added to the old and well-known verse. One objection to these is that they deviate from the rhyme and metre of the original, an objection to which Captain Webb has something to say in reply in the next week's issue. We look forth a rejoinder in the number succeeding. We learn from the same source that the Executive Committee of the University had decided to discontinue the Chair of Sanskrit and Modern Oriental Languages, occupied for 17 years by Professor Roehrig. In the philology notes of the *Journal* of April 10th we learn that Dr. Bühnlingk's Sanskrit Dictionary was near completion, and that the same was about to re-edit Panini's Grammar. The number contains a careful review of Whitney's *Roots and Forms*, etc., a work already mentioned. Mr. Cecil Dyer's instructive and elaborately-illustrated volume describing "Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Central and Northern India," will be welcome, not only to archaeologists, but to Sanskrit scholars and connoisseurs in Japan. It is brief, but full of information well tabulated together, and supplements the previous items of information received on the subject.

Among books recently published in Sanskrit, or relating thereto, may be mentioned :—Rajaçekhara Pracanda, a New Drama. Zum ersten Male hrsg. v. C. Cappellen :—Niti Patha. By Kalikrishna Datta :—Madhava et ses Drame en dix actes, et un prologue de Bhavabhouti. Traduction du Sanskrit par G. Strehly, Professeur au Collège de France, précédé d'une Préface par A. Bergaigne :—The Song of the Bhagavad-Gita, from the Mahābhārata. Translated from the Sanskrit text by Edwin Arnold, C.S.I. :—Agas, or Sanskrit Gems, edited by Rām Dās Sen :—Dwadasha, or the Twelve Hymns. By Anandatirtha Bhagav

charya:—Jyotisha Sár. The essence of Astrology, Sanskrit and Hindi. By Pandit Brindaban Dás:—Muhurtamártandah Satikah; a treatise on days auspicious for commencing any work:—Shiva Puran; or the Puran glorifying Shiva. By the reputed author Vyas; together with a commentary in Sanskrit:—Siddhanta Chandriká. By Ramashrama:—Yadnyavalkya Shiksha; or, instruction in proper articulation and pronunciation, by Yadnyavalkya:—Yajurveda-Sanhita; or a collection of the Mantras of the Shukla or White Yajurveda:—Veda chrestomathie, by A. Hildebrandt:—Das Dhammapada metrisch übertragen, by Th. Schulze:—Sanskrit Wörterbuch in kurzerer Fassung, div. 6, part i. by Böhtlingk:—The Divyavadana, a collection of early Buddhist Legends, ed. by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil:—Panini's Grammatik, hrsg. u. übers. v. Otto Böhtlingk:—Indo-Germanische Grammatiken, Band ii. Supplement:—The Roots, Verb Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language, a supplement to his Sanskrit Grammar, by William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Yale College (Leipzig, 1885). Also German translations of the same book by H. Zimmer.

Vol. xxvi. of the Sacred Books of the East contains part 2, or books iii. and iv., of the Satapatha Brahmana, translated by Professor Eggeling, of which the former part, or books i. and ii. appeared in vol. xii. of this remarkable series.

An article headed "Translations of the Rig Veda," which appeared in the *Athenæum* of the 6th February last, is short but suggestive. It refers to the increasing popularity which Vedic Literature, and more particularly the Rig Veda itself, has acquired among native students. An edition of the latter, begun at Bombay in 1876, with both a Marathi and English translation; Dayananda Sarasvati's edition, with translations and commentary in Sanskrit and Hindi; and the first volume of a quite recent Bengali translation by Mr. R. C. Dutt, of the

Bengal Civil Service—all these bear testimony to the attention of this branch of study to the present generation of scholars.

*Pāli*.—In the *Academy* of the 19th September Morris writes that all who take an interest in Pāli and Buddhist Literature will hail the appearance of an excellent and carefully-edited text of the Sutta which had just been issued by the Pāli Text Society as its publications for 1884. The Journal of the Society for the same year, and part 1, Sagatha-Vagga, of the Sutta-Nikāya of the Sutta-Pitaka, edited by M. Léon Feiler, has also been published. In vol. xx. of the “Sacred Books of the East” are Vinaya texts, translated from Pāli by T. W. Rhys Davids and Hermann Oldenberg.

Müller's Simplified Grammar of the Pāli Language has a lengthy notice in the *Literatur-Blatt* for October—December 1885. This is one of the issues of Trübner's Sanskrit Grammar Series edited by Dr. Rost. It is also mentioned in the *Academy* of the 3rd October, where it is stated that, notwithstanding some shortcomings, it is the best Pāli Grammar now obtainable in any European language.

*Prākṛit*.—Vol. xxii. of the Sacred Books of the East, “Gāyā Sūtras. Translated from Prākṛit by H. Kern. Part I. Akārāṅga Sūtra ; the Kalpa Sūtra.”

*Sinhalese*.—The *Athenæum* of 25th July notices a new Catalogue of Pāli, Sinhalese and Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Temple Libraries of Ceylon, recently printed by the Government Press, Colombo. The Mahā Mudaliyā de Zoysa, Government translator, who had for many years been engaged on its compilation, unfortunately died before completion of his work. He was a Sinhalese of high linguistic attainments, and a frequent contributor to the

to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Colombo. As far back as the autumn of 1875 he had reported to the Government of the island on the results of his inspection of the temple libraries. In the present publication those results are classified in all their details under appropriate heads: but a last section, to have been reserved for works of a miscellaneous kind, was not ready for the press at the author's death, and the Catalogue is so far incomplete. In its present state, however, it is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Pāli and Sinhalese literature.

We gather from the *Academy* of the 29th August that Shakspeare is in favour with the natives of Ceylon, for whose benefit the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* has been translated, with the addition of verses to be sung in chorus in the Sinhalese stage adaptation.

*Pahlavi*.—Vol. xxiv. of the Sacred Books of the East contains the third part of Dr. West's Pahlavi Texts, of which the previous parts are in vols. v. and xviii. It consists of the *Dināi Maīnôg-i-Khirad*, or Opinions of the Spirit of Wisdom; the *Sikand Gūmānīk Vigār*, or the doubt-dispelling explanation; and the *Sad Dar*, or hundred subjects.

*Zend*.—A curious dissertation on the words *agaretem garenô* (*sic*), interpreted as the majesty, or happy state of the just, leading on to the definition of other expressions in the Avesta, is to be found in the *Muséon* of August, 1885, and is from the pen of Professor E. Wilhelm of the Jena University.

In the *Literatur-Blatt*, No. iv. of the second volume or last quarter of 1885, is a notice of the first part of Karl Geldner's Avesta, which promises, by the great care taken in compiling and collating, to supply the deficiencies of previous editions, and to merit the thanks of all Zend students.

Under the title of "Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in

ancient times, with an Introduction on the Religion of the Avesta," Mr. Dārāb Dastur Peshotan Sanjānā, B.A., of the German Oriental Society, has completed a translation of Dr. Wilhelm Geiger's *Ostiranische Kultur im Alterthum*, lately published by Frowde.

*Persian*.—M. James Darmesteter's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France last year, under the designation of *Conférence sur la histoire de la Perse*, has been published, as we have before, in a clever paper on the Mahdi, in the "Bibliothèque Elzevirienne." No. 41 of the series is "Les Perses Perdus de la Perse et de l'Assyrie. I. Perse," by M. Ménant.

The *Academy* of September 5 states that Mr. Wollaston's *Complete English-Persian Dictionary* is in an advanced state of preparation; that it will appear in a quarto volume of about one thousand pages; but that notwithstanding a grant in aid from the Secretary of State, the publishers appeal to Oriental Societies, and individuals interested in Persian, to subscribe for copies to defray the great cost of publication.

Mr. Finn's *Persian for Travellers* is said by the *Academy* of the 26th September to be a welcome contribution to our word-books for "all scholars who are desirous of any addition to the materials now existing for a study of a dictionary of the living language of Iran." He objects, as the *Athenæum* had done before, to the transcription which has been followed for Anglicizing Persian words.

Mr. Sidney Churchill has a short paper in the *Academy* of December 19, on the *Matla'u'sh-Shams*, vol. ii. issued by the Tehran Press by the Sanīu'd-daulah. It is an account of the city of Mash-had and its notabilia.

A second edition of Palmer's *Simplified Grammar of Hindustani, Persian and Arabic*, and the first volume

Dictionnaire Français-Persan, by J. B. Nicolas, A—K, are reported available. In the *Recueil des textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seljoucides*, par M. Th. Houtsma, vol. i., "Histoire des Seljoucides du Kerman par Muhammad Ibrahim," has been quite recently published by Brill.

The second volume of M. Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane* for the use of the pupils at the *Ecole Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*, belongs to that class of publications which the industrious and able author knows so well how to prepare. The only flaw is one which may be rather apparent to the eye of an English than a Continental critic; and that is, the diminutive character of the Persian type.

"Notes of a Journey from Kasvin to Hamadan, across the Karaghan Country," is the title of a lately published volume (Madras, 1885), in which Mr. J. D. Rees, Under Secretary to Government, describes his personal experience of Persia. In a literary point of view its official form hardly does justice to so promising a launch into the world of letters. The book is favourably noticed in the *Athenæum* of February 27th, and has met with like welcome in other periodicals.

The Messrs. Scribner, of New York, have issued a new volume entitled "Persia, the Land of the Imáms," by Mr. James Basset, a Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. His narrative extends over a period of fourteen years, or from 1871 to 1885. That part of it which relates to Urmía and the country between Urmía and Hamadan will, perhaps, be the most attractive to readers of travel, as it is less known than the author's routes from Tehran to Mashhad on one side, and to Bushahr on the other, which have been repeatedly traversed and described by Englishmen.

Vol. i. part i. of the *Umdatul Tawárikh*, in Persian, by Lala Sohan Lal, to be completed in eight volumes, has been announced among Messrs. Trübner's new Oriental publications. It is edited in English by Captain R. C. Temple.

The "Trois Comédies traduites du Dialecte Turc Azeri en

Persan par Mirza Dja'far et publiées d'après l'édition de Tehrân avec un Glossaire et des Notes" forms an little volume for which students of Persian are indebted to Barbier de Meynard and the late Stanislas Guyard. more proficient, the Tehran edition itself is preferable to the stamp of genuineness, both in binding and type, and free of the trace of the European printer or publisher. The "comedies" in the French are all to be found in the English edition; and indeed other dramatic sketches also.

*Balûchi*.—The Reverend Arthur Lewis' "*Balûchi*," in the language spoken by the nomad tribes of the Sulaiman Hills, was noticed in the *Academy* of June 6, 1885, and was recommended as likely to interest both the philologist and student of folk-lore; and, having been taken down from the lips of the Panjâb Frontier Balûchis, are undoubtedly genuine. Translations are attached.

*Brahûi*.—A contribution to the Asiatic Society's *Journal* by Dr. Th. Duka promises to throw additional light on the study of this language, which Mr. Cust has classed as Pashtu, to represent the Iranic branch of the Aryan languages. It will appear in January.

*Urdû*.—Mr. Platts has done good service by his publication of the *Dictionary of Urdû, Classical Hindî and English*; his work has met with the favour which it merits from the hands of the reviewer. The commendation given in the *Athenæum* of the 20th June (1885) is not merely general; it applies to the book in detail and on given grounds. There can scarcely be two opinions on the proposition that a Hindustani lexicographer should be without a complete knowledge of Persian, and, as a natural consequence, of Arabic phraseology which forms part and parcel of the Iranian tongue." And it is satisfactory to learn that

condition "is fulfilled in an excellent way by Mr. Platts, who is as competent in the one language as in the other."

*Bengali.*—We learn that the first part of an Encyclopædic dictionary in Bengali, edited by two native scholars, has been published in India. It contains descriptive derivations of Sanskrit and Bengali words with Sutras quoted from Panini the grammarian; Arabic, Persian and Hindi words introduced into the Bengali language; notes on the ancient and modern religious beliefs of India, the Vedas, Purāns, Tantras and other sacred books; besides short articles embracing the whole range of modern science. A grammar of the language, by Mr. J. F. Blumhardt, of the British Museum, has been notified as in preparation. Mr. H. A. D. Philips has published *Kopul Kundala*, a Tale of Bengali life, translated from the Bengali of Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee.

*Bihārī.*—The *Academy* of the 20th June last year has much to say with reference to the first part of the Comparative Dictionary of the Bihārī Language, on which Dr. Hoernle and Mr. G. A. Grierson had been for long engaged. Opposite the title-page are four maps showing the progress of the language from the old Prakrit of B.C. 500 to the Bihārī dialects of the present day. The part comprises an introduction of fifty pages, containing an exposition of the system of transliteration and spelling adopted by the editors, and other necessary details; forty pages of dictionary proper, and ten pages of the promised Index to the Rāmāyan of Tul'sī Dās. Although nominally a dictionary of the Bihārī language, it deals scientifically with all the Aryan languages of India, from Sindhi on the extreme west, to Assamese on the extreme east. According to the "Calcutta Englishman," it would be impossible to convey any idea of the diligence and erudition displayed by Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Grierson upon a subject apparently so uninviting. A glance



at the list of philological works laid under contribution be enough to convince the reader of the wide and character of the authors' investigations. Another of the Dictionary is in the Austrian *Monatsschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* for December.

Mr. Grierson has also published parts i. to iv. of *Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bengali Language*, compiled under the orders of the Government of Bengal. They are thus arranged :—I. Introductory map. II. Bhojpuri dialect of Shahabad, Saran, Chhapra, North Muzaffarpur and the Eastern portion of N.W. P. III. Magadhi dialect of South Patna and Gaya. IV. Bhojpuri dialect of Central and South Muzaffarpur. A gentleman's work on "Bihâr Peasant Life" is representative of information of great value to scholars and general readers. It is a worthy specimen of the resources of the Bengal Sanskrit Press, and cannot fail to enhance the already high reputation of its author.

The *Homecard Mail* of 6th July says that a choice of vernacular Bengali has been called into existence in late years and that the province of Bihâr has gained literary distinction. Foremost among the pioneers of this movement is noted the Khadga Vilâs Press at Bangkipur, which sends forth work after work in Hindi, each steadily increasing in the scale of improvement. As an instance is given *Bhâstîâ-Sûra*, or a selection from the best writers in the first part of which are specimens from L. Râjâ Siva Prasâd, Bâbû Harischandra, Sri Giridhâr Rama Tiwâri and Bâbû Gadâdhara, all of whom have put their mark in the vernacular of the North. The *Waprâdip* is cited as an excellent work on physical geography by Munshî Râm Prakâsh Lâl, while the *Mahârâjâ* is a dramatic version of part of the Bhâgavata Purân by Lâl Khadga Bahâdur Malla.

*Asamese*.—The *Athenæum*, 26th September, notes a remarkable revival of linguistical research in Assam, mainly due to the enlightened zeal of Mr. E. Stack, of the Shillong Secretariat. The "Outline Grammar of the Kachári Language," by the Rev. S. Endle, has been succeeded by a "Short Account of the Kachchar Naga Tribe, with an Outline Grammar, Vocabulary and Illustrative Sentences," by Mr. C. A. Soppitt, a young officer in administrative charge of the North Kachar Hills. The Kachcha Nagas live west of the Angami Nagas, between these and the Khasis; their language has affinities with Mikír and Kachári. The same gentleman is now engaged upon a Kuki grammar, while Mr. Needham's "Abor Grammar" is in type, and Mr. MacCabe's "Angami Naga Grammar" ready for the press. The last-named language is, in spite of its tribal designation, quite different from the Kachcha Naga, and is a tonic tongue. Mr. Stack himself is working up his materials towards a grammatical account of the Bhutia Changlo dialect, and is likewise preparing from his rich collectanea a grammar and phrase book of Mikír. The *Athenæum* further states that, by order of the Assam Secretariat, Mr. Soppitt has recently printed "A Historical and Descriptive Account of the Kachari Tribes in the North Cachar Hills, with Specimens of Tales and Folk-lore." The history of the Kacharis, who number upwards of 400,000 souls, cannot be traced further back than the beginning of the 14th century. Mention is also made of Mr. C. J. Lyall's able Census Report for Assam; the dictionary of the Garo language under preparation by the American Missionaries at Tura, and the proposed publication of Major Macgregor's "Notes on the Singphos and their language."

At the Boston May meeting of the American Oriental Society, Prof. Avery analyzed and illustrated the character of the said Garo. He described the language to be one of a numerous and loosely affiliated group of tongues known as Tibeto-Burman; its nearest kindred being the Pani-koch, the

Kachari, the Deori-Chutia, and the Tipura. Reduced by American Baptist missionaries some twenty years character used was the Bengali. The local government printing a Tipura vocabulary, and grammars of the Miri were preparing.

*Burmese.*—Among the papers read at last year's of the American Philological Association at Yale was of the Tibeto-Burman group of languages, by Professor John of Brunswick. It is stated that a Burmese translation of W. W. Hunter's "Brief History of the Indian People" has been published at Rangoon. The Jardine Prize has been published. "The Sources and Development of Burmese Law, from the period of the first introduction of Indian Law to the British occupation of Pegu," by Dr. E. Forchhammer, has been published. Of three books on Burma reviewed in the *Athenæum* of May 1st, Mr. Scott's "Burma as it is and as it will be," and Mr. Grattan Geary's "Burma: Its Conquest, viewed in its Political, Social, and Commercial Aspects from Mandalay," are likely to interest the reader, the first as the work of a specially qualified person on his subject, the second as that of a pleasant and experienced writer. Mr. Gray's "Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Niti Literature of Burma," is calculated to draw the attention of specialists.

*Dravidian Languages.*—*Tamil—Telugu.*—Dr. F. B. M. pointment as Teacher of Tamil and Telugu at Oxford has received an honourable recognition of the reverend gentleman's high qualifications. Formerly warden of the Bishop Cotton College, Bangalore, he has written standard books on the language and literature of Southern India, and has contributed to the transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The *Academy* of October 3rd, in criticizing Mr. Sastri's "Notes on Aryan and Dravidian Philology,"

out that, while the writer's linguistic attainments are exceptionally great, he has failed to make his book useful from want of philological experience and proper guidance.

*Malto*.—In noticing the "Introduction to the Malto Language and Vocabulary," compiled and published by the Rev. E. Droese, senior Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Bhagulpur, N.W.P., the *Academy* of August 8th remarks that Malto is the language of the Paharis or people on the tops of the hills in the Santâl country, who call themselves Maler (men). It possesses a philological interest as being generally considered the most northerly offshoot of the Dravidian family of speech prevalent in Southern India. Mr. Droese, while recognizing Dravidian elements, *e.g.* the pronouns and the first two numerals, indicates many essential particulars in which it differs from the Dravidian type. His work is mentioned by Bishop Caldwell to be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Non-Aryan languages of India. Although there are native Maler Christians, there is at present no Maler missionary, but the gospels and a few hymns have been translated into Malto.

*Chinese*.—The first part of the translation by M. P. L. F. Philastre of the Le Yi King, or book of the revolutions of the Tsheou Dynasty, has been received by the Royal Asiatic Society, and is a worthy issue (vol. viii.) of the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, published by the never-tiring and never-failing Ernest Leroux.

Parts 3 and 4 of the first volume of the Netherlands-Chinese Dictionary, by Dr. G. Schlegel, have been published by Brill at Leyden in the complete form for which that house is so remarkable.

According to a review of Dr. Beal's translation of the "Si-Yu-Ki, a Buddhist Record of the Western World, by Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)," in the *Academy* of the 12th

September, by Mr. T. W. Rhys-Davids, the result of a new effort in the cause of research will probably be of the greatest permanent value of all the tireless self-sacrificing labours.

"The Chinese painted by themselves" is the little book, published in the summer of last year, the account of the institutions and manners of the native country is stated by the *Academy* (July "well worth reading." It is a translation from the work of Col. Tcheng-ki-Tong, Military Attaché of the Embassy in Paris, reviewed in the original in the *Athenæum* of 26th July, 1884. Vols. xxvii. and xxviii. of the *Books of the East* contain the *Li Ki*, which is the *Texts of Confucianism*, translated by Professor Legge. Parts 1 and 2 will be found in vols. iii. and xvi. respectively.

Of Miss Gordon Cumming's "Wanderings in China" the *Athenæum* of Feb. 20 says that it "knows of travel which sketches so graphically the Chinese and his surroundings."

Among other books may be mentioned:—V. Ti's *Chine d'après les voyageurs les plus récents*"; S. Beal, "Buddhism in China"; Le Marquis de Saint-Denys, "Trois Nouvelles Chinoises, traduites pour la première fois"; Mr. C. Hunter, "Bits of Old China"; E. J. Dukes, "Scenes along river and road in the Empire" (for the Religious Tract Society); and several others incidentally mentioned in the notices of reviews and selections.

The *Athenæum* of 19th October, in reviewing the *Taoist Texts*, considers that his selection of the work of Lü Tsu as a basis for translation of the "Taou-tih Bible of the Taoists, while imparting interest to the reader, renders it in some sense unsatisfactory.

*Annamite : Cochín-China*.—Two admirably-printed volumes (the second in two parts) have been issued by I

the *École des Langues Vivantes*, entitled *Kim van Kieû Tân Truyên*, the translation of an Annamite Poem by Nguyễn Du, *Hầu tam tri* of the Ministry of Rites in the reign of Gia long. The style of the poet is said to be Tonquinese, and the translator received one of the copies from which he prepared his text direct from Tonquin. Roman characters are placed on corresponding pages to those of the French version, which contains many graceful and charming lines.

The "*Bulletin de la Société Académique Indo-Chinoise de France*," second series, vol. ii. (1882-3), has been issued, and has many papers of archæological, scientific, and general interest. It opens with an analysis of Inscriptions Khmers (Kamboj) and Inscriptions Qhames de l'ancien Ciampa.

The ably-conducted periodical which records the progress of research in Cochin-China under the title of "*Excursions et Reconnaissances*" has in its May-June number (1885) four main articles:—1. Historical Reminiscences of Saigon and its Environs, by M. Tru'ong Vinh K'y. 2. An Inscription on a statue of Síwa, discovered in a forest which covers the site of the old city of Kamphëng Phet, by M. Schmitt. 3. Annamite Tales and Legends, by M. Landes (continued). 4. Notes on the Fish of Lower Cochin-China and Kamboj. In July-August, it has Notes on Annam (Binh Thuan), by M. Aymonier, and a sketch of the Province of Battambang—a contribution, the second part of which appears in January-February, 1886. There is, also, in this last-named issue, a continuation of the Annamite tales and legends; the account of a Siamese inscription at Bangkok, by M. Schmitt, and an Annamite dialogue, "*Bonze et Bonzesse*," translated from the original by M. Chéon.

*China Review*.—Mr. E. H. Parker has two articles in No. 5 (March and April, 1885), one of a controversial nature and

one composed of extracts from the "P'ei-wên-yün-Fu" No. 1 of contributions towards the "Topography and History of Central Asia." Mr. Piton gives a biographical notice of two rival statesmen of Ts'in, "Wei Yen and Fan Yang," from which we learn that the former was ennobled as Marquis of Yang in B.C. 291, and the latter as Marquis of Fan in B.C. 266. If to these titled officials we add the Marquis of Tang and Duke of Western Chow, other characters from Chinese history, it would appear that patents of nobility were granted those days as freely as at present. A short paper by Dr. Edkins on the "Chinese Ch'ih Measure," notices of new books and queries, provocative of comment, make up a number. The Rev. Hilderic Friend's original tale "The Willow Pattern," dealing with Chinese life, is not noticed; and the narrative of the French Tongking Expedition of 1884 is pronounced by the literary critic of the *Journal* to evince great power of observation and description (May and June, 1885), opens with another biographical sketch by Mr. Piton, under the head of "Lü-Pu, from Merchant to Chancellor." This is followed by a continuation of Mr. Parker's "Extracts" commenced in the last issue. Two papers by Dr. Edkins and one by Dr. Friend, notices of new books, and notes and queries, are the other contents. Among the books received are a reprint of Dr. Edkins' article, "The Yi King of the Chinese," which appeared in Vol. XVI. Part 3 of this *Journal*, and vol. xvi. of the *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, in which the only article of Sinologic interest is said to be by Mr. E. H. Parker on the "Ancient Language of China." The reviewer thinks that the Chinese themselves have not shown any really philologic interest . . . but that the field of Chinese philology is as yet a barren waste, and needs to be brought under cultivation, in which labourers would do better to pursue each his own course without depreciating the work of another. Mrs. Bryson's "Child Life in China" is

meets with approval, and the "Cochin-Chine Française," in Nos. 17-21 of the Saigon "Excursions et Reconnaissances," calls forth the remark that, whatever the political results of French conquests in Indo-China, they will convey immense advantages to the interests of science. Dr. Hirth's "China and the Roman Orient" is considered an instance of the expenditure of valuable time and energy on philological research, the results of which are not equivalent to the cost of the *chandelle*.

*Turkish.*—The "Dictionnaire Turc-Française," by Barbier de Meynard, is a useful and admirable supplement to previous dictionaries, containing words of Turkish origin; Arabic and Persian words used in Osmanli Turkish with their particular significations; proverbs and popular sayings, and a geographical vocabulary of the Ottoman Empire. The fourth part of the 1st volume has been published by the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes.

The *Athenæum* of May 8 heralds the forthcoming translation by Mr. E. J. W. Gibb of the "History of the Forty Vazirs," a Turkish story-book of the 15th century. It adds that the only complete translation of this collection into a European language is that in German by Dr. Behrnauer (1851), containing 80 subordinate stories; but that, as MSS. differ in the selections made, Mr. Gibb proposes to publish no less than 112 distinct stories collected from separate versions, some of which will be found variants of widely-distributed popular tales.

In the preface of his little "Vade Mecum of Ottoman Colloquial Language," published in 1885, Dr. J. W. Redhouse promised to prepare a series of more complete and scientific works for the use of those who might wish to penetrate deeper into the arcana of what he justly called the "really beautiful" Turkish language. This pledge, which was in part redeemed



by the publication of a small but excellent English and Turkish-English Dictionary in 1856, and of a complete English-Turkish Lexicon in 1861, is now in its crowning fulfilment in the issue of an elaborate and extensive Turkish-English Lexicon. This book, three volumes of which are out, is being published by the Board of Missionaries at Constantinople<sup>1</sup> (no English firm has yet found willing to take the risk), and will, when finished, be the most complete and trustworthy work of the kind in any European language. It contains 94,000 words, and took four years in compilation. But this does not represent anything like the amount of time that has been spent in gathering the materials utilized in compiling it. Some twenty years ago the learned and industrious author commenced an enormous Thesaurus of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman and Turkish words and phrases, explained at first both in Turkish and in English, latterly in English alone. This gigantic undertaking, in which it was intended to include every procurable word in those languages, was brought to the end of the letter س, when the long time that was necessary to complete the work, and the extreme impediment of finding any publisher willing to take it up, deterred the author to abandon his Herculean task. The tangible result of years of uninterrupted and loving labour, the five volumes containing upwards of 84,000 words, many of them at great length, were last year (1885) presented by the author to the British Museum, where, the author hopes "they may prove useful to young Oriental students in various ways, partly as an inducement to do better, and partly as a warning against attempting too much." It is from the stores collected during the years of work at the Museum that Dr. Redhouse has been enabled to complete his Turkish-English Lexicon in the comparatively short space

<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Trübner and Co. are the agents for its sale in this country.

years. Gifted with linguistic talents of a very high order, and having devoted a long life to the study of the Turkish language, and especially to Turkish lexicography, Dr. Redhouse is probably better equipped for the task undertaken than any other living scholar. Under these circumstances it was natural to expect that his work should be in every respect far superior to all existing European Turkish dictionaries. Judging from the three parts that have already appeared, these expectations will be more than realized; numerous words and phrases occurring in the classical writers of Turkey, which are absent from the pages of his predecessors, are to be found here; many meanings unknown to the earlier workers are entered; and in several instances erroneous or defective definitions are corrected or amplified. In preparing this invaluable work, Dr. Redhouse may well be said to have set the seal on his own reputation, and to have placed every student of the Ottoman language or literature under a lasting debt of gratitude.

*Uzbek.*—In the *Athenæum* of 21st November there is a review of “Die Scheibaniade:” an Uzbek Epic Poem in Seventy-six Cantos. The author of the original Túrki work was Prince Muhammad Salih of Khwárizm; and Professor Vambéry has now reprinted the native text with a German translation, introduction, and notes.

*Egyptology.*—On this subject there are in the *Academy*:—June 6, 1885, a communication from Dr. W. Pleyte, of Leiden, reviewing the discoveries of M. Naville at Pithom. June 20, an article by M. Naville on the identification of Goshen. August 8 and 15 contain papers by M. Maspéro, giving an account of his excavations during the preceding winter:—the discovery of a funereal chapel of the 11th Dynasty, a little distance from El-Khozám, north of Thebes:—an amusingly-told discovery of a mysterious chamber 40 feet

below the surface of the ground in the cemetery of south of Siút, containing more than 200 vases in bronze, probably as old as the 4th or 5th Dynasty the village of El Qaçâa, a little south of Edfu, where a tomb dating from the end of the Ptolemaic period. Interesting details are given of the tombs at Gébé, an ancient Aphroditêpolis. The second part of M. Maspero's report is chiefly devoted to a description of the Necropolis at Akhmîm, near El Hawawish. He concludes by mentioning the discovery at the village of Helleh, of the tomb of a king belonging to the time of Ramses III., and the papyrus of the king's two war-horses: of a temple built by Ramses at Mesheikh: while from a Coptic convent near Akhmîm he procures twenty monkish epitaphs of the seventh century, among them those of two Bishops of Philæ, hitherto unknown. Further details of M. Maspéro's work are learned from his paper read before the Académie des Inscriptions on the 24th July, and from the notes forwarded by him from time to time to the "Journal des Débats."

August 8 has also a notice of the Exhibition of the antiquities found by Mr. Flinders Petrie at Naukratis, at the Royal Archaeological Institute, Oxford Mansion. The notice tells us that the principal results of the past season's work are:—1. Discovery of the site of Naukratis and the plan of the Streets; 2. Discovery of the remains of the only archaic Greek temple known in Egypt; 3. Discovery of the only series of ceremonial foundations yet known; 4. A large collection of archaic Greek tools of the sixth century B.C.; 5. A large collection of archaic Greek pottery, much of it incised with designs of the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.; 6. The discovery of a number of Egyptian weights yet known; and 7. The discovery of over a thousand stamped amphora handles. The 3rd part contains a long review of the Exhibition.

Ernest A. Gardner, while October 17 and 24 have an account of the Terra-cottas of Naukratis by Miss Amelia B. Edwards. In September 26 she reviews, under the head "Some Minor Egyptological Literature," the following books:—"Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben in Altertum," by Dr. Adolf Erman; "Egyptian Religion," by J. Lieblein; "Gammelaegyptisk Religion," by J. Lieblein; "Ueber Altägyptische Religion," by J. Lieblein; "Ueber Pithom, Hero, Klysma nach Naville," by A. Dillmann; "Gedächtnissrede auf Karl Richard Lepsius," by A. Dillmann; "Richard Lepsius: ein Lebensbild," by G. Ebers; "Antichità Sarde e loro Provenienza," by G. Ebers. August 15 tells us that the Louvre has recently acquired about 31 demotic papyri, chiefly dating from the reigns of Psammetichus and Amasis. October 31 and November 7 contain an account of the third annual general meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and of Mr. Petrie's paper on "Naukratis," and M. Naville's on his excavations in the Delta and identification of Goshen.

November 7 has, too, a letter from Dr. G. Bühler on the recent discoveries made by Prof. Karabacek and Drs. Wessely and Krall in the course of their exploration of the Archduke Rainer's famous collection of papyri. In December 5 is a long notice of the *Revue Egyptologique*, 1881-85, by Miss Amelia B. Edwards, and in December 26 a review of E. A. Wallis Budge's "The Dwellers on the Nile" by Thomas Tyler. January 2 and 30, and February 6, have contributions from Mr. Flinders Petrie and Mr. Ernest Gardner, on the progress of discovery at Naukratis. January 2 has also a short communication from Mr. F. Ll. Griffith on the identification of Kom-el-Husn (a three hours' walk south of Naukratis) with Amu. We have most interesting "Letters from Egypt" by Professor Sayce, in the Nos. of January 23, February 13, March 20, and May 1. In that of March 20, dated from Luxor, February 26, he gives us some account of

the excavations at Assuán by General Grenfell and his soldiers. There are also two short notices on this subject. Miss Amelia B. Edwards in March 13 and May 13. Feb. 13 notice is given of Mr. P. le Page Renouf's appointment as Keeper of Oriental Antiquities at the British Museum, in succession to Dr. Birch, and also of the long looked for, and eagerly awaited, of M. Edouard Naville's edition of the "Book of the Dead." Under the heading "American Jottings," Jan. 30 and May 8, we learn that the American branch of the Egypt Exploration Fund has already over five hundred subscribers, and also that W. Thayer, formerly U.S. Consul at Trieste, dedicated to the Fund the entire net proceeds of the sale of his book "Hebrews and the Red Sea." In Feb. 27 we have communications from Mr. Petrie and Mr. Griffith from Tell Naama, one of the cemeteries of Tanis, giving a description of a cemetery, and of a temple in which was found a black granite altar of Amenemhat II. (XII. Dynasty), beside which were thrones of two life-sized statues of kings of that dynasty, and a fragment of a statue important as confirming a geographical inference as to the hieroglyphic name of the nome. Two foundation deposits were discovered in the corner of an unimportant building in the cemetery. At the gateway to the enclosure of the temple a headless sphinx in black granite with inscriptions much erased, but probably dating from the XII. Dynasty, was found; in the temple some small blocks of red granite, two bearing figures of Khem; the lower part, from waist to ankles, of a statue of Ptah in black granite.

Some of the identifications already made by the Egypt Exploration Fund are noted as follows: (Pithom)=Hero=Tell Maskhuta; Naukratis=Nebit (Goshen)=Phakoussa=Saft-el-Henna; Amu, Egyptian name of the Libyan nome=Tell Hesn; nome of Am Pehu=Tanis; and Am=Tell Nebeshch or Tanis. The same *Academy*

letter from Mr. Greville Chester on the genuineness of a set of chessmen from Thebes. The number for March 13 has a notice from Mr. Petrie on Tell Ferâin (Buto), and some further remarks from Mr. Griffith on Tell Nebesheh. March 27 has news of excavations at Naukratis from Mr. Ernest Gardner. April 10 gives us, from Mr. Petrie, an account of more discoveries at Tell Nebesheh, and of the finding, by Mr. Griffith, at Tell Gemayemi, of the traces of a large building and enclosure, with foundation deposits and several bronzes; the remains of a wooden shrine richly inlaid with inscriptions and patterns in coloured glass, unhappily broken up by the decay of the wood; a fine seated statuette of Isis; and a curious set of plaster casts of statues. In May 29 we have recorded the grateful thanks of the Trustees of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for the large and valuable collection of pottery, metal work, and other objects excavated at Naukratis and San, and presented by the Egypt Exploration Fund in acknowledgment of the American contributions. In the *Academy* of March 6 is a review of Mr. Petrie's "Tanis," part i., by Georg Ebers.

At the June meeting of the Society of Biblical Archæology papers were read on "The Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III.," by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins; "The Eclipse in Egyptian Texts," by Mr. le Page Renouf; "The Site of This," by Prof. Sayce. The "Proceedings" of the Society contain papers by: Mr. Cope Whitehouse on "The Bahr Yusuf and the Prophecy of Jacob"; Dr. A. Wiedemann on "The Queen Pekersala, of the beginning of the Saitic Period," on "The Egyptian Monuments at Venice," and "Notes on the Cult of Set and on the Hyksos Kings"; Mr. P. le Page Renouf on "The Myth of Osiris Unnefer" (see remarks and correspondence on this subject in the *Academy* of May 8 and 15); and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge on "Sepulchral Boxes." There are also communications from Prof. Sayce on "A Hieroglyphical

Inscription at How," and from Mr. P. le Page  
"The name of the Winged Solar Disk on  
Monuments."

In the *Revue Egyptologique* we have the following communications:—"On the Poem of Pentaur," by J. I. Letters to M. Revillout on "the Fayum Greek in the Louvre," from Charles Wessely; on the Rights of Women, by Victor Revillout; on House from a Greek papyrus in the British Museum; from Revillout, "Adoption by Mancipation (purchase) in of Amasis, and divers forms of mancipation relating beings," "The Prayers for the Dead in Egyptian Egypt," "Accounts of the Serapeum," Greek papyrus British Museum, and a new extract on the the jackal Koufi and the Ethiopian cat; from W. a Letter to M. Revillout on the names Jacob and in Egyptian.

In the *Illustrated London News* of July 18 and interesting paper by Miss Amelia B. Edwards an account of the excavation of the Great Temple carried out under the able direction of M. Maspero five illustrations from photographs.

The *Archæological Journal* (No. 164) contains a of Antiquities from San, by Mr. Flinders Petrie.

The *Athenæum* of August 29 has a paper by Whitehouse on the Reian Basin of Lake Moeris August 15 a review of Brugsch's "Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter"; in Dec. 26 is a notice of C. H. H. Gorringer's "Egyptian Obelisks"; and in mention is made of M. M. Derenbourg's transcriptions, and explanations of sixty-one Phœnician inscriptions copied by Prof. Sayce from the *graffiti* in the Seti I. at Abydos.

In the *Journal Asiatique* (No. 2, 1335) M. Maspero an Arab version of the story of Rhapsinitus, which

to relate, has returned to Egypt quite recently by means of the same writer's "Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne," given by him to a schoolmaster at Erment. He, in his turn, passed the stories on to the people of Erment and Gournah, whence they travelled to Luxor and Neggadeh, and probably still further.

Obituary notices of the late Dr. Birch are to be found in all the well-known papers and magazines, and expressions of regret at his loss are received from Egyptologists in all parts of the globe. A collection of the several Biographies, together with a Bibliography of his literary works, has been published by his son, Mr. Walter De Gray Birch, F.S.A., etc.

A most interesting series of Lectures on the Manners and Customs, Art and Literature, and Religion (with special reference to the burial of the dead), of the Ancient Egyptians, has been given to women in the Egyptian Galleries of the British Museum by Mrs. Tirard (Miss Helen Beloe).

Mr. Petrie geographically describes a "Digger's Life" in Egypt in the *English Illustrated Magazine* for March. Believers in Copts will have welcomed the testimony he gives, based on his own experience, to their worth. "If ever Egypt is to stand alone," he says, "it must be on a Coptic basis. That race—the real Egyptians—who have for twelve hundred years held their own against every persecution and in spite of a domineering fanaticism—has in it more vitality than is dreamt of in England. If no foreign influence is brought to bear against them, and real liberty be established in the country, the Copts will, by their force of character and intellect, rise to the top. They have, in spite of everything, been all through at the top of the civil service, with nothing but the foreign military caste and its dependents above them, simply by brain power." We have thought it worth while to give this extract, coming as it does from one who for some years past has lived for



the most part not among the Europeans, but a Egyptians in Egypt.

While on the subject of Copts, we may mention *Athenæum* of August 15 has a review of Butler's "Coptic Churches of Egypt"; and that in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, May 4th, is by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, "On a Coptic Vers Encomium on Elijah the Tishbite, attributed to Chrysostom."

Some pamphlets on the subject of the Coptic Church have been published by the Association for the Furtherance of Christianity in Egypt. The endeavour of this Association is to hold out the hand of sympathy towards all to which, in due time, it may be able, without doing violence to its nationality, to impart some more accurate knowledge of the truth, and some fresh vigour and spiritual life. In this end classes for young men have been established in Cairo, with very fair success.

Among books recently published on Egypt, we have the following:—

E. Naville, "Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XX. Dynastie; H. de Vaujaury, Description de l'Égypte (deuxième partie), Alexandrie et la Basse-Egypte; Brugsch and J. Dümichen, Recueil de monuments égyptiens (5ième et 6ième parties; A. Massy, Etudes Egyptiennes I. Le Papyrus de Leyde; A. Massy, Glossaire des hiéroglyphes de Setna; A. Massy, Le Papyrus de Nebseni (égyptien et hiéroglyphique du livre des morts conservé au Musée de Turin); A. Massy, Choix de Textes Egyptiens en Français; W. Flinders Petrie, Tanis, Part I. The First Cemetery; Ebers, Cicerone durch das alte und neue Aegypten; Einleitung in ein aegyptisch-semitisch-indo-europäisches Wurzelwörterbuch, Heft 2; H.H. Prince Ibrahim, The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan, from the earliest times to the year 1885 inclusive; H. Hyvernat, Les

Martyrs de l'Egypte, tirés des manuscrits Coptes de la Bibliothèque Vaticane et du Musée Borgia.

*Japanese.*—To carry out the scheme for the Romanization of the Japanese language lately revived by the Professors of the University of Tokio, a society was formed which soon numbered a multitude of members, including many names distinguished in science and in politics. A transliteration committee, consisting of four Japanese and two Europeans, was appointed, and the compilation of a vocabulary and test-periodical were taken into consideration. The Government will, it is believed, give the movement its support. Supporters of the innovation argue that the phonetic construction of the Japanese language is so far favourable to its introduction that it admits of the use of twenty-two Roman letters, without recourse being had to any diacritical marks, except the long sign over certain vowels.

Among new books relating to the country are: Isabella Bird, "Unbeaten Tracks in Japan"; Lord Ronald Gower, "Notes of a Tour from Brindisi to Yokohama"; Percy Thorpe, "The History of Japan"; J. Morris, "Kotaka, a Japanese Tale"; Judith Gautier, "Poèmes de la Libellule, traduits du Japonais, d'après la version littérale de M. Saionzi, illustré par Yamemoto"; Steindachner, F., and L. Doederlein, "Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Fischer Japans, III."; B. H. Chamberlain, "Simplified Grammar of the Japanese Language"; P. Noack, "Lehrbuch der Japanischen Sprache."

*Annales de l'Extrême Orient.*—In the number for April we have the commencement of an interesting paper by P. Frédé, entitled "Les Russes sur le Chemin de l'Inde"; a short notice of the Mahdi; M. J. Raubert's views on the French protectorate of Obock, with suggestions as to the occupation of Zulah (the ancient Adulis) and Shaikh Saïd, near Cape

Bab-el-Mandeb ; and M. Lanchier's article (continued) "Les Richesse Africaines et les moyens de les avoir," dealing mainly with Dahomey, Porto Novo, the Togo and Lagos. In the number for May M. P. Frédère with "Les Russes sur le Chemin de l'Inde"; M. Christi discusses the "Commerce de Bangkok en 1885" and M. Lanchier continues his remarks on "Les Richesses Africaines," etc., applying them to Benin, the Niger, Bonny, and Old Calabar. There is also a short review of "Richesses du Tongking, les produits à y importer et l'agriculture Française. Guide administratif, commerciale, industrielle, agricole," etc. The number for June has an introduction by M. Mercier entitled "Les voies commerciales du Gama," being a comprehensive survey of the chief commercial highways between the West and the extreme East prior to the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama. The Wealth of Africa is illustrated this time by "Le del Rey, le Rumby, la voie Ambas et le massif du Cameroons, la rivière Bimbio et les habitans de William-town." There are also notes or communications on the coast of Guinea, Congo, Zanzibar, Madagascar, and Sumatra. In July the introduction to a paper on "L'Art dramatique en l'Orient," by Count Meyners d'Estrey ; the continuation of articles on the "Richesses d'Afrique," in reference to the Cameroons ; articles on Arab education in Tunis ; the account of a voyage to the Somali country. The succeeding numbers are greatly taken up with the various subjects of dramatic art in the far East, the riches of Africa, but there is in the September number a notice of Dr. Duka's "Life of Csoma de Körös," M. Léon Feer pronounces "un volume très intéressant de faits, de documents . . ." ; and a sketch of Australia, with a certain amount of useful statistical information. In December the subjects are the Portuguese in Morocco (continued) ; M. De Brazza's Mission, a short but

article on the French Congo ; the Commerce of Tonking, and the Exterior Commerce of Independent Burma. The last attempts to show roughly the paying results of our annexation, and arrives at the conclusion that an intelligent and honest government could obtain from the country "d'immenses richesses."

*Epigraphy.*—In its issue of 1st of August, 1885, the *Academy* states that a copy of the inscription which gives additional value to the cast of the Hittite Lion deposited in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum, would be found in the new edition of Dr. Wright's "Empire of the Hittites."

The *Revue Archéologique* for Mai—Juin contains an interesting article by Prof. G. Perrot, entitled "The Monument of Eflatûn and a Hittite Inscription," in which an account and drawing are given of the curious monument of Eflatûn near Beg Shehr, in Asia Minor, first noticed by Hamilton, as well as of a new Hittite inscription discovered by Professor Sokslouski on a road leading from Ikonium. The copy of the inscription was found too imperfect to show more than its Hittite origin.

Under the title of "L'Arabie avant Mahomet, d'après les Inscriptions," M. Philippe Berger has published a valuable lecture on the important inscriptions recently discovered in Central Arabia, and the inferences that may be drawn from them. From a summary in the *Academy* of 15th August we learn that shortly after Mr. Doughty's journey to Medâin Saleh, and discovery there of Nabathæan tombs and inscriptions, Huber, the French traveller, found his way to the ruins of Teima, north-east of that place, and came upon "an important stèle, containing two bas-reliefs in the Assyrian style, and an inscription of twenty-four lines in Aramaic characters, which are as early, at least, as the fourth century B.C." He had proposed to repeat the ex-

ploration in company with Prof. Euting, but was by the hand of the assassin.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, square copies had been already taken of the inscription stone itself is now safe in the Louvre. In the engraved on it to the gods of Teima, attention to the Egyptian character of the second name in the inscription of the dedicator, "the priest Tselem-Saz Petosiris." Like other inscriptions copied by Mes and Euting in the neighbourhood, this may be evidence of the former occupation of Central Nabathæan tribes. Since the Nabathæans belong to the Aramaic branch of the Semitic race—while it makes it plain that Sabæan (or Himyaritic) influence and culture extended northward as far as their southern little room is left, as M. Berger remarks, for "the influence of the Koreishites and of Mohammed." He concludes it must have originally been "a dialect extremely peculiar in area, the language, in fact, of a small tribe, which, owing to local circumstances, reached, at a particular moment, an extraordinary degree of perfection." The *Academy* remarks that the names of the deities mentioned on the Nabathæan monuments will throw much light on Semitic religion and quotes M. Clermont-Ganneau's indication that there is a god to whom there is a reference in Amos v. 6. Various interpretations put upon the Scriptural passage somewhat perplex the investigation, and although the Revised Version follows the Old in making Moloch and Chemosh names, Dr. Pusey holds the true reading to be, in the latter clauses, "the tabernacle of your king (Ar. مذبحكم Chion your images)." In addition to an article on Nabathæan inscriptions in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, E. Renan has addressed the Académie des Inscriptions on the 26th June and 3rd July, on the Aramaic inscriptions of Teima, which he considers second in interest to

<sup>1</sup> See note at page LXVI.

of the Moabite King Méša. The *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* of the 18th July has also a notice of these Nabathæan Inscriptions, and of Mr. Doughty's "Documents Epigraphiques."

In the *Athenæum* of the 26th September mention is made of Prof. Euting's account of ninety-eight inscriptions collected during his travels in Syria and Arabia in the years 1883-4, which appeared in the last number of the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, under the title of "Epigraphische Miscellen." Amongst the collections are an old Hebrew and one old Aramaic inscription; two Phœnician, two Egypto-Aramaic on papyrus, forty Palmyrene, twenty-two Hebrew and Græco-Hebrew, and twenty-eight Greek inscriptions. Some have already been published by M. Clermont-Ganneau and by others. The Græco-Hebrew inscriptions are of importance for the history of early Christianity. In the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient* for August there is also a notice of Professor Euting's paper by Dr. G. H. Müller, of Vienna, who compliments him on the admirable way in which he has prepared these inscriptions for publication.

Besides M. Renan's paper above named, the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale*, Tome i. No. 2, contains the following articles on epigraphy: J. and H. Derembourg, "Nouvelles études sur l'épigraphie du Yemen"; J. Oppert, "L'Inscription du Saros"; Ledrain, "Quelques inscriptions palmyréniennes."

At the séance of the *Académie des Inscriptions* of 29th May M. Oppert exhibited photographs of two fragments of trilingual inscriptions found at Rhé, the ancient Rhages, near Teheran. The inscriptions are of King Artaxerxes Mnemon. Their value is in the evidence they give that the Achæmenian kings sometimes resided in the region where the Median language was spoken, a circumstance to be inferred from the use made of that tongue in their inscriptions.

At the séance of the *Académie* of the 24th July it was announced that important Coptic stèles had been found at

Erment and Assuán in Upper Egypt, the date could be determined by the inscriptions.

The Phœnician inscription referred to in the contents, vol. xxxix. part 2 of the Z.D.M.G. relates of an inscription on a marble fragment of an altar. The letters, about one hundred in number, are very formed. Dr. Schroeder fixes the date at about the fifth century.

The *Academy* of 6th June states that Prof. D. B. has lately published and translated four new inscriptions at Palmyra, by Dr. Samson. One of them is attached to a figure of a man, above whom two palm branches are and two others are engraved, each between the busts of a man and a woman. The last of these records the name of the son of Beb'-agab, a name already met with in P. texts, not unlike that of the Biblical Jacob.

According to the *Academy* of the 29th August an inscription of Nissanka Malla (12th century), discovered at Anuradhapura in Ceylon, would be published in the *Journal* of the Pâli Text Society.

In No. iii. of the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* for 1885 is a paper by the Derembourg on the Phœnician Inscriptions of the Temple of Seti in Abydos, by Professor Oppert on a Babylonian Inscription of the Temple of Setu; and one by M. Lethain on certain Assyrian Inscriptions. The second is noteworthy from its illustration of the light thrown by Cuneiform on other than local history.

At the séance of the Académie des Inscriptions of 22nd September M. Bergaigne communicated a letter received from M. Aymonier reporting that he had obtained several new inscriptions, some of which were Sanskrit (one from the Tchem race). He was to continue his studies on the Tchem race, which preceded that of the Annamites on a part of the western Indo-China.

In the *Revue Critique* of 22nd June M. Clermont

has a note on "Une Nouvelle Inscription relative à Baal Marcod," from the neighbourhood of Deir-el-Kal'a, near Beyrout. In the number of 6th July he writes on "Un nouveau titulus funéraire de Joppé," bearing a Greek inscription, recently discovered, and probably coming from the ancient Jewish burial-ground there, the position of which he determined some years ago.

From the *Athenæum* of the 29th August we learn that Professor Derenbourg's first fasciculus of the Himyaritic Inscriptions—forming part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, edited by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres—was then in the printer's hands; and, from the *Academy* of the 19th September, that the first chapter of the Aramæan Section (Fasc. iii.) was in slips, the second chapter, containing Aramæan Inscriptions, being ready for the press.

M. Sénart's pamphlet, entitled "L'Épigraphie et l'Histoire Linguistique de l'Inde," is an argument in favour of a more direct and serious employment of *documents épigraphiques* to obtain further light on the history of Indian language and Indian literature. He gives his reasons for this new resort to Epigraphy, and formulates his conclusions under four heads; but the pamphlet should be studied as a whole, and is recommended for perusal accordingly. It consists of little more than twenty pages, and the writer's name is a sufficient guarantee that it is readable.

*Numismatics.*—Besides the three short papers by Mr. Charles J. Rodgers, Principal of the Normal College at Amritsir, which appears among the contents of part i., there is in part ii., *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, an article relating to symbols or devices on the gold coins of the Guptas, which will interest the numismatist. It is by Mr. W. Theobald, M.N.S.L., who aims at giving a new and more correct interpretation of Gupta symbols, such as the fillet, cornucopia, and footstool. Another article by Mr. Rodgers



on the square silver coins of the Sultans of Kashghar, of historical as well as numismatic interest. There is also in the same issue a paper by Major Raverty on the King of the Safavian Dynasty of Nimroz or Sigistan, referring to a previously published note by Mr. Rodgers on some of his coins.

The *Academy* of June 6th, 1885, reviews Mr. Stanley Poole's "Coins and Medals; their place in History and Art;" and the *Athenæum* of the 8th August the author's "Coins of the Turks in the British Museum." The eight volumes which embrace the whole collection of the respective coins are thus classified:

Vol. i. (1875), the initial coinage of the Muhammadans for a period comprising nearly the whole numismatic history of the Khilâfat till its overthrow by Hulâku on the 12th of Baghdad. Vol. ii. (1876), the Amawees of Spain and succeeding dynasties of that country; with the small dynasties in North Africa, the Samânis of Samarkand, the Bokhâra, the Ghaznavis, Khwârizmis, and Buweyhis. Vol. iii. (1877), the three great Tûrkman houses, Seljuk, Uygur, and Bani Zângi, with those of smaller dynasties and independent rulers. Vol. iv. (1879), the coinage of Egypt under the Fatimites, Aiyûbis, and Mamluk Sultans. Vol. v. (1880), the Moors of Africa and Spain, and Kings and Imâms of Yemen. Vol. vi. (1881), the various Mughal dynasties. Vol. vii. (1882), Bukhâra (Transoxiana) from Timûr to the present times, including the Amîrs who ruled in Minor after the fall of the Seljukis of Rûm.

Dr. Bushell's pamphlet on "Ancient Roman Coins of Shansi" is a republication from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. It gives an interesting account of the find of sixteen Roman copper coins, among which are the obverse of the money of twelve Emperors, ranging from Trajan to Aurelian. A little copper coin of Henry III. of France is also mentioned.

made its way into the same collection. They are said to come from Ling-shih-hsien, a small district town in the interior of Shansi, on the left bank of the Féu, an affluent of the Yellow River, and about 20 miles north of Ho-chou. Dr. Bushell can venture no guess as to how they got to the locality, if indeed they *were* dug up there; their appearance led to the inference that they had been buried. He adds that "the latest embassy from Ta-ch'in mentioned in the Chinese records arrived with 30,000 sheets of paper in A.D. 284, fourteen years after the death of Aurelian, the last Emperor represented" in the series.

For information on Mr. Poole's "Fasti Arabici," or recent works on Muhammadan and other Oriental coins, the space already taken up in the Annual Report suggests reference to the publications of the Numismatic Society.

*English and Vernacular Literature of India.*—*Calcutta Review*.—Civilians, soldiers and others whose better years have been passed in India, but who, after return home, have held little communication with residents in that vast Empire for a period of ten to twenty years, should experience a sensation of profound astonishment in perusing the numbers of the *Calcutta Review* as now issued. Not the least instructive portion of the contents of that well-maintained publication is that which affords insight into the progress of the native intellect. That natives of India should have learnt to write English as they do in the pages of the several Reviews, Proceedings of Societies, and periodicals which are received in England from the Presidencies and larger towns, is in itself surprising; but the fact may be in a great measure accounted for by the perseverance and almost thoroughness with which they engage in their earlier studies. Unlike the ordinary English student, who is called away from his books by cricket and boat-racing, tennis and other attractions or social demands, he spends his leisure

hours in self-imposed scholastic tasks, and in me becomes imperceptibly a literary man, endowed with a literary style picked up from the writers of the day, and the merits he has heard extolled by his English Professorial companions. In any case the progress to be reckoned in this respect for the last few years is immense.

In the other sex, the names of some of the lady-writers, and the subjects they have taken up—together with the results they appear to have achieved—all this is “passing and, let us hope, hopeful. Nor is it the least sign of the times that the ladies write in their own voice.”

Since our last Annual Report five more numbers of the *Calcutta Review* have been received, and are of so varied character to attract the general reader. “Serpents about Snakes” and other cognate matters, which opens as an opening paper in No. clx., is a “further contribution” what Dr. Vincent Richards calls the “literature of poisoning,” which may be read with interest and advantage by other than residents in India. “Detective Experiments in Bengal,” by Mr. H. Giles, is certainly, as the author himself apprehends, too sensational a title for a thoughtful article on a proposed Detective Scheme for Bengal, but after all, it is only the title. The “House of Representatives” suggests the admission of distinguished Indian and European Officials as members of the Upper House, India and the Colonies being now represented there by a few persons who have filled the office of Viceroy or Governor-General. Sinnett considers the “Theosophical Movement” worthy to merit attention, not only in its aspect as a philosophical inquiry, but because its philosophical character is intimately blended with its social and philanthropic aims. A writer who signs himself “Covenanted” has to touch a delicate subject in discussing “the Moral Progress of the Indian Administration,” but acquits himself of his task with worthy earnestness, and winds up his observations

and becoming spirit. Col. Tyrrell's review of Sir Lambert Playfair's "Scourge of Christendom" is the substance of the article headed "Turks in Algiers." In "Nâdir Shah," by Lieut. Wheeler, the great Eastern Conqueror is made doubly conspicuous by the light character of the preceding paper, under the signature of Esmé. "Economic Reform in Rural India" is a continuation of Mr. Harington's previous chapters on matters deserving serious attention; and the Editor's Notes on the Quarter, a Summary of Annual Reports, and Critical Notices complete the issue for April, 1885.—No. clxi., for July, contains "The Pre-Historic Man of Caves and Lake Dwellings," by a practised writer, Mr. Rehatsek: Mr. Mackenzie Cameron's "Business Journeys through Java," with a far from inviting description of Batavia: Mr. R. N. Cust's "International Congresses of Science," in which the author gives an instructive account of the Oriental Congress at Berlin and Geographical Congress at Venice in 1881, and the Oriental Congress at Leyden, in Holland, in 1883: Mr. H. Giles's "Poisoners and their Craft": Mr. Keene's graphic "Indian Village": a "Recollection of a Battle-Field," by M.P.: Mr. Bishop's "Stray Leaves from an Asylum": Mr. Madge's "Moral Aspect of Trial by Peer": Mr. Lee-Warner's "Two Eastern Empires—a Contrast": Esmé's "Few Words about Camping": Mr. Haslett's "Historic Notes," and verses under "Primula Vulgaris."—No. clxii. for October is opened by Mr. Keene with "the British Conquest of Hindostan." This is followed by Mr. Molesworth's paper comprising many men's ideas on a large question, called "Imperialism for India." His own view is that India should be "knit with our Colonies into one mighty federation—homogeneous in character, unselfish in aims, and united in policy." Mr. Turton Smith contributes "Control over Criminals"; Mr. Kennedy, "Punjab Ploughing"; Lieut. Wheeler, "Timur"; Mr. Cust, "The Tour of a Cook Party in Egypt and Palestine"; and Mr. Barada

Mitra, "English Influence on Bengali Literature," in the author unconsciously illustrates the effect of English books and periodicals upon the style of an Indian. Want of space only forbids the transcription of his last two pages. Mr. Arthur Harrington continues "Economic Reform in Rural India"; and Esme a lively sketch, entitled "Grit in the Wheels of Cheetham, in "The Congo Free State," repeats much old and well-worn story. Two papers in verse come but the regular monthly notices.—No. clxiii. begins the New Year with an interesting paper by Mr. Rehman "Missionaries at the Moghul Court, in Southern Portuguese India, during and after the Reign of Shah Jahan." The other articles are, "Burma before the Ultimate Major Edmund Browne; "Buddha as a Man," by Chandra Bose; "A Dance of Death," by J. H.; the story of Maha Raja Nanda Kumar," by Mr. Beveridge; "Egypt," by Mr. Cust. In the quality rather than quantity of its contributions, the number is, perhaps, not so substantially, substantial.—In No. clxiv. for April this year, Mr. Barrow's "Mofussil Municipalities in Lower Bengal," Mr. Pringle Kennedy's "Two Empires," an opposition to "another side of the shield," to Mr. Lee-Warner's already mentioned: Mr. Bate's "Sketches of Egypt and Hajjia," a title which tells its own tale: Mr. Tutin's "The Treatment of Ordinary Crime": Mr. Beveridge's continuation of the "Trial of Nanda Kumar": Mr. Lotze's "Lotze's Philosophy"; and Mr. Kipling's blank verse "The Seven Nights of Creation." As regards Mr. Beveridge's two articles, they form in themselves a volume of 200 pages; and are written with the object of proving that execution "a judicial murder."

The following is a resumé of most of the books noticed here and there a reviewer's comment:

*January, 1885.—English.*—Dr. Hunter's "Short

of the Indian People," sixth edition, "admirable little publication." Major-General H. K. Morgan's "Forestry in Southern India" "contains a mass of useful information." "Echoes," by two writers, "quaint, original, and altogether charming little vol. of Anglo-Indian verse" (Madras), authors believed to be "two children," Lahor. Atkinson's "Gazetteer N.W. Prov.," author congratulated on the completeness of his "tremendous publication," vol. ii., Govt. Press. "The Orient," an Anglo-Indian monthly magazine, December, 1884, "continues to improve," Bombay, 1884.

*Vernacular.*—"Bomgragriha," by Sita Nath Nandi, B.A.; Calcutta; written by a Brahmo, and reviewed in an anti-Brahmo spirit, European readers warned "against accepting the shocking picture of domestic life given in this book; writer's a good object, but not well carried out." "Griha Lakshmi," by Girijá Prasanna Ráya Chaudhuri; Calcutta. "Ami," by Kalimaya Ghatak; Calcutta; author describes it as a poem in prose, an expression interpreted as simply "self-conceit." Ramani-bijnán, by Durga Charan Ráya Kabiraj; Calcutta; a Hindu physician's instructions to Hindu women, deemed "a very useful publication." "Niháriká," by the authoress of "Banalatá," and "Pushpapunjá," by Srimati Soranbálá Dasi; "very creditable performances by Bengali ladies—first the more artistic, second sweet and simple." "Paláká," a weekly newspaper and review, Nos. 1 to 6; "hailed with delight" (editor, Jnánendralál Rája).

*April, 1885.—Vernacular.*—The "Sankhya Aphorisms of Kapila," translated by Bannatyne, third edition; "the work displays a vast amount of labour and scholarship." "Misarajátri Bangáli," by Syámalál Mitra; Calcutta; account, by a Bangáli clerk in the Transport Department of India, of the war in Egypt: author complains of harsh treatment by European officers. A paper read by Babu Dwijendrath Tagor at Bowbazar (Sábitri Library); which is designated as "sharp, clever and smart writing." The author is clearly in

favour of maintaining the nationality of his fell in respect of the outer and inner man. "Jibani f by Amritalál Basu; Calcutta; a collection of n distinguished natives.

*July, 1885.—English.*—"Sketches in Assam," Bishop; "the level of the work not high, but quite "The Orient," May, 1885, "a very good number Bombay. "The Secret of Death," with some collec by Edwin Arnold; "a free rendering, in English he of the first three *Vallis* of the *Katha Upanishad*, in with question and commentary . . . altogether tl will distinctly add to Mr. Arnold's high reputation and Works of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös," a bio. Theodor Duka, M.D.; "a book of more than interest"; Trübner, 1885.

*Vernacular.*—"Dwádas Nâri bá Arya Mahila," by Lálhiri; Calcutta; a memoir of twelve celebrat women, not favourably noticed by the critic. "Suba by Nimái Chánd Sil"; an able work, discussing status of the Bannials of Bengal; Calcutta, 188 waks," compiled by Rangalái Mukhopádhyaýa an yanáth Mukhopádhyaýa; this is the first part of a and encyclopædia combined, has best wishes for "Bibaha Bibhrat," a comedietta by Amritulal dhyáya; Calcutta; "written with considerable hu not a high work of art."

*October, 1885.—Vernacular.*—"Bángálir Lila," rendranáth Pál; "the author's descriptive power mean order."

*January, 1886.—English.*—"Reminiscences of India," by Maj.-Gen. E. F. Burton; "a stirring re

*Vernacular.*—"Chirasangini," by Purna Chand "a badly-written book published with a good in "Bángáli Meye," or by Manmatha Náth Datta "qualified to be an author"), "to condemn the j

marrying girls without their will." "*Pratibhá*," by Barandá Kánta Sen Gupta, "written with a social purpose, but in structure and execution immensely superior to preceding two works."

*April, 1886.—English.*—"The Dictionary of Islam," "executed with extraordinary ability." "The Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought," by Count d'Alviella, translated by J. Moden, reviewing the history of the Brahmo Somaj movement. Gribble's "Outlines of Medical Jurisprudence for Indian Civil Courts"; Jolly's "Outlines of a History of Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption; and Whitworth's "Anglo-Indian Dictionary," all get a word of commendation. The second vol. of "Haidarabad under Sir Salar Jung," by Maulavi Chiragh Ali, is less pleasantly treated; but Sir H. Maine's "Popular Government," and "The Life of William Carey," together with Col. Dowden's "Pamphlet on the Rupee," meet with approval, and under the head of "New India" are classed "Reforms and Progress in India," by an Optimist, and Mr. H. J. S. Cotton's "India in Transition."

*Vernacular.*—"Inlande Banga Mahíla," by a Bangáli Lady; a description of life in England; "the best book of the kind in the Bangáli language. "Náná Prabandha," by Raj Krishna Mukhopádhyaýa, M.A., B.L.; Calcutta. A reprint of fifteen essays, which appear to possess much merit. "Saras-watakunja," by Chandra Shekara Mukhopádhyaýa, "a good and delightful book"; but the author thinks Lord William Bentinck was wrong to abolish *Sati*.

*Count F. A. v. Noër's Kaiser Akbar.*—The second volume of the *Kaiser Akbar* of H.H. the late Count F. A. v. Noër has appeared, and has been reviewed by Georg Weber in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsberger). It will be remembered that a short sketch of the distinguished writer's career is contained in the Obituary Notices of this *Journal* for May,



1882, and that the first two parts, forming the first of his work, were published in 1880 and 1881. The first is entitled, "An Essay on Indian History in the 16th Century," whereas the present volume is issued as a posthumous collection of papers arranged by Dr. Gunter v. Buchwald. The reviewer regards the whole as a "noteworthy literary product in respect of its contents, which bring to light the personality of a remarkable sovereign, about whom we now, have possessed very defective information, and of the illustrious author who, out of a noble thirst for knowledge, travelled three times in the East, and with great and by dint of zealous study at native sources, collected and put together the data for a historical monograph." Noër looked upon Akbar as the man for the future, and remarked that he had striven to attain, and partly attained, the aims "which for the much-extolled 19th century yawned at the dim distance." In reviewing his conduct towards the Muhammadan clergy (Ulema), he particularly notices the way in which he carried on war against this spiritual hierarchy "which recalls to mind the measures taken by the Emperor against the order of the Jesuits in the 'seventies of the 18th century." In conclusion, the reviewer refers to the work as one "in which the Muhammadan East, and India in the 16th Ages are illuminated by many a new, if faint, gleam of light. It is elegantly got up as regards style and typography, and contains two steel engravings—the portrait and the map respectively of the great reforming sovereign of the 16th century. The first volume is dedicated to "Carmen, Countess of Noër," the widow, who has conscientiously fulfilled the bequest bequeathed to her of bringing the work to completion. The fly-leaf of the second volume are the words, 'In memory of His Highness Prince Frederick Augustus of Schleswig-Holstein, Count v. Noër.'"

*Miscellaneous.—Royal Prizes for Asiatic Research.*

Majesty King Oscar II. of Sweden and Norway has been pleased to found two prizes for the best Essays on two Oriental subjects. They are as follows :—

A large gold medal in value about 1000 Swedish crowns, and a sum of money amounting to 1250 Swedish crowns, to the author of the best

1. History of the Semitic languages ;
2. Description of Arab Culture before the time of Muhammad.

A Committee has been formed to carry out the details. Many conditions are attached, of which competitors should inform themselves before entering for competition. Papers should be sent in before the end of the year 1888.

*Russian Literature.*—Nine volumes in Russian, chiefly on the derivations and affinity of words in various tongues, by Platon Lukachevitch, have been presented to the Royal Asiatic Society by the author. Of these the titles of two may be mentioned, *i.e.* :—

1. An Explanation of Assyrian Names. Kiev, 1868.
2. On the Origin of the Hebrew Language. Kiev, 1882.

*Encyclopædia Britannica.*—Since the appearance of vol. xvii. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (the last noticed in this Journal), three volumes have been issued. Among the principal articles in these, treating exclusively of Asiatic subjects, are the following :—

In vol. xviii. Oxus, by General Walker, R.E.; Pahlavi, by Professor Nöldeke; Palestine, by Professor Socin; Palmyra, by Professor Robertson Smith; Parsis, by Dr. Führer; Peking, by Professor Douglas; Persia, Ancient and Modern, by no less than five writers; Philippine Islands, by Mr. H. A. Webster; Phœnicia, by Professors Socin and Gutschmid; and Phrygia, by Mr. W. M. Ramsay. In vol. xx. General MacLagan's Punjáb and Mr. Ronson's Rajputana should

be mentioned. Professor Robertson Smith lends his name to the theory that the Captivity of Scripture is to be identified with the Island of Crete.

*British and Foreign Bible Society.*—The Honorary Secretary has communicated, as usual, a statement of the progress by the British and Foreign Bible Society in translating the Scriptures in the different languages of Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America. With the object for which these translations are made the Society has no relation, but the annual outturn of the Society supplies a startling proof of the progress of Linguistic knowledge. The very names of some of the languages spoken in the most totally unknown, and would have remained so, but for the Society's translations; and it may be noted that the preparation of Grammars and Dictionaries must precede translation work, therefore, is of solid and abiding nature.

*Anharic.*—Mr. Flad completed the new edition of the Anharic Bible on May 15. As the work proceeded he found that more emendations were necessary than were at first contemplated. He received valuable assistance from Mr. Argawi for Abyssinia in October, 1885. About a thousand textual improvements were made in the Prophets, and a great many in the New Testament.

*Amoy-Colloquial.*—On the return of Dr. Maxwell to Hong Kong the Rev. T. Barclay, M.A., of Formosa, was chosen to succeed him as Secretary to the New Testament Revision Committee. A good beginning has been made. Dr. Kip has revised the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and these have been printed by the mission press, and are now in the hands of the missionaries for final revision. Dr. Talmage has made steady progress with the Epistle to the Galatians, and Mr. Sadler has advanced with the Acts of the Apostles.

*Api.*—The Rev. Dr. Steel, of Sydney, reports that the Society's Auxiliary is printing a version of one Gospel in the language of the island of Api in the New Hebrides.

*Arabic.*—Dr. Van Dyck has completed his re-examination of his version of the Bible, and all mistakes that have been discovered are being corrected, and all defective plates are being remade or amended. The New Testament is being brought out in two new sizes, and the books, which are handy and attractive, are expected to be very popular. A new set of stereotype plates, for Portions, are being prepared to supersede the Society's old plates. These new editions are being prepared at Beyrout under the joint superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Isaac Bliss, of Constantinople, and the Rev. R. H. Weakley, of Alexandria, the Agents of the American, and the British and Foreign, Bible Societies.

*Ararat-Armenian.*—The Society's Bible, published at Constantinople in 1883, has been undergoing a careful examination by the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz during the last two years. A complete set of marginal references has been prepared, taken chiefly from Dr. Scrivener's Cambridge Bible. Certain words in the text are to be transposed, a few words omitted have to be supplied, some obsolete words have to be replaced by others in general use, and faults of punctuation have to be rectified. Mr. Amirkhaniantz will also prepare chapter headings condensed from those in the English Authorized Version.

*Bearer.*—At the request of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Richard Young, Bishop of Athabasca, the Committee have printed an edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark in Roman character. The translation was made and edited by the Rev. A. C. Garrioch, of the Church Missionary Society. The version is the first book that has been printed in the language of the Beaver Indians, with the exception of a small and imperfect primer.

*Canton Colloquial* (for the blind).—The Committee, at the request of Mr. Samuel Dyer, the Society's Agent at Shanghai, have agreed to publish the Gospel of St. Luke in the Roman character. The version has been prepared by the Rev. F. Hartmann, of the Foundling Hospital, Hong Kong.

*Chinese (Easy Wenli).*—At the request of the C of the Amoy Auxiliary Bible Society, the Comm given permission to the Society's Agents in China to and circulate copies of the version of the New Testament by the Rev. Griffith John in a style more simple than the Delegates' version. The version was brought to the National Bible Society of Scotland.

*Fanti (Ashanti).*—At the request of the Rev Cannell, of the Cape Coast Wesleyan Mission, supported by the Rev. M. C. Osborn, the Committee have undertaken to publish an edition of 4000 copies of the Four Gospel version. The version was made by a Fanti minister, named Park Wesleyan Church, whose father was a fetish priest. The translation was made from the English and completed by the Otji. It was afterwards carefully revised by a Conference of ministers, and finally passed by the Annual Meeting of all the Wesleyan ministers. The version is now in the press for the Wesleyan Mission, which occupies nearly the whole of the Gold Coast for a distance of 300 miles, and inland for 150 miles. They have 267 chapels and preaching stations, 5988 members, and 23,660 attending on public worship. The work is progressing slowly in the press, as the proof sheets are to be sent out to Cape Coast.

*Fuh-chow Colloquial* (Roman character).—The Gospel of St. John, prepared for the press and edited by the Rev. R. Stewart, of the Church Missionary Society, has just been received. A large portion of the New Testament is now in the press.

*Gujarati.*—The Translation Sub-Committee held meetings during the year, one at Surat and the other at Ahmedabad. The meetings lasted nineteen days, during which the Committee was engaged in revision work.

*Hainan.*—The version of the Gospel of St. Matthew, prepared by the Committee, authorized Mr. Jeremiassen to make copies for the aborigines of Hainan, who do not understand Chinese.

been completed, and the Committee have authorized the publication of a tentative edition of 500 copies.

*Hakka Colloquial*.—At the request of the Rev. J. B. Ost, communicated by Mr. Samuel Dyer, the Society's Agent at Shanghai, the Committee have sanctioned the publication of the Old Testament, in portions, as the New Testament has already been published. The Book of Genesis is now passing through the press.

*Harári*.—A version of the Gospel of St. Matthew has been prepared, at the suggestion of Prof. Reinisch, of Vienna, by Hajlu, a Galla freedman from Harar. Hajlu was trained by the Swedish missionaries at Massowah, and he afterwards travelled with Prof. Reinisch in Africa as his servant. The Committee have agreed to purchase the version on the approval of Prof. Reinisch, to whom they already owe two new versions, the Bogos and the Falasha-Kara.

*Hindi*.—The New Testament Translation Committee, with the Rev. J. F. Holcomb as their secretary, have held six meetings since September, 1883, and have translated and revised the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and part of St. John. The translators have followed the text that underlies the Revised English version.

*Hindustani*.—The Rev. M. G. Goldsmith, of the C.M.S., has carried through the press Genesis and Exodus up to chapter xx. He is now engaged in a revision of the Gospel of St. Luke. The Gospel of St. Mark has been submitted to the revisers, and Mr. Goldsmith awaits their judgment before proceeding further.

*Igbira*.—The Ven. Archdeacon Johnson, C.M.S., the translator of the Nupé Gospels, reports that the whole of the New Testament has been translated, and awaits revision.

*Japanese*.—The Rev. P. K. Fyson, of the Church Missionary Society, reports some progress with the translation of the Old Testament. The books of Leviticus, Numbers,

Deuteronomy, and Daniel, have been translated, beginning the translation of Isaiah, but he fears it may not be ready for publication this year.

*Javanese*.—Mr. Jansz, having completed, by the native scholars at Surakata, his version of St. Mark now at Depok carrying the portion through the press, publication has been much delayed by the slow printer.

*Kabyle*.—The Gospel of St. John, translated by one who assisted Père Olivier in the preparation of his French dictionary, has been thoroughly revised by Sauerwein, who edited the portion. The little book is with considerable favour among the Kabyle.

*Kafir* (alias *Xosa*).—The Revision Committee have completed their labours on the Old Testament, and are revising the New. The work is drawing to a close and has been heartily approved of by the representatives of all missionary bodies, including the Wesleyan. The Rev. Mr. [unclear] has been appointed by the Revision Board to go to England to carry the version through the press.

*Kalmuk* (or Western Mongolian).—This language is related to the Buriat, in which we possess Swan and [unclear] brass's translation of the whole Bible. During the period of the first Russian Bible Society, an early translation of the Gospel of St. Matthew was printed at Petersburg by the British and Foreign Bible Society. John's Gospel was afterwards completed by the same translator, Dr. Schmidt, of the Sarepta (Moravian). Subsequently the whole New Testament was said to be completed, but it was never printed. The translation of the New Testament at present going forward, and of the Gospels are now in the press, has been taken up by Professor Pozdnejeff, with the assistance of the Archimandrite [unclear] in Astrakhan. The original number of the edition comprise 2000 copies, but at Professor Pozdnejeff's

the number was enlarged to 4000, with a subsidiary edition of 1000 copies of each of the four Gospels. This was founded on statistics supplied by the Professor, according to which the number of Kalmyks in European Russia should be, as estimated in 1869, 119,866: in Asiatic Russia, 40,000; while in China there are said to be 253,400 souls, possessed of a common language, not indeed devoid of dialectal peculiarities, but mutually intelligible, and having a common literature.

*Kazan-Turki.*—In 1884 an edition of 5000 copies of M. Saleman's version of St. Matthew was printed at the Kazan University Press. Saleman's translation of St. Mark, though completed, has not yet been printed. Mr. Nicolson writes: "The people for whom this translation is being made are the remains of the mighty Tartar kingdom which once had its seat at Kazan, on the Volga. They inhabit the Governments of Kazan, Orenburg, Samara, and Stavropol and are said to number about 1,000,000 souls."

*Kirghiz-Turki.*—A third edition of the New Testament, consisting of 4000 copies, is now being printed at the Kazan University Press, and edited by M. Saleman, of the St. Petersburg University. The first edition, consisting of 5000 copies, was printed at Astrakhan in 1820. The version was an adaptation, by the Rev. Charles Fraser, of the Scottish Mission, of the version made by the Rev. H. Brunton, and printed at Karass. The version was revised by Professor Gottwald, and an edition of 3000 copies was printed at the Kazan University Press for this Society, under the care of M. Saleman in 1880.

The Rev. W. Nicolson, the Society's Agent at St. Petersburg, says of the people for whom the version is intended: "The Kirghese hordes—Great, Little, and Middle, as they are called—occupy various regions in Southern Siberia, Central Asia, and west of the Caspian Sea. The numbers of these hordes are variously estimated as high as 2,000,000, and as



low as 1,450,000, the lower number being probably correct."

*Kumuk-Turki*.—The version of St. Matthew, by Khasan Beg, has been revised by Major Tchekano, a linguist, acquainted with Kumuk, and again re-revised by Mr. Amirkhaniantz, who compared it diligently with the original. The work being found satisfactory, the Committee has taken to print an edition of 500 copies. The proofs were read by Dr. Sauerwein.

The only other known book in the language is a volume of popular tales and songs, edited by Mahmoud, a mollah of the village Khasav-Turt.

The Kumuk is spoken by about 70,000 souls, in the north-west shore of the Caspian Sea, near Petropavlovsk, and the north-east districts of Daghestan, watered by the Terek and Sunja Rivers. It is also found on the Terek above Kizliar. Mr. Morrison, the Society's Agent in Russia, to whom we owe this version, and our informant regarding the people, says: "The Kumuk are a brave people, learning to till the soil, and availing themselves of the schools which the Russian Government has placed at their disposal."

*Lifu* (Oceania).—The Rev. S. M. Creagh continues his revision of the MS. and the marginal references of the Revised Version of the Bible, which will be ready for the press as soon as the next edition is called for.

*Malagasi*.—The Rev. W. E. Cousins reports the completion on October 28, 1885, of the first revision of the Bible, since December 1, 1873. The Revision Committee sat 44 times and held 771 sittings, chiefly of three hours each. The second revision, for the purpose of harmonizing the different versions of the whole Bible, is now being carried out, and when completed Mr. Cousins will return to England, at the request of the Committee, to carry the Revised Version of the Bible through the press.

*Malay.*—Dr. Rost, of the Indian Office, has corrected and carried through the press an edition of 5000 copies of the Four Gospels, and the Committee have resolved to publish an edition of 5000 copies of the Books of Genesis, Psalms, and Proverbs under the care of the same editor.

*Malayálam.*—The Revision Board has been strengthened by the addition of the Rev. Messrs. Matthissen and Walter, of the Basel Mission, and it has been resolved to invite the Right Rev. Mar Athanasius, of the Syrian Church, to co-operate in the revision.

A special united meeting of the Delegates was held at Cochin last September, and it was resolved to revise again the Revised New Testament. Criticism will be invited from all competent judges by the four bodies represented on the Revision Board, and as far as practicable the chief Delegate of each body will collect and send opinions to the Venerable Archdeacon Koshi. It is proposed to go through the Four Gospels and the Acts at the next meeting. To meet a pressing demand the Delegates have agreed to print an interim edition, in large type, of 2500 copies each of the Old and the Revised versions of the New Testament.

*Maori.*—The printing of the Revised Bible is making slow progress, owing chiefly to the loss of time in sending out proofs to New Zealand.

*Marúthi.*—The Revision Committee, with the Rev. Dr. Mackichan as convener, have completed the Book of Genesis, and are about to undertake the revision of the Epistle to the Ephesians.

*Mandari.*—An edition of 2000 copies of the Acts of the Apostles has been published by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. The version was made by Mr. Beyer, of the Gosner Mission in Chota-Nagpore.

*Murray Island.*—The Rev. J. P. Sunderland, of Sydney, reports the publication, by the Auxiliary, of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, translated by the Rev. Messrs.

Macfarlane and Scott. Mr. Sunderland, who carried the version through the press, has sent 1000 copies of the version to Murray Island.

*Negro-English* (Negro-Dutch).—At the request of the President of the Moravian Missions in Dutch Guiana the Committee have agreed to print an edition of 300 copies of the New Testament and Psalms corrected and revised. The edition will be edited by the Rev. Andreas Schlegel and the Rev. E. Langerfeld. The version has already been published by this Society in 1829, 1846, and 1864. There are about 25,000 souls connected with the Moravian Missions of whom over 8000 are communicants.

*New Guinea* (South Cape dialect).—The Rev. Mr. Sunderland, of Sydney, reports the printing, by the Rev. Mr. of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Mark, translated by the teachers and revised by the missionaries. Mr. Sunderland has carried the version through the press.

*Niue*, alias *Savage Island* (Oceania).—The Rev. Mr. Lawes hopes to finish the translation of the Old Testament by the end of the year, and correspondence is in progress as to the publication of an edition.

*Nupé* (West Africa).—At the request of the Rev. Mr. Missionary Society the Committee have agreed to print an edition, of 500 copies each, of Archdeacon Ross's version of the Four Gospels. When the first Gospel was in type, it was decided that that Gospel should be printed in the old orthography, but that the remaining Gospels should be printed in the new orthography. The version was edited by the Rev. Dr. J. F. Schön, of the Church Missionary Society.

*Pangasina* (Philippine Islands).—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke. The MS. of the version was presented to the Society in 1873 by Señor Alonzo, of Seville, a native of the Philippine Islands. Chiefly through the inter-

in the version by Mr. T. Worthington, it has been thoroughly revised and rewritten by Señor Alonzo, who will carry the edition through the press. The portion is intended for one million of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands.

*Persian*.—The Rev. Dr. Bruce, of Julfa, is revising his version of the New Testament, with a view to the permanent fixing of the text. He has completed from the Romans to the Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and he is now finishing Ephesians. Meanwhile an interim edition is being carried through the press at Leipzig by Dr. Sauerwein.

*Popo* (Ewe, West Africa).—The Committee are now carrying through the press an edition of 500 each of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark. The translation was made by the Rev. T. J. Marshall, a native minister, and revised by the Translation Committee at Lagos. Mr. Marshall is carrying the portions through the press in accordance with the system that has been adopted for the Yoruba Scriptures.

*Rarotonga* (Oceania).—The Rev. W. Wyatt Gill has completed his revision of the whole Bible at Sydney, and at the request of this Society he is returning to England to carry a stereotyped edition of the revised version through the press.

*Rifi* (Shilha) Morocco.—Mr. William Mackintosh is continuing his translation work.

*Sanguir* (Malaysia).—The Rev. Mr. Kelling's version of the Psalms is now, after final revision, being carried through the press by Mr. Kyftenbeldt.

*Santal* (India) (in Roman character).—The Translation Committee are making satisfactory progress with the translation of the Gospels in the Roman character. An edition of 2000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke was ordered last September.

*Santal* (in Bengali character).—The Committee have sanctioned the publication by the Calcutta Auxiliary of an edition

of 1000 copies of the Gospel of St. Luke. The is intended for those who know the Santal language only the Bengali character. The Rev. T. Cole, Church Missionary Society, editor of the Santal translation and Revision Committee, will transliterate the portion.

*Sinhalese*.—The Committee have agreed, in resolution of the Kandy Auxiliary, supported by the Auxiliary, to undertake a revision of the Bible.

The present Bible, an interim edition, was complete years ago by the Rev. D. G. Gogerly. The New Testament was revised and accepted by the Society about sixteen years ago. It is now considered desirable to revise the New Testament slightly, and the Old Testament also. The Rev. S. Coles, of the Church Missionary Society, has undertaken the chief labour of the revision, and will be assisted by a Committee in Ceylon, appointed by the Auxiliaries of Colombo and Kandy, who will revise the work.

*Swahili*.—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of 500 copies of the Book of Exodus, revised by the Venerable Archdeacon Hodgson. A tentative edition was printed by the Universities' Mission Press at Zanzibar. The new issue will be the Rev. F. A. Wallis, of the Universities' Mission, now in England.

*Swahili* (E. Africa, in Arabic character).—An edition of 500 copies of the Gospel of St. John, intended for those who know the Swahili language and only the Arabic character, is now passing through the press. The translation has been translated by Miss Allen, who is superintending the production.

*Telugu*.—During the year the Rev. Dr. Hay has translated from the beginning of Exodus to the end of Ruth. It is now in the course of revision, and it is hoped that it will be completed in time for insertion in the brevier edition at

in the press. The Books of Psalms and Proverbs, favourably known in their revised form, will receive a final revision for the same edition.

Interleaved copies of the revised Pentateuch are now in the hands of the Delegates and other scholars, and a similar edition of the books from Joshua to Ruth is soon to be out, and of Isaiah later on. As Dr. Hay proceeds, a limited edition of the remaining books of the Old Testament, with wide margins, will be struck off, so that the Delegates may be provided with fresh matter to work upon.

Both the Parent Society and the Madras Committee are agreed that Dr. Hay should be left free to proceed with his preliminary revision without distraction from Delegates' meetings, as it is much to be desired that the work begun by Dr. Hay may be completed by him.

The Revision Committee has been strengthened by the addition of the Rev. J. R. Bacon, of the L.M.S., Cuddapah; the Rev. T. Heelis, of the Nursapur Mission; and Messrs. D. Antam, B.A., Shunmukharam, and C. Venkatachellam. The three latter Christian Hindu scholars have for a long time voluntarily rendered important aid to Dr. Hay.

*Transcaucasian Turki.*—The version of the Old Testament made by the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz has been revised by the American missionaries the Rev. J. N. Wright, of Tabriz, and the Rev. B. Labaree, of Urmiah, and all dialectical and orthographical differences between the language as spoken in Northern Persia and other Turki-speaking districts have been satisfactorily adjusted.

The Committee have sanctioned an octavo edition of the whole Bible, consisting of 2500 Old Testaments; 5000 New Testaments, one-half to be bound up with the Old Testaments, and one-half to be issued separately; 2000 Psalms; 1000 Genesis; 2000 Isaiah; and 1000 each of St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. John. The edition will be printed at Leipzig. The first proofs will be sent to Mr. Amirkhaniantz, the second

proofs will be read by Dr. Sauerwein, and the third proofs will be read by Mr. Amirkhaniantz.

*Tukudh* (North America).—The Ven. Archdeacon M having completed his New Testament, is now engaged on a new version of the Old Testament. The Indians who speak this language are scattered over 100,000 square miles of a region on the confines of the Arctic Circle. They have been brought under Christian influence and baptized; the tribes speak a cognate language, and the version will be read among them.

*Tulu* (S. India).—The Rev. M. Hartmann has finished his revision of the Four Gospels. A tentative edition of the Gospel of St. Matthew will be issued with a view to obtain suggestions from the Tulu people on points of difficulty. The revision of the books from Romans to Revelation is entrusted to Messrs. Ott and Riter, but as they have left the country it has not been ascertained what progress they have made with the work.

*Turkish* (Osmanli).—The revision of the Bible, undertaken by the Committee united with the American Bible Society, has been brought to a close. The work was carried out by the Rev. Dr. Riggs, and the Rev. Messrs. Herrick and Avedis, aided by Pastor Avedis. The Rev. R. H. Weakley has been consulted. The Revised Version is now in the press and will soon be published.

*Urdu* (in Arabic character).—The Committee have agreed to print an edition of the large marginal Reference Bible. It will be printed in paragraph form, with a few alternative readings from the English Revisers' Greek Text, and marginal references selected from Dr. Scrivener's Cambridge Bible. The Rev. Dr. Weitbrecht will edit the edition.

*Uriya*.—The Committee have agreed to bear the expense of an edition of 2500 copies of the Old Testament, revised by the Rev. Dr. Buckley, of the Baptist Mission at Cuttack. It has been revised and is now carrying through the press.

*Uzbek-Turki*.—At the request of the Rev. W. Nicolson, the Society's Agent at St. Petersburg, M. Ostrumoff, a Russian inspector of schools, has undertaken a version of the New Testament. Four Gospels have been completed, and an edition will shortly be published, the proof-sheets passing through the hands of Dr. Radloff and the Rev. A. Amirkhaniantz, of Tiflis. M. Ostrumoff is acquainted with the different Turki dialects of Central Asia, and believes that the Uzbek, which is used by the more settled and civilized portion of the inhabitants, is certain to become the dominant language of Central Asia.

*Yahgan* (Patagonia).—The version of St. John, made by the Rev. Thomas Bridges, has been published. The final proofs were read by Mr. Henry Morris, a member of Committee.

*Languages of Africa*.—During the last year the following books have been published:—Swahili Exercises, by Bishop Steere, 1886, S.P.C.K. Swahili Church History, by Rev. J. C. Robertson, 1886, S.P.C.K. Polyglotta Orientale Africana, by J. Last, 1885, S.P.C.K. Grammar of Kaguru Language, East Africa, by J. Last, 1885, S.P.C.K. Grammar of Kamba Language, East Africa, by J. Last, 1885, S.P.C.K. Bishári Sprache, by Prof. Almqvist, of Upsála, II. Band, East Africa, 1885. Grammar of Umbundu Language, West Africa, by Rev. W. Stover, Boston, U.S., 1885. Vocabulary of Umbundu Language, West Africa, by Rev. W. H. Sanders, Boston, U.S., 1885. Dictionary of the Kongo Language, West Africa, by Rev. H. Bentley, 1886. Vocabulary of the Teke Language, West Africa, by Dr. A. Sims, Gilbert and Rivington, 1886. Paradigms of Nganga Language, West Africa, by Dr. Laws, Edinburgh, 1885.

*Languages of Oceania*.—Languages of Melanesia, by Dr.



Codrington, Oxford University Press, 1885. *Vocabulaire de la Langue Fidjienne*, by Professor Kern, of Leyden, *Hollandsche Grammatica der Fidjische Taal* (French), Paris, 1884.

*Anniversary Meeting*, May 17.—(Proceedings resumed after the adjournment of the Annual Report of the Council having been read, the following gentlemen were duly elected as the Council officers of the ensuing year.

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The following Books have been presented to the Library :—

- From Mr. Arnold.* The Song Celestial.  
 — *Mr. Alfred Haggard.* A new departure in Foreign Policy, London, 1886.  
 — *Mr. Murray.* Handbook for Bengal N.W. Provinces and Burmah. London, 1882.  
 — *Mr. G. W. Ruden.* History of Australia. 3 vols. London, 1883.  
 — *Professor Sayce.* Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People. 1885.  
 — *Messrs. Trübner (Mr. Edwards).* Grammatik des Arabischen Vulgar dialectes von Egyptian. 8vo. Leipzig, 1880.

The above in memory of the late Secretary, Mr. Vaux.

- From the Secretary of State for India in Council.*—The History of Kashgharia, by Dr. H. W. Bellew.—Russia's Commercial Mission in Central Asia, by Chris. von Sarauw.—Notes on the Central Asiatic Question, by M. Romanovski.—Muraviev's Journey to Khiva, through the Turcoman Country.—Record of Services, C. C. Prinsep.—Forchhammer's Burmese Law (Jardine Prize).—Cunningham's Arch. Survey of India, vol. xxi. Bundelkhand and Rewa, vol. xxii., Carleyle (Gorakhpur, Saran and Ghazipur).—Punjab Customary Law.—Ludhiana District, T. Gordon Walker.—Early Voyages and Travels to Russia and Persia, Hak. Soc.—Notes of a Journey from Kazvin to Hamadan across the Karaghan Country, by John David Rees, Madras, 1885.—Sacred Books of the East, vols. xxiv. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.; Pahlavi Texts, part iii., West; Satapatha Brāhmana, part ii. books iii. and iv., Eggeling The Li Ki, 2 vols., Legge.—The Erythræan Sea, Voyage of Nearkhos, 1879; Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, 1877; Ancient India as described by Ktisia the Knidian, 1882, by J. W. McCrindle, M.A.  
 — *the Government of Bengal.*—Report of Administration of Bengal, 1885.—Tide Tables for Indian Ports, 1886.—Professional Papers of Indian Engineering.—Meteorological Observations, by H. F. Blanford.—Meteorological Memoirs.—Records Gov. of India (Ajmere, Marwara Districts).  
 — *the Government of Madras.*—Report on the Administration of Madras, 1885. Catalogue of Books printed in Madras Presidency, G. Oppert.—Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., vol. ii.  
 — *the Government of Bombay.*—Report on the Administration of, 1885.—Selections from Records of Bombay Government.  
 — *the Senate of the Calcutta University.*—Tagore Law Lectures, 1885.—The Law Relating to the Joint Hindu Family, by Krishna Kamal Bhattachariya.—Mahomedan Law, by Syed Ameer Ali, M.A.  
 — *the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*—Centenary Review, 1784-1883.—Bibliotheca Indica.  
 — *the French Government* (Minister of Public Instruction).—Dictionnaire Turc.-Francaise, vol. i. Livraison 4, by Barbier de Meynard, 1885.—*Des Michels,* Kim Vân Kiêu Tan Truyn, Poèmes de l'Annam, Tome ii. 1ère partie. 1885.—Chrestomathie Persane, Tome Second, Ch. Schefer, 1885.—Catalogue Méthodique et Raisonné Antiquités Assyriennes, 3 fascicules.  
 — *the Government of the Netherlands.*—Nederlandsch-Chineesch Woordenboek, Deel i. Aflevering iii. and iv. 1885-6, by Dr. G. Schlegel.—Kitāb-al-

- Buldán (Hamadhāni), 1 vol. Leyden, 1885, editit M. J. Al-Hamdāni's Géographie der Arabischen Halbinsel, editit Müller, 1884.
- From Baumgarten, Antoine, Le Prophète Habakuk.
- Bell, Mark, S., Afghanistan as a Theatre of Operations and as India.
- Bendall, Cecil, A Journey of Literary and Archæological Research and Northern India during the winter of 1884-5, Camb. 1886.
- Brandreth, E. L., three numbers of the Pāli Text Society. Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, M. Léon Feer and V. Fausbüll.
- Cordier, Henri M., Le conflit entre la France et la Chine, 1 d'une Bibliographie, etc., 1883.—Consulat de France a Hué, 1884.
- Cusht, R. N., Grammar and Vocabulary of the Umbundu Language.
- Faulds, Dr. Henry, The Chrysanthemum, vols. i. and ii. 1884 years in Nipon.
- Ferguson, Donald, a MS. Dictionary and Grammar in Pāli.
- Fonseca, José Nicolau da, Sketch of the City of Goa.
- Geiger, Dr. Wilhelm, Civilization of the Eastern Iranians, Sanjānū.
- Grierson, G. A., Bihar Peasant Life, Calcutta, 1855.
- Goldsmid, Sir Frederic, The Navigation and Voyages of Le manna, 1503, Aungervoyle Society.
- Groot, Dr. J. J. de, Het Konigswezen van Borneo. The Hague.
- Musée Guimet, Le Yi-King. Paris, 1885.
- Kitta, Eustace J., Compendium of the Castes and Tribes four 1885.
- McCrindle, J. W., Ancient India as described by Ptolemy.
- Mellersh, Admiral, a Siamese Screen and Chinese and Siamese.
- Pincott, Frederic, Oriental Penmanship.
- Sinclair, F. W., Vertebrate Zoology of Sind, by James A. 1884.
- the Statistical Society.—Index to the Catalogue of the Library.
- Capt. R. C. Temple.—Knowles' Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs of the Panjab, vol. ii.—Keith Falconer's Kalilah and Dimnah, w trans., 1885.—Adventures of Raja Rasalu, Calc. 1884.—Fol Bengal by the Rev. Lal Behāri Day, Macmillan, 1883.—Sagar, translated by Lala Sreeram, Calcutta, 1885.—The Ishmael, by J. D. Bate, 1884.—Kalilah and Dimnah, trans Arabic, edited by W. Wright, 1884.—Maṇi-Mālā or a Treatise of Raja S. M. Tagore, Mus.Doc. 2 vols.—Rhodes in Ancient Tim Torr, Cambridge, 1885.—Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes, by A London, 1868.—Calcoen, a Dutch narrative of the second voyage da Gama to Calicut. Printed at Antwerp 1504, translated Berjeau. London, 1874.
- Whitney, Professor, Roots, Verb-forms and Primary Derivat Sanskrit Language, Leipsig, 1885.
- Wise, Dr. Thomas A., History of Paganism in Caledonia, 4th 1884.
- Yule, Col. Henry, A Glossary of Indian Colloquial Terms, by and A. H. Burnell.—A portrait of Sir Arthur Phayre.

### The following exchange Publications—

- The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
- Madras Literary Society.
- Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Straits Settlements Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- Japan Asiatic Society.
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- Numismatic Society.
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- United Service Institution.
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- Manchester Geographical Society.
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- Royal Irish Academy.
- Royal Society of Edinburgh.
- Scottish Geographical Society.
- American Oriental Society.
- Geographical Society.
- Smithsonian Institution.
- New Zealand Institute.
- Royal Society, Victoria.
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- New South Wales.
- Société Asiatique, Paris.
- Géographique, Paris.
- Ethnologique, Paris.
- Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- Royal Academy, Brussels.
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**The Society receives**

The Athenæum. The Academy. Allen's Indian Mail. London Telegraph. Reports of the British Association. Voice of India Magazine. Seismological Society of Japan. Chinese Excursions. Walford's Antiquarian Magazine. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien.



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